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DRAVIDIAN COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR

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A COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR

OF THE

DRAVIDIAN

OR

SOUTH-INDIAN FAMILY OF LANGUAGES

BY THE

RT. REV. ROBERT CALDWELL, D.D., LL.D.

Third Edition, Revised and Edited by the

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Bishop Caldwell's Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South-Indian Family of Languages has long been out of print. There has been a demand for this work from scholars. On a resolution moved by Sri D. Ramalinga Reddi at the meeting of the Senate held on the 17th November 1953, that the University might undertake to bring out a new edition of this publication, the Syndicate resolved to bring out this reprint edition with the kind permission of Messrs. Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., London.

Madras,
January, 1956.

R. Ravi Varma,
Registrar.

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EDITORS' PREFACE

TO THE THIRD EDITION

BISHOP CALDWELL'S Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South-Indian Family of Languages is so well known a classic of Indian philology as to need no introduction to readers who are interested in the ethnology or linguistics of India. But a few words of introduction seem necessary to explain the origin and scope of the present edition. As a justification for attempting a new edition, it is only necessary to say that the book was originally published so long ago as 1856, and that the only other edition produced by the author dates from 1875, and has long been out of print. Consequently it has become rare and expensive, a matter of importance to Indian scholars and students, few of whom are in a position to pay the prices now demanded for a work indispensable to their studies.

No further explanation seems called for to justify the issue of a third edition of a work which has no rivals. We may indeed hope that students of the Dravidian tongues will not only welcome this reissue of Dr Caldwell's famous work, but will be surprised that they have had to wait nearly forty years to greet its publication. It only remains, then, to explain briefly in what respects this edition differs from its predecessors. We have added some statistical and other notes. For those embodying the latest census figures we have to express our gratitude to Mr. E. A. Gait, C.I.E., Census Commissioner of India. We have also transliterated all Greek words for the benefit of those who may be unacquainted with that language. We have decided to omit so much of Bishop Caldwell's Introduction as relates to the History of Dravidian Literature. In doing so we have been guided by two considerations. An account of Dravidian Literature is not strictly germane to the main purpose of the book, as Bishop Caldwell himself candidly admitted. In the second place, some of the author's conclusions as to the dates of the older books have been rendered obsolete by the researches of Indian scholars and by the investigations of the Government Archæological Departments.

We have also omitted many pages of purely controversial matter, in which Bishop Caldwell was at pains to controvert the

views of writers now forgotten or negligible. In other respects the present edition is a reprint, revised and brought up to date, of a work which has so far found no successor, and will in no case be rendered wholly superfluous by the labours of other scholars. As the pioneer effort of Dravidian scholarship on European lines it will always have its own interest and importance, even if others should hereafter build on the foundations so solidly laid by the most distinguished investigator of Dravidian philology.

Our task has been in the main, one of pious conservation, and our sole object has been to enable students to obtain access to so much of the author's work as retains a permanent value, in view of the increased attention paid to the study of Oriental languages in general, and the solicitude shown by the Madras Government for the study of the languages of South India in particular.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

TO THE SECOND EDITION

It is now nearly nineteen years since the first edition of this book was published, and a second edition ought to have appeared long ere this. The first edition was soon exhausted, and the desirableness of bringing out a second edition was often suggested to me. But as the book was a first attempt in a new field of research and necessarily very imperfect, I could not bring myself to allow a second edition to appear without a thorough revision. It was evident, however, that the preparation of a thoroughly revised edition, with the addition of new matter whatever it seemed to be necessary, would entail upon me more labour than I was likely for a long time to be able to undertake. The duties devolving upon me in India left me very little leisure for extraneous work, and the exhaustion arising from long residence in a tropical climate left me very little surplus strength. For eleven years, in addition to my other duties, I took part in the Revision of the Tamil Bible, and after that great work had come to an end, it fell to my lot to take part for one year more in the Revision of the Tamil Book of Common Prayer. I suffered also for some time from a serious illness of such a nature that it seemed to render it improbable that I should ever be able to do any literary work again. Thus year after year elapsed, and year after year the idea of setting myself to so laborious a task as that of preparing a second edition of a book of this kind grew more and more distasteful to me. I began to hope that it had become no longer necessary to endeavour to rescue a half-forgotten book from oblivion. At this juncture it was considered desirable that I should return for a time to my native land for the benefit of my health; and at the same time I was surprised to receive a new and more urgent request that I should bring out a second edition of this book—for which I was informed that a demand still existed. Accordingly I felt that I had no option left, and arrived reluctantly at the conclusion that as the first edition was brought out during the period of my first return to this country on furlough, so it had become necessary that the period of my second furlough should be devoted to the preparation and publication of a second edition.

The first edition—chiefly on account of the novelty of the undertaking—was received with a larger amount of favour than it ap-

peared to me to deserve. I trust that this second edition, revised and enlarged, will be found more really deserving of favour. Though reluctant to commence the work, no sooner had I entered upon it than my old interest in it revived, and I laboured at it *con amore*. I have endeavoured to be accurate and thorough throughout, and to leave no difficulty unsolved, or at least uninvestigated; and yet, notwithstanding all my endeavours, I am conscious of many deficiencies, and feel sure that I must have fallen into many errors. Of the various expressions of approval the first edition received, the one which gratified me most, because I felt it to be best deserved, was that it was evident I had treated the Dravidian languages "lovingly." I trust it will be apparent that I have given no smaller amount of loving care and labour to the preparation of this second edition. The reader must be prepared, however, to find that many of the particulars on which I have laboured most "lovingly," though exceedingly interesting to persons who have made the Dravidian languages their special study, possess but little interest for persons whose special studies lie in the direction of some other family of languages, or who are interested, not in the study of any one language or family of languages in particular, but only in philological studies in general, or in discussions respecting the origin of language in general.

It is now more than thirty-seven years since I commenced the study of Tamil, and I had not proceeded far in the study before I came to the conclusion that much light might be thrown on Tamil by comparing it with Telugu, Canarese, and the other sister idioms. On proceeding to make the comparison I found that my supposition was verified by the result, and also, as it appeared to me, that Tamil imparted still more light than it received. I have become more and more firmly persuaded, as time has gone on, that it is not a theory, but a fact, that none of these languages can be thoroughly understood and appreciated without some study of the others, and hence that a Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages may claim to be regarded not merely as something that is useful in its way, but as a necessity.

I trust it will be found that I have not left much undone that seemed to be necessary for the elucidation of Tamil; but I hope this branch of work will now be taken up by persons who have made Telugu, Canarese, Malayāḷam, or Tulu their special study, so that the whole range of the Dravidian languages and dialects may be fully elucidated. One desideratum at present seems to be

a Comparative Vocabulary of the Dravidian Languages, distinguishing the roots found, say, in the four most distinctive languages —Tamil, Telugu, Canarese, and Malayāḷam—from those found only in three, only in two, or only in one. An excellent illustration of what may be done in this direction has been furnished by Dr Gundert, whose truly scientific "Dictionary of Malayāḷam" has given a fresh stimulus to Dravidian philology. Another thing which has long appeared to me to be a desideratum is a more thorough examination of all the South Indian alphabets, ancient and modern, with a careful comparison of them, letter by letter, not only with the alphabets of Northern India, ancient and modern, but also, and especially, with the characters found in ancient inscriptions in Ceylon, Java, and other places in the further East. It has been announced that a work on this subject, by Dr Burnell, M.C.S., entitled "South-Indian Palæography," is about to be published in Madras, but I regret that a copy of it has not yet arrived.

It has been my chief object throughout this work to promote a more systematic and scientific study of the Dravidian languages themselves—for their own sake, irrespective of theories respecting their relationship to other languages—by means of a careful intercomparison of their grammars. Whilst I have never ceased to regard this as my chief object, I have at the same time considered it desirable to notice, as opportunity occurred, such principles, forms, and roots as appeared to bear any affinity to those of any other language or family of languages, in the hope of contributing thereby to the solution of the question of their ultimate relationship. That question has never yet been scientifically solved, though one must hope that it will be solved some day. It has not yet got beyond the region of theories, more or less plausible. My own theory is that the Dravidian languages occupy a position of their own between the languages of the Indo-European family and those of the Turanian or Scythian group—not quite a midway position, but one considerably nearer the latter than the former. The particulars in which they seem to me to accord with the Indo-European languages are numerous and remarkable, and some of them, it will be seen, are of such a nature that it is impossible, I think, to suppose that they have been accidental; but the relationship to which they testify —in so far as they do testify to any real relationship—appears to me to be very indefinite, as well as very remote. On the other hand the particulars in which they seem to me to accord with most of the so-called Scythian languages are not only so numerous, but are so distinctive and of so essential a nature, that they appear to

me to amount to what is called a family likeness, and therefore naturally to suggest the idea of a common descent. The evidence is cumulative. It seems impossible to suppose that all the various remarkable resemblances that will be pointed out, section after section, in this work can have arisen merely from similarity in mental development—of which there is no proof—or similarity in external circumstances and history—of which also there is no proof —much less without any common cause whatever, but merely from the chapter of accidents. The relationship seems to me to be not merely morphological, but—in some shape or another, and however, it may be accounted for —genealogical. The genealogical method of investigation has produced remarkable results in the case of the Indo-European family of languages, and there seems no reason why it should be discarded in relation to any other family or group; but this method is applicable, as it appears to me, not merely to roots and forms, but also to principles, contrivances, and adaptations. I have called attention to the various resemblances I have noticed, whether apparently important or apparently insignificant —not under the supposition that any one of them, or all together, will suffice to settle the difficult question at issue, but as an aid to inquiry, for the purpose of helping to point out the line in which further research seems likely—or not likely—to be rewarded with success. An ulterior and still more difficult question will be found to be occasionally discussed. It is this: Does there not seem to be reason for regarding the Dravidian family of languages, not only as a link for connection between the Indo-European and Scythian groups, but—in some particulars, especially in relation to the pronouns—as the best surviving representative of a period in the history of human speech older than the Indo-European stage, older than the Scythian, and older than the separation of the one from the other?

Whilst pointing out extra-Dravidian affinities wherever they appeared to exist, it has always been my endeavour, as far as possible, to explain Dravidian forms by means of the Dravidian languages themselves. In this particular I think it will be found that a fair amount of progress has been made in this edition in comparison with the first—for which I am largely indebted to the help of Dr Gundert's suggestions. A considerable number of forms which were left unexplained in the first edition have now, more or less conclusively, been shown to have had a Dravidian origin, and possibly this process will be found to be capable of being carried further still. The Dravidian languages having been cultivated from so early a period, and carried by successive stages of

progress to so high a point of refinement, we should be prepared to expect that in supplying themselves from time to time with inflexional forms they had availed themselves of auxiliary words already in use, with only such modifications in sound or meaning as were necessary to adapt them to the new purposes to which they were applied. Accordingly it does not seem necessary or desirable to seek for the origin of Dravidian forms out of the range of the Dravidian languages themselves, except in the event of those languages failing to afford us a tolerably satisfactory explanation. Even in that event, it must be considered more probable that the evidence of a native Dravidian origin has been obliterated by lapse of time than that the Dravidians, when learning to inflect their words, borrowed for this purpose the inflexional forms of their neighbours. It is a different question whether some of the Dravidian forms and roots may not have formed a portion of the linguistic inheritance which appears to have descended to the earliest Dravidians from the fathers of the human race. I shoul be inclined, however, to seek for traces of that inheritance only in the narrow area of the simplest and most necessary, and therefore probably the most primitive, elements of speech.

In preparing the second edition of this book, as in preparing the first, I have endeavoured to give European scholars, whether resident in Europe or in India, such information respecting the Dravidian languages as might be likely to be interesting to them. I have thought more, however, of the requirements of the natives of the country, than of those of foreigners. It has been my earnest and constant desire to stimulate the natives of the districts in which the Dravidian languages are spoken to take an intelligent interest in the comparative study of their own languages; and I trust it will be found that this object has in some measure been helped forward. Educated Tamilians have studied Tamil—educated Telugu have studied Telugu—the educated classes in each language-district have studied the language and literature of that district—with an earnestness and assiduity which are highly creditable to them, and which have never been exceeded in the history of any of the languages of the world—except, perhaps, by the earnestness and assiduity with which Sanskrit has been studied by the Brāhmans. One result of this long-continued devotion to grammatical studies has been the development of much intellectual acuteness; another result has been the progressive refinement of the languages themselves; and these results have acted and reacted one upon another. Hence, it is impossible for any European who has acquired a competent

knowledge of any of the Dravidian languages—say Tamil—to regard otherwise than with respect the intellectual capacity of a people amongst whom so wonderful an organ of thought has been developed. On the other hand, in consequence of the almost exclusive devotion of the native *literati* to grammatical studies they have fallen considerably behind the educated classes in Europe in grasp and comprehensiveness. What they have gained in acuteness, they have lost in breadth. They have never attempted to compare their own languages with others—not even with other languages of the same family. They have never grasped the idea that such a thing as a family of languages existed. Consequently the interest they took in the study of their languages was not an intelligent, discriminating interest, and proved much less fruitful in results than might fairly have been expected. Their philology, if it can be called by that name, has remained up to our own time as rudimentary and fragmentary as it was ages ago. Not having become comparative, it has not become scientific and progressive. The comparative method of study has done much, in every department of science, for Europe; might it not be expected to do much for India also? If the natives of Southern India began to take an interest in the comparative study of their own languages and in comparative philology in general, they would find it in a variety of ways much more useful to them than the study of the grammar of their own language alone ever has been. They would cease to content themselves with learning by rote versified enigmas and harmonious platitudes. They would begin to discern the real aims and objects of language, and realise the fact that language has a history of its own, throwing light upon all other history, and rendering ethnology and archæology possible. They would find that philology studied in this manner enlarged the mind instead of cramping it, extended its horizon, and provided it with a plentiful store of matters of wide human interest. And the consequence probably would be that a more critical, scholarly habit of mind, showing itself in a warmer desire for the discovery of truth, would begin to prevail. Another result—not perhaps so immediate, but probably in the end as certain—a result of priceless value—would be the development of a good, readable, respectable, useful, Dravidian literature—a literature written in a style free at once from pedantry and from vulgarisms, and in matter, tone, and tendency, as well as in style, worthy of so intelligent a people as the natives of Southern India undoubtedly are.

I trust the interest taken in their language, literature, and antiquities by foreigners will not be without its effect in kindling amongst the natives of Southern India a little wholesome, friendly rivalry. If a fair proportion of the educated native inhabitants of each district were only to apply themselves to the study of the philology and archæology of their district with anything like the same amount of zeal with which the philology and archæology of Europe are studied by educated Europeans, the result would probably be that many questions which are now regarded as insoluble would speedily be solved, and that pursuits now generally regarded as barren would be found full of fruit.

Native pandits have never been surpassed in patient labour or in an accurate knowledge of details. They require in addition that zeal for historic truth and that power of discrimination, as well as of generalisation, which have hitherto been supposed to be special characteristics of the European mind. Both these classes of qualities seem to me to be combined in a remarkable degree in the articles recently contributed by learned natives to the Bombay *Indian Antiquary* on subjects connected with the languages and literature of Northern India; and those articles appear to me to be valuable not only in themselves, but also as giving the world a specimen of the kind of results that might be expected if learned natives of Southern India entered, in the same critical, careful spirit, on the cultivation of the similar, though hitherto much-neglected, field of literary labour, which may be regarded as specially their own.

I was much gratified last year on finding that this Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages had ceased to be the only Indian Comparative Grammar that had appeared. Mr Beames has followed up this line of philological research by the publication of the first volume of a Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India—that is, the North-Indian Vernaculars. I regret that the second volume of that valuable work has not yet been published. A Comparative Grammar of the Kōlarian tongues, the third great Indian family, has probably not yet been contemplated; but I am inclined to think that it would be found to be productive of important and interesting results.

I have endeavoured to make the second edition of this work more easily available for reference, as well as more complete, than the former one, by providing the reader with a full table of contents and an index of proper names, together with paradigms of nouns, numerals, pronouns, verbs, &c. I have also given a list of

the books and papers bearing, directly or indirectly, on Dravidian philology which have appeared since the first edition of this work, and which have been referred to or made use of in this edition.

I have much pleasure in acknowledging the valuable help I have received from many friends. Amongst them are the following:—Rev. J. Brigel; C. P. Brown, Esq.; A. C. Burnell, Esq., Ph.D.; Rev. J. Clay; T. W. Rhys Davids, Esq.; Rev. E. Diez; Prof. Eggeling; Sir Walter Elliot, K.C.S.I.; the late C. Gover, Esq.; Rev. F. Kittel; Rev. F. Metz; Prof. Max Müller; N. P. Narasimmiengar, Esq.; Rev. Dr. Pope; P. Le Page Renouf, Esq.; Dr. Rost; Prof. Teza; Dr. Ernest Trumpp. I have especially to thank Colonel Yule, C.B., for much interesting and valuable information on points connected with topography and history; and the Rev. Dr Gundert for the invaluable help he was so kind as to render me in connection with every department of this work. I beg to thank the Indian and Colonial Governments and the various officers entrusted with the management of the late Indian census for the information with which I have been favoured respecting the numbers of the people speaking the various Dravidian languages.

R. CALDWELL.

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CONTENTS

PAGE

INTRODUCTION .. 1

Object in view, investigation and illustration of grammatical structure of Dravidian languages. Those languages the vernaculars of Southern India, 1. Position of Sanskrit and Hindūstānī, 2. Position of English.

USE OF THE COMMON TERM 'DRAVIDIAN' .. 3–6

Dravidian Languages at one time styled 'Tamulian.' Kumārila-bhaṭṭa's term, *Andhra-Drāvida bhāshā.* Reasons for choosing the term Dravidian: Manu's use of 'Dravida.' Use of 'Drāviḍī' by philological writers.

ENUMERATION OF DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES .. 6–40

Six Cultivated Dialects
Six Uncultivated Dialects.

I. TAMIL .. 6–16

Where spoken. Name of Madras: spelling of 'Tamil.' Tamil erroneously called 'Malabar'; origin of the error; Professor Max Müller; Dr Hunter. Colebrooke; first book printed in Tamil. 'Dravida' corresponds to 'Tamil' in Sanskrit; proof of this; Varahāmihira, Tāranātha, Mahāwanso. Aśōka's inscription; Peutinger Tables; Ravenna geographer. Derivation of native pandits; names of three subdivisions of Tamil people; PANDYA; Singhalese traditions, Mahābhārata; Pāṇḍyas on Malabar Coast, Pāṇḍyas as known to the Greeks. Pliny's references to the Pāṇḍyas; CHOLA.—Aśōka's inscription, Ptolemy, Hwen Thsang; capital of the Chōlas, extent of their power. CHERA.—Various shapes of this name; original identity of the three subdivisions of the Tamil people; native tradition, representations in Sanskrit. Why is Tamil called 'Aravam'? Various theories.

II. MALAYALAM .. 16–20

Where spoken. Origin of the name 'Malayāḷam.' Different shapes of the name Kērala; identity with 'Chera'; meaning of 'Kongu.' Cosmos 'Indicopleustes' Μαλέ; period of separation of Malayāḷam from Tamil. Configuration of the country.

Origin of the term 'Coromandel' .. 20–22

Fra Paulino's supposition; use of 'Choramandala' by the first Portuguese; equivalent of Ma'bar. Derivation from name of village of Coromandel inadmissible: Colonel Yule's communication.

Origin of the term 'Malabar' .. 23–25

PAGE

Use of first part of the name amongst Greeks and Arabians; use of the affix *bār* amongst Arabians and early Europeans; origin of *bār*. Suggestion of Dr Gundert; Colonel Yule's communication. Maldives; Persian *bār;* origin of *wār* of Kattywar, &c.; Dr Trumpp.

III. TELUGU .. 25–30

Where spoken. Eastern 'Klings'; Sanskrit Āndhra; Andhras in the Vedas and the Greek writers. Derivation of the name Telugu; native derivation regarded by Mr C. P. BROWN as inaccurate. Traces of Trilingam: traces of Trikalinga; meaning of Vaḍugu.

IV. CANARESE .. 30, 31

Where spoken. Derivation of the name Karṇāṭaka; different applications of the name.

V. TULU .. 31

Where spoken; Tuḷu a highly developed language; to which Dravidian language most nearly allied ?

VI. KUDAGU or COORG .. 32, 33

Where spoken; which Dravidian language it resembles most; doubtful whether it should be placed amongst the cultivated class.

VII. TUDA .. 33

Where spoken; Tudas the smallest of Dravidian tribes; books about the Tudas and their language.

VIII. KOTA .. 34

Where spoken; characteristics of the language.

IX. GOND .. 34

Gōṇḍwana; numbers of the Gōṇḍs; different tribes; Kōitōrs.

X. KHOND or KU .. 35

Where spoken; human sacrifices; origin of name.

XI. MALER or RAJMAHAL .. 35, 36

Where spoken ; language different from that of the Santāls.

XII. ORAON .. 36–37

Relationships of this tribe and their language. Amount of the Dravidian element in the Māler and Orāon not clearly ascertained. Census of peoples and tribes speaking Dravidian languages. Tribes not enumerated; Kolarian tribes. Tribes of the North-Eastern frontier; Brahuī contains a Dravidian element : Dravidians seem to have entered India from the North-West.

The Dravidian idioms not merely provincial dialects of the same language .. 40

PAGE

People not mutually understood; Tamil and Telugu furthest apart.

The Dravidian Languages independent of Sanskrit .. 41–52

Supposition of the northern pandits that the South-Indian vernaculars were derived from Sanskrit erroneous. List of sixty words in Sanskrit and Tamil. Ancient dialect of Tamil contains little Sanskrit. Relation of English to Latin, and of Tamil to Sanskrit, illustrated by a comparison of Ten Commandments in English and Tamil. Archbishop Trench's expressions. Tamil less studied than other dialects by Brāhmans. Thirteen particulars in which the Dravidian languages differ essentially from Sanskrit. Are there traces of Scythian influences in Sanskrit itself? Mr. Edkins's "China's Place in Philology."

Is there a Dravidian element in the Vernacular Languages of Northern India? .. 52–61

Hypothesis that the corruption of Sanskrit out of which the Northern vernaculars have arisen was due to the Dravidian languages considered; general conclusion that the modifying influences, though probably Scythian or non-Aryan, do not appear to have been distinctively Dravidian.

To what group of Languages are the Dravidian idioms to be affiliated? .. 61–77

Professor Rask's opinion. Meaning of the term 'Scythian;' Professor Max Müller. Intercomparison of the Scythian languages themselves should be carried further. Some of the resemblances incapable of being accounted for by accident. The original unity of languages probable. Confirmation of the Scythian theory by the Behistun Tablets. Principal points of resemblance between the language of the Tablets and the Dravidian languages. The existence of any analogy between the Dravidian languages and the Finno-Ugrian tends to confirm the argument for the original oneness of the human race. *Note.*—Professor Hunfalvy. Indo-European languages not so prolific of differences as Scythian. Relationship of Dravidian languages to Scythian not universally admitted; Dr. Pope's remarks. Dr. Bleek's remarks; possibility of developments *ab intra.* List of primitive Indo-Europeanisms discoverable in the Dravidian languages. Position between Indo-European and Scythian languages occupied by Dravidian; existence of a few Semitic analogies. Australian affinities. Resemblances discoverable in an African language.

Which language or dialect best represents the primitive condition of the Dravidian tongues? .. 77–78

PAGE

No one dialect implicitly to be followed; a comparison of all existing dialects our safest guide.

1. *Literary, classical dialects of the Dravidian languages: to what extent may they be regarded as representing the primitive condition of those languages?* .. 78–81

As soon as the Indian languages begin to be cultivated, the literary style has a tendency to become a literary language. Illustrations from Northern India; the same tendency in the Dravidian languages. High Tamil.

2. *High antiquity of the literary cultivation of Tamil* .. 81–88

Six reasons for inferring its relatively high antiquity. The Sanskrit words contained in Tamil belong to three different periods. Remarkable corruptions of certain Sanskrit words. Tamil inscriptions. Characters in which those inscriptions are written; character of Jewish and Christian tablets.

EARLIEST EXTANT WRITTEN RELICS OF THE DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES .. 88–105

Dravidian words in the Hebrew of the Old Testament. Earliest Dravidian word in Greek, Ctesias's name for cinnamon. Largest stock of Dravidian words found in names of places mentioned by Ptolemy and the other Greek geographers. List of these words. Condition of the Dravidian languages scarcely at all changed since the time of the Greeks. *Note.*—Roman coins; dates of Greek geographers. Words of the Turks of the Altaï preserved by the Chinese; period when the Dravidian speech divided into dialects.

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL RELATION OF THE PRIMITIVE DRAVIDIANS TO THE ARYAN AND PRÆ-ARYAN INHABITANTS OF NORTHERN INDIA .. 106–109

Were the Dravidians identical with the aborigines whom the Aryans found in India? Relations of the Dravidians to the Aryans seem to have been always peaceable. Dravidians may have been preceded by another Scythian race. Mr. Curzon's opinion; immigrations from India to Ceylon and back again.

ORIGINAL USE AND PROGRESSIVE EXTENSION OF THE TERM 'ŚUDRA' .. 109–113

Were the Śūdras of the same race as the Aryans, or of a different race? Lassen's supposition. Aryanisation of the Dravidians the result, not of conquest, but of colonisation. Connection of the Pāṇḍyas with the Pāṇḍavas. *Note*—Professor Max Müller's remarks. Dravidians called Śūdras by the Brāhmans; Śūdra has a higher meaning in the South than in the North.

PAGE

PRÆ-ARYAN CIVILISATION OF THE DRAVIDIANS .. 113, 114

Testimony of the Dravidian vocabulary, when freed from its Sanskrit.

Probable date of Aryan civilisation of the Dravidians .. 114–118

First city and state of the Dravidians probably Kolkei on the Tāmraparṇi: Agastya, the traditional leader of the first Brāhman colony. Agastya's age; references to Draviḍas, &c., in Manu and the Mahābhārata. *Note.*—Name of Agastya's mountain. References to early Dravidians in Mahā-wanso. Inference from Kumārila-bhaṭṭa's reference to the Dravidians: names of places recorded by the Greeks Brahmanical; suppositions respecting earliest Dravidian characters.

COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR

Note on Transliteration .. 121, 122

Reasons for using Roman characters. How vowels are to be represented and pronounced. How cerebral consonants and nasals are to be represented. How some consonants are to be represented when single, and how when doubled. Tendency to pronounce *e* like *ye*, and *o* like *wo*. This usage not ancient, and not observed in this work.

PART I

SOUNDS .. 122–190

DRAVIDIAN ALPHABETS .. 123–132

Three Alphabets in use. Their origin. Mr. Ellis's theory. Mr. E. Thomas's theory; alphabet of the Malabar Inscriptions. Dr. Burnell's theory considered. Characters of Chera Inscriptions; further research needed. Differences amongst the existing Alphabets. Peculiarities of Tamil Alphabet. Comparative view of Devanāgari and Tamil Alphabets.

DBAVIDIAN SYSTEM OF SOUNDS—

I. *Vowels* .. 132–137

Weakening of *a* and *ā*. Origin of the diphthong *ei;* Kumārilabhaṭṭa; Mr. Beames. Enunciative *u*. Short *e* and *o*. Attraction of certain vowels.

II. *Consonants* .. 137–150

Convertibility of surds and sonants. Hebrew *dagesh;* Finnish aw. Gutturals and palatals. Telugu pronunciation of palatals. Cerebrals and dentals; conjunction of nasals and sonants. Labials and semi-vowels; Tamil rule.

PAGE

Vocalic ṛ. Cerebral ḷ; rough ṟ Pronunciation of Tamil nṟ; which is radical? Sibilants and aspirates.

ORIGIN OF THE CEREBRAL SOUNDS—*Excursus* .. 147

Reasons which lead me to suppose these sounds borrowed by Sanskrit from the Dravidian languages. Mr. Norris's opinion; Vedic Sanskrit *l*.

Dialectic Interchange of Consonants .. 151–164

Interchange of Gutturals. Palatals. Linguals. Dentals. Labials. Semi-vowels. Sibilants.

Euphonic Permutation of Consonants .. 165–167

Some permutations imitate Sanskrit. Others independent; initial surds, when softened? Assimilation of concurrent consonants.

Euphonic Nunnation or Nasalisation .. 167–173

Insertion of a nasal before formative suffixes. This accounts for shape of certain Tamil adverbs of place. Suffixes with ṭ and ḍ nasalised. Origin of demonstrative adjectives; Dr. Gundert's view. Insertion of a nasal before the *d* of the preterite in Tamil. Use of nunnation in other languages.

Prevention of Hiatus .. 173–180

Hiatus, how prevented in Indo-European Languages? how in Dravidian? Use of *v*, *y*, and *n*. Use of *m*. Use of *n* in Tamil also. Origin of the *n* in certain numerals. Usage of Tuḷu. Euphonic insertion of *r* and *d*.

Harmonic Sequence of Vowels .. 180–182

This law in the Turanian languages. Similar law of attraction in Telugu. In Canarese also.

Principles of Syllabation .. 182–186

Dravidian dislike of compound consonants. Sanskrit double consonants, how dealt with in Tamil. The same peculiarity in Scythian languages; similar instances in other languages; Professor Max Müller's illustrations. Resemblance of Prākrit rules to Dravidian.

Minor Dialectic Peculiarities .. 186–190

1. Euphonic displacement of consonants. 2. Euphonic displacement of vowels. 3. Rejection of radical consonants. 4. Accent. Changes which Sanskrit words undergo when Dravidianised.

PART II

ROOTS .. 191–217

Languages of Europe and Asia admit of being arranged into classes, in accordance with the changes effected

PAGE

in Roots by the addition of grammatical forms; monosyllabic, intro-mutative, and agglutinative languages.

ARRANGEMENT OF DRAVIDIAN ROOTS INTO CLASSES—

1. *Verbal Roots* .. 192

2. *Nouns* .. 193–195

Illustrations of the formation of nouns from verbal roots. Some nouns remain which cannot be traced to any ulterior source.

Dravidian Roots originally Monosyllabic .. 196

Successive accretions; illustration.

Euphonic Lengthening of Roots .. 197

Crude roots lengthened by the addition of enunciative vowels.

Formative Additions to Roots .. 198–203

Originally formatives of verbal nouns; used now to distinguish intransitive verbs from transitives. Examples of use and force of formatives. 1, *ku;* 2, *śu;* 3, *du.* Origin of *nīndu,* to swim; transitive suffix preferred as a formative. 4, *bu;* euphonisation of formatives; quality possessed in common by adjectives and transitive verbs. First part of the word alone generally contains the root; examples.

Reduplication of Final Consonant of Root .. 204

Four purposes for which this is done in Tamil; rationale.

Particles of Specialisation .. 205–209

Use of such particles in Semitic languages. Resemblance of Dravidian root-system to Semitic in this particular. Illustrations; groups which radiate from the base syllables *aḍ* and *aṇ.* List of specialising particles ending in a consonant. Another set of groups of roots; Max Müller, Aryan instances.

Changes in Root-Vowels .. 211

Root-vowel generally unalterable.

Exceptions—Internal Changes in Roots .. 211-217

1. Euphonic changes. 2. Changes pertaining to grammatical expression; root-vowels of pronouns. 3. Strengthening of root-vowel of verb to form verbal noun; examples; this usage not likely to have been derived from Sanskrit. Class of nouns so formed used adjectivally; root-vowels of numerals; shorter form older. Origin of *peim,* Tam. green. 4. Shortening of root-vowel in the preterite tense of certain verbs; Tamil verbs *vā* and *tā;* Dr. Pope's opinion. Exceptions to the stability of root-vowels found also in the Scythian languages.

PAGE

PART III

THE NOUN .. 218–308

SECTION I.—GENDER AND NUMBER .. 218–252

1. GENDER.

Dravidian laws of gender accord more closely with Scythian than with Indo-European tongues. Indo-European laws of gender how different from Scythian. Dravidian nouns divided into two classes, denoting rational being and things without reason. *Note*.—Mind and body. Primitive laws of gender faithfully retained by Malayāḷam; Telugu and Gōṇḍ destitute of feminine singular. Canarese and Malayāḷam agree in this particular with Tamil.

2. NUMBER .. 222

Only two numbers, singular and plural.

(1.) *Masculine Singular* .. 222–227

Masculine singular suffixes in Tamil; formation of appellatives. Subdivisions of appellatives. Canarese and Telugu suffixes. Ultimate identity of these with Tamil.

(2.) *Feminine Singular* .. 227–228

No suffix of the feminine singular in Telugu and Gōṇḍ; a formative sometimes used resembling the suffix of Tamil-Canarese, and probably of the same origin. Telugu mode of forming feminine singular appellatives; a woman; another feminine suffix possibly Sanskritic.

(3.) *Neuter Singular* .. 229-231

Dravidian nouns naturally neuter. Neuter suffixes rarely required; suffix of neuter singular of demonstrative pronouns and appellative nouns. Affinities of neuter singular suffix in *d* possibly Indo-European.

The Plural: *Principles of Pluralisation* .. 231-239

In Indo-European tongues number is denoted by the terminations; in the Scythian number is generally left indefinite. Neuters pluralised in Telugu, but rarely in Tamil. Progress of pluralisation. Sign of plurality distinct from case-sign; added directly to the crude base. Paradigm of a noun in Hungarian and Tamil. Pluralisation of masculine and feminine nouns; no distinction of sex in plural; analogies to other languages. Double plurals in Telugu. Double plurals in Tamil.

(1.) *Epicene Pluralising Particle* .. 239-244

Origin of epicene plural suffix *ar*, &c. Origin of *mār* in Tam.-Mal.; formative in *var*. Dr Gundert's explanation; origin of verbal terminations in *mar*, &c. Relationship to pluralising particles in other families of lan-

PAGE

guages. Resemblance in use more important than resemblance in sound.

(2.) *Pluralising Particle of the Neuter* .. 244-252

1. *The neuter plural suffix* GAL, *with its varieties.* *gal* appears as *lu* in Telugu. Gōṇḍ particle; particles used in High Asian languages. Origin of *gaḷ*. 2. *Neuter plural suffix in* A. Illustrations of use. Neuter plural of verb; of possessive adjectives; of Malayāḷam demonstratives. Lapse of *a* into *ei*. Telugu and Gōṇḍ peculiarities. Relationship of neuter plural suffix *a;* Indo-European affinities; grammatical gender more fully developed in the Dravidian than in any other family of languages.

SECTION II.—FORMATION OF CASES .. 252-308

Principles of Case-formation .. 252-254

In this particular the Indo-European and Scythian families originally in agreement. Case-signs in both originally postpositional words; case-terminations of the plural different from those of the singular in the Indo-European; identical in the Scythian group. Dravidian languages follow the Scythian plan.

Number of Declensions .. 254

Only one declension, properly speaking, in Dravidian languages; no difference in signs of case. Number of Dravidian cases.

The Nominative—Absence of Nominative Case-terminations .. 255-259

Dravidian nominative the noun itself. Apparent exceptions exist.

(1.) Neuter termination *am* might be supposed to be a nominative case-sign, but is not; origin of this *am*. Probably *am* was an ancient form of the demonstrative pronoun; alternates with *an*. (2.) Final *n* of personal pronoun does not make it a nominative. (3.) Lengthening of vowel of personal pronoun in the nominative looks like a case in point; but probably vowel lengthened for sake of emphasis.

Inflexion or Inflexional Base of the Oblique Cases .. 259

In many instances the noun itself used as the inflexional base. Generally the base receives some augmentation. Signs of case added to this inflected form.

(1.) *The inflexional increment* IN, *with its dialectic varieties* .. 260-262

Illustrations. In Telugu *ni*. *in* originally a locative.

(2.) *The inflexional increments* AD and AR .. 262-264

PAGE

These are most used in Canarese; are they identical in origin? Tamil sometimes uses neuter demonstrative *adu* in a similar manner.

(3.) *The Inflexional increment* TI .. 264

This the most common increment of neuter nouns in Telugu; probably *ti*, not *ṭi*; connection of this with neuter demonstrative.

(4.) *The inflexional increment* ATTU *or* ATTRU .. 265-267

Tamil nouns in *am* take this increment. *attu* used by the singular alone; *attru* used instead of *attu* by a few neuter plural pronominals; *attu* and *attṟu* virtually identical. Origin of the *ṟ* of *attru*. Dr Gundert's views respecting its origin.

(5.) *The formation of the inflexion by means of doubling and hardening the final consonant* .. 267–268

Explanation of this doubling; Dr Gundert's view. In Telugu, final consonant hardened, but not doubled.

(6.) *The inflexional increment* I. *Origin. Euphonic links of connection between the base and the inflexion.* .. 268-270

In Tamil, euphonic *u*. Use of *v* and *y*.

The Accusative or Second Case .. 270–271

In Indo-European languages, accusative a sign of passivity; in Dravidian, accusative case-sign originally a formative of neuter abstracts; nominative much used instead. The same in Telugu as to things without life.

(1.) *Accusative Case-signs* EI, E, *and* A .. 271

In Tamil *ei*; in Malayāḷam *e* or *a*. With what case-signs in other languages this may be compared.

(2.) *Accusative Case-signs* AM, ANNU, ANNA, NU, &c. .. 272–274

am the Old Canarese sign, *annu* the modern; change of *m* into *n*. Tuḷu case-sign *nu* or *n'*; in Telugu *nu* or *ni*. Comparison with case-signs in other languages; Indo-European *m* or *n*; origin of Dravidian case-sign; identical with *am*, the formative of neuter nouns. Change of *am* into *a*.

The Instrumental or Third Case, properly so called .. 275–277

Different particles used in the different dialects. Telugu instrumental; Canarese, origin of this. Tamil and Malayāḷam *āl*, *an*; origin of this; Dr. Gundert's explanation. No affinities to other languages; periphrastic modes of forming instrumental case.

The Conjunctive or *Social Case* .. 277

Ought to have a place in the list of Dravidian cases; difference from instrumental Tam.-Mal. case-signs.

PAGE

Telugu case-sign; is this allied to the Tam.-Mal. ? Tuḷu communicative case.

The Dative or Fourth Case .. 279–283

In North Indian languages dative postpositions substantially the same as accusative. Dravidian dative; resemblance between Dravidian case-sign and North Indian, how to be accounted for; Dr Trumpp's explanation of Hindū *kō;* Mr Beames's explanation. Antiquity of Dravidian *ku;* Scythian dative case-signs bear some resemblance to Dravidian. Behistun-Scythian case-signs; Malayāḷam seems to have two case-signs; Dr Gundert's view of origin of *nnu.* Can a Dravidian origin be discovered for *ku ?*

The Ablative of Motion or Fifth Case .. 283–286

This case included in the list out of deference to Sanskrit grammarians; not really different from locative. Change of place expressed by addition of verb of motion; Tamil suffixes *il* and *in;* Old Canarese *im.* Were *il* and *in* originally identical ? Compound ablative suffixes in Canarese. Explanation of Telugu ablative; Tuḷu.

The Genitive or Sixth Case .. 286-302

(1.) *The abbreviated Pronominal Genitive* .. 286

This may be explained as a pronominal adjective. Similar abbreviation in the case of some of the numerals.

(2.) *The Neuter Inflexional Genitive* .. 287–289

Neuter suffixes used for the genitive originally signs of the locative; Dr Trumpp's view; adjectival use of these suffixes arose from their use as genitives. Connection between locative, genitive, and adjective; Max Müller's view. Inflexional suffixes used as signs of genitive in Telugu; not so in Canarese.

(3.) *The Neuter Demonstrative Genitives* .. 289

adu and *ādu* in Tamil, how used. Followed by the singular alone; Telugu use. This suffix appended to the inflexion.

(4.) *The Possessive Suffix* IN, *and its varieties* .. 291-296

Tamil *in* and Telugu *ni* originally locative suffixes; *in* the most common of all possessive suffixes in Tamil; Max Müller. Other case-suffixes generally appended to this *in.* Adjectival force of *in;* use of *am* resembles that of *in.* Indo-European analogies to the use of *in* as a genitive. Scythian analogies.

(5.) *The Genitival Suffix* A. .. 296–300

Probably identical with the *a* which forms the relative participle; *a* the only genitive case-sign in Canarese. So

PAGE

also in Telugu and Tuḷu; adjectival *a* of some Telugu nouns identical with possessive *a*; *a* little used now in Tamil, though first in the list. Its use generally confined to poetical plurals. Indo-European affinities of this *a*, especially in the later dialects.

(6.) *The Malayāḷam Genitive Suffix* RE *or* DE .. 300–302

This takes the shape of *indre* or *inde*. Some resemblances to this illusory; Dr Stevenson; Hindūstānī and Persian *rā*, &c. Identical with Tamil *adu*.

(7.) *Auxiliary Suffixes of the Genitive in Telugu and Tamil* .. 302–303

(i.) Telugu *yoka*; origin of this word. (ii.) Tamil *uḍeiya* means literally that which is the property of; Mal. *uḍe*.

Locative or Seventh Case .. 303–306

il the most common sign of this case in Tamil; any word signifying 'place' may be used. Canarese suffixes *ōḷ* and *alli*; Telugu *andu* and *lō*. *Note.*—Resemblances between Tamil *il* and Latin *in*. Telugu *na*; use of the inflexion as a sign of the locative; fusion of the meaning of genitives and locatives. *Note.*—Radical element in *il* is *i*; Max Müller.

The Vocative or Eighth Case .. 306

No case-sign of the vocative in Dravidian languages; modes in which the vocative is formed.

Compound Case-signs .. 307

Two or more case-signs occasionally compounded into one.

Possessive Compounds .. 307

The absence of this class of compounds in the Dravidian languages remarkable.

SECTION III.—ADJECTIVES, OR NOUNS USED ADJECTIVALLY .. 308–318

Adjectives in grammatical agreement with substantives in the Indo-European tongues; in the Scythian tongues independent nouns of quality. 1. Dravidian adjectives also nouns of quality. 2. How Sanskrit derivatives become Dravidian adjectives. 3. How nouns ending in hard consonants double those consonants when used as adjectives. Soft finals, how changed. 4. Each of the inflexional increments used for converting substantives into adjectives. 5. Relative participles of verbs largely used as adjectives. 6. Past verbal participle used as an adjective in Telugu. 7. Many Dravidian adjectives formed by the addition to nouns of the suffixes by which relative participles are formed; (1.) Addition of the suffix *iya*; origin of this; (2.) Addition of the suffix *a*.

PAGE

Explanation of origin of certain adjectives; (3.) Addition of the suffix of the future relative participle. 8. Nouns may become adjectives by the addition of the relative participle of the verb to become. Certain words erroneously styled adjectives.

Comparison of Adjectives .. 316-317

Mode of comparison different from that used in Indo-European languages; resembles Semitic and Scythian mode. Addition of conjunctive particle *um*, &c., as an intransitive. Formation of superlative; attempt of Robert de Nobilibus.

Postpositions .. 318

All postpositions nouns, in the locative case understood.

Comparative paradigm of a Neuter Dravidian Noun, sing. and plur. .. 318

PART IV

THE NUMERALS .. 321–356

Each cardinal number has two shapes, that of a neuter noun of number and that of a numeral adjective; in the colloquial dialects the former sometimes used instead of the latter. Primitive form that of the numeral adjective .. 321

One.—Two forms in existence, *oka* in Telugu, *oru* in all other dialects. 1. Basis of *oru* is *or*. *ondu* or *onn'* at first sight resembles Indo-European 'one.' Origin of *ondu* from *oru;* similar changes in other words. Dr Gundert's opinion; Mr Kittel's. Origin of Telugu word for one, *oka*. Scythian analogies to *oka*; are *oka* and *or* related? *Dravidian indefinite article.* The numeral adjective for 'one' used as a sort of indefinite article .. 322–328

Two.—Neuter nouns differ slightly in the various dialects; numeral adjective, *ir;* the same in all. Canarese form of neuter; Tamil form nasalised. Radical form without a nasal; origin of *ir;* Dr Gundert's opinion; Mr Kittel's. No analogies in any Indo-European language. Brahui word. No Scythian analogies .. 329–332

Three.—Neuter noun; numeral adjective. *mū?* or *mu?* Brahui word. Origin of word for three. Dr Gundert; Mr Kittel .. 332-333

Four.—Neuter noun; numeral adjective. Origin of *nal*. No Indo-European analogy; Ugro-Finnish analogies remarkably close .. 334-335

PAGE

Five.—Neuter noun; numeral adjective, in all the dialects *ei*. Resemblance between Sans. *pañchau* and Tam.-Mal. *añju*. How this resemblance has arisen. Radical meaning of *ei;* Mr Kittel's explanation .. 335–340

Six.—Neuter noun and numeral adjective nearly alike; root-meaning of *aṟu*. No analogy with other languages discoverable .. 340–341

Seven.—Neuter noun and numeral adjective nearly alike. No resemblance to word for seven in other languages .. 341–342

Eight.—Tamil neuter noun *eṭṭu* resembles Indo-European *octo,* &c.; this resemblance disappears on examination. Radical shape *eṇ;* explanation of Telugu word *enimidi;* Telugu numeral adjective *ena,* Origin of *midi*. Origin of *eṇ;* Max Müller; Mr Clay; origin of *eṇ;* similar derivation of a numeral in Lappish .. 342–346

Nine.—In all Dravidian languages nine a compound number; principal forms which nine assumes; difference between meaning of word nine and Dravidian word; second member of the word means ten. First member appears to mean 'one,' but probably means 'before.' Mode in which compounds into which nine enters are formed. No affinity between Tamil word and Greek .. 346–350

Ten.—The word for ten virtually the same in all Dravidian dialects, Changes which take place. Dr Gundert's opinion; comparison of Sanskrit *paṅkti* with Dravidian word. Malayāḷam word for twelve. Root of Dravidian word for ten .. 350–354

A Hundred.—Sameness of word for a hundred in all Indo-European languages a proof of intellectual culture and unity; one and the same word used by all Dravidian languages; derivation .. 354

A Thousand.—Generally used Dravidian word a Sanskrit derivative; Telugu word; derivation .. 354

Ordinal Numbers .. 354-356

Derivation of Dravidian ordinal number *first;* forms of ordinal suffixes of other numbers; *do.* of adverbial numbers.

Affiliation .. 356–357

No evidence of Indo-European descent. Existence of Scythian analogies, especially as to the number four; Professor Hunfalvy's opinion; arithmetical faculty of Scythians not strongly developed.

Dravidian Numerals in the Five Principal Dialects: Paradigm .. 358

PAGE

PART V

THE PRONOUN .. 359–444

Light thrown by pronouns on relationship of languages. Personal pronouns the most persistent of all words. Peculiarity of Japanese.

SECTION I.—PERSONAL PRONOUNS .. 359–419

1. PRONOUN OF THE FIRST PERSON SINGULAR .. 359–383

Comparison of Dialects .. 359–373

Primitive from. Classical and colloquial dialects to be compared; inflexional forms and plurals to be compared, not nominative singular only. Written form of the word represents oldest pronunciation; forms of this pronoun in Tamil. Malayāḷam and Canarese forms. Telugu and Tuḷu; minor dialects: which was the primitive form, *nān* or *yān*? Opinion expressed in former edition. Dr Gundert's opinion; Dr Pope's "Outlines of Tuda"; the late Mr Gover's paper. Relationship of *yān* to *nān;* changeableness of *y.* Malayāḷam middle point *ñān;* both initial and final *n* changeable. Both *yān* and *nān* very ancient; illustration from Sanskrit, *asme* and *vayam, yushme* and *yūyam.* Included vowel *a* or *e*? *a* weakened to *e;* origin of final *n;* a sign of number. Is *n* identical with *m,* the final of neuter singular nouns? Only essential difference between pronouns of first and second persons consists in difference of included vowels *a* and *i.* What is the explanation of this? These cannot be the demonstrative vowels; an explanation suggested. Chinese; Mr Edkins; first three simple vowels utilised.

Extra-Dravidian Relationship .. 373

All pronouns of the first person traceable to one of two roots, *ah* and *ma.*

1. *Semitic Analogies* .. 374

Sir H. Rawlinson.

2. *Indo-European Analogies* .. 375–379

Comparison of pronouns and pronominal terminations of verb. Can any analogy to Dravidian pronoun be traced? (1.) *m.* of *ma* often changes to *n.* Instances of change of *m* into *n.* (2.) This *m* changes also into *v.* (3.) *ma* also changes into *a;* were the Indo-European and the Dravidian words originally related?

Scythian Analogies .. 379–383

Interesting analogies exist. (1.) Nominative, as well as base of oblique cases, derived from *ma.* Illustrations from various Scythian languages; *m* the equivalent of *ma. m* occasionally changes into *n;* instances. In some Scythian languages this pronoun almost identical with

PAGE

Dravidian. (2.) Some traces of the softening of *na* into *a;* probability of a common origin of all these forms. Professor Hunfalvy's paper read at International Congress of Orientalists.

2. PRONOUN OF THE SECOND PERSON SINGULAR .. 384–395

Comparison of Dialects .. 384–388

Tamil forms of this pronoun. Second person of verb; Beschi's error. Plurals; Canarese and Telugu forms. Minor dialects. Relative antiquity of existing forms; *nī* very old, but *ī* probably older. Oldest shape of the vowel, *i* or *u*? probably *i.*

Extra-Dravidian Relationship .. 389–395

Dravidian pronoun of the second person singular more distinctively non-Aryan than the first: most prevalent form in both classes of languages has *t* for its basis; the other is founded on *n. yu,* base of the Aryan plural. Origin of *yu* from *tu.* Mr Edkins' suggestion; *t* generally changed into *s. s* more prevalent in Scythian tongues than *t.* Euphonic final *n;* instances. Another pronoun in *n,* not *t,* in some Scythian languages, apparently identical with the Dravidian; Chinese. Behistun tablets, Brahui, Bornu; allied forms in Ostiak, &c. Traces discoverable in Finnish, Turkish, &c. Himalayan dialects; Australian.

3. THE REFLEXIVE PRONOUN 'SELF' .. 395–402

This pronoun, *tān,* more regular and persistent than any other of the Dravidian personal pronouns; has a wider application than the corresponding Aryan reflexives. Used honorifically; from which use a class of words has arisen. List of such words, with explanations: *tambirān, tagappan, tandei, tāy, tammei, tannei, tameiyan, tamukkei, tambi, tangei, nambi;* Coorg instances; use of *tan* as basis of abstract noun for quality. *Note.*—Meaning of *spinster* and *duhitri.* Origin of *ta,* the base of this pronoun, from some demonstrative root; Sanskrit and Greek demonstratives in *t.* Use of *tan* in the word for quality, like Sans. *tad,* a confirmation.

4. PLURALISATION OF THE PERSONAL AND REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS .. 402–415

Comparison of Dialects .. 402

Tamil plurals; double plural in colloquial dialects. Telugu double plural; similar usage in Gaurian languages; Mr Beames; plurals of verbal inflexions. Canarese and Telugu plurals. Change of initial *n* in Telugu into *m.* Harmonic changes.

Origin of Pluralising Particles .. 406–408

PAGE

(1.) *Origin of* R. *nī-(y)-ir* may mean thou + these people = you. Sans. *yushme;* alternative explanation from *ir,* two. (2.) *Origin of* M; this *m* a relic of the copulative *um;* used like Latin que; *nā-um,* I + and = we. Verbs similarly pluralised.

Extra-Dravidian Relationship .. 409–414

Finno-Ugrian analogies; remarkable Aryan analogies; *n* in the singular of pronouns and *m* in the plural in North Indian vernaculars; Pāli-Prākrit; Mr Beames in *Indian Antiquary.* Mr Gover's opinion; Dr Pope's; resemblance great, but only apparent. Oldest forms of Greek and Sanskrit plurals of personal pronouns. Explanation of *sme; sma* found in singular. In third person also.

Twofold Plural of the Dravidian Pronoun of the First Person .. 414–415

Plural used as honorific singular; two plurals, *the plural inclusive* and *the plural exclusive;* similar distinction found in two North Indian languages; not found in Indo-European family; found everywhere in Central Asia. Usage in different Dravidian dialects; conclusion; results exhibited in following tables.

PARADIGMS .. 415–419

Dravidian Pronoun of the First Person.

" " " Second Person.

Pronoun of the First Person, in Seventeen Dialects of Central India; Dr Hunter's "Comparative Dictionary."

Pronoun of the Second Person, in Seventeen Dialects of Central India; Dr Hunter's "Comparative Dictionary."

SECTION II.—DEMONSTRATIVE AND INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS .. 420–444

Difficult to treat these two classes of pronouns separately.

1. DEMONSTRATIVE AND INTERROGATIVE BASES .. 420–421

1. *Demonstrative Bases* .. 420

Dravidian languages use for pronouns of the third person demonstratives signifying 'this' and 'that,' man, &c.; words which signify man, &c., have shrunk into terminations; four demonstrative bases recognised—remote, proximate, intermediate, and emphatic.

2. *Interrogative Bases* .. 421

Two classes of interrogatives—one an interrogative prefix, the other suffixed or added to the end of the sentence; (a) *e* the most common interrogative prefix.

PAGE

1. *Paradigm of Demonstrative and Interrogative Prefixes* .. 422

Beautiful regularity; Dravidian demonstratives, not borrowed from Sanskrit, but much older; Old Japhetic bases; (b) *yā*, the other interrogative base; *e* probably weakened from *yā*. Change of *yā* in Canarese into *dā;* uses of this interrogative.

2. *Demonstrative and Interrogative Pronouns* .. 424–429

Bases best seen in neuter singular; suffixes; euphonic links of connection. In Tamil *v* and *n;* Telugu usage; Tuḷu. Tuḷu peculiarities; Tamil abstract demonstrative and interrogative nouns. Neuter interrogative pronoun; *m* or *n* used as a formative. Origin of the copulative conjunction *um;* Dr Gundert.

3. *Demonstrative and Interrogative Adjectives* .. 429-431

Demonstrative and interrogative bases, when prefixed to substantives, acquire the meaning of adjectives; initial consonant of substantive doubled, or prefixed vowel lengthened. Tamil demonstrative adjectives *anda,* that, &c. Telugu triplet.

4. *Demonstrative and Interrogative Adverbs* .. 431–436

These formed by annexing formative suffixes to vowel bases. Classes of adverbs arranged according to their formatives. List.

(1.) Formative *k, g, ṅ;* (2.) Formative *ch, j, ñ;* (3.) Formative *ṭ, ḍ, ṇ;* (4.) Formative *t, d, n,* also *ndr*; (5.) Formative *mb;* (6.) Formative *l, ḷ.*

Demonstratives and interrogatives formed from *ḷ* found in Telugu and Canarese; are they also found in Tamil ? Four meanings of *el* in Tamil. Traces of *il* and *al* used as demonstratives; their use as negatives

Affiliation of Demonstrative Bases: Extra-Dravidian Affinities .. 436–438

North Indian vernaculars; Scythian languages; closest analogies in Indo-European languages. New Persian.

Affiliation of Interrogative Bases; Extra-Dravidian Relationship .. 438

No relationship apparent.

Emphatic .. 439

Use of this particle. Tamil; Tuḷu; Hebrew '*he* paragogic.' &c.

Honorific Demonstrative Pronouns .. 440–441

Canarese and Telugu; suspicion of Aryan influences.

Syntactic Interrogatives Ā and Ō .. 442–443

PAGE

Particles used for putting inquiries like 'Is there ?' use of these particles; ō instead of ā in Malayāḷam; ō generally an expression of doubt. ō perhaps derived from ā; possible origin of the interrogative a from the demonstrative a; difference in location.

Distributive Pronouns .. 443

How formed.

III. Relative Pronouns .. 444

Noticeable fact that this class of pronouns does not exist in the Dravidian languages; relative participles used instead.

PART VI

THE VERB .. 445–560

Remarks on structure of Dravidian verb; 1. Many roots used either as verbs or nouns; 2. Formative particles often added to roots; 3. Structure of verb agglutinative; 4. Second person singualr of imperative the shortest form; 5. But one conjugation and few irregularities; moods and tenses few; Tuḷu and Gōṇḍ exceptional. Conjugation does not equal that of ancient Scythian verb in simplicity; Remusat. Antiquity of Tamilian culture; origin of conjugational forms; 6. Compounds of verbs with perpositions unknown; preposition-like words really nouns. New shades of meaning imparted by gerunds.

Section I.—Classification .. 449–481

1. Transitives and Intransitives .. 449–455

Two classes of Dravidian verbs; Hungarian objective and subjective verbs. Three modes in which intransitive verbs are converted into transitives; 1. By hardening and doubling consonant of formative. Illustrations; Telugu; apparent resemblance to Sanskrit. Hebrew *dagesh forte;* 2. By doubling and hardening initial consonant of signs of tense; illustrations. Intransitives sometimes do the same, in Tamil only; 3. By adding a particle of transition to root; origin of this particle. 4. By doubling and hardening certain final consonants.

2. Causal Verbs .. 455–462

Causals different from transitives. Indo-European languages here fall behind Dravidian; double accusatives. Causals formed from transitives; one and the same causal particle in all the dialects, except Tuḷu and Gōṇḍ; this appears to be *i*. Explanation of *chu* in Telugu *inchu;* explanation of *p* of *piñchu*. Canarese causal particle *iśu;* identity of Telugu and Canarese particles. Causal particle in Tamil *i* preceded by *v*, *b*, or *pp;* origin

PAGE

of these preceding letters. Tamil future tense-signs throw light on those letters; Tamil future originally an abstract verbal noun.

Origin of Dravidian Causal Particle I .. 462

Probably from ī, to give.

3. FREQUENTATIVE VERBS .. 462

No peculiarity in their conjugation.

4. INTENSIVE VERB .. 463

5. INCEPTIVE VERB .. 463

6. THE PASSIVE VOICE .. 463–467

Passive voice in Indo-European languages; in Dravidian languages no passive voice, properly so called. How the meaning of the passive is expressed; 1. It is expressed by the use of the intransitive verb; 2. By appending auxiliary verbs meaning to become, to go, &c., verbal nouns much used in these passives; third person neuter required; similar mode in Bengali; use of active verbs as passives; relative participial noun. 3. Passive in Gōṇḍ; 4. Formed by using the verb 'to eat' as an auxiliary; this singular idiom in the Northern vernaculars also; 5. Much use is made of the auxiliary verb 'to suffer.' This compound rather a phrase than a passive voice.

7. THE MIDDLE VOICE .. 467

Only a few traces of such a voice appear.

8. THE NEGATIVE VOICE .. 468-477

Combination of negative particle with verbal themes a Scythian peculiarity; forms like Sanskrit *nāsti* very rare in Indo-European languages; Dravidian negative verb generally destitute of tenses; Tuḷu and Gōṇḍ exceptions. Rationale of absence of signs of tense; Tamil peculiarity. Telugu shows that the negative particle is *a*; apparent exceptions. Other dialects; participial and imperative formatives. Mr A. D. Campbell, Dr Stevenson; explanation of Telugu *ku* and *ka*. Prohibitive particle in classical Tamil. Gōṇḍ *manni;* resemblance to Tamil *min;* explanation of this.

Origin of A, *the Dravidian Negative Particle* .. 474–476

Not related to *alpha privative;* equivalent to *al,* the particle of negation; illustrations; Dr Gundert. *a* probably the primitive shape, *al* the secondary; Dr. Gundert. *al* a negative in itself, not merely when followed by a vowel; illustrations of force of *al* and *il* in Tamil; prohibitive particles in other languages.

9. APPELLATIVE VERBS, OR CONJUGATED NOUNS .. 477–480

PAGE

Appellative compounds in Ugrian languages; Mordvin. Agreement with Dravidian appellative verbs remarkable; Professor Hunfalvy, illustrations. Telugu appellative verb; Tamil more highly developed. Adjectives as well as nouns formed into appellatives.

SECTION II.—CONJUGATIONAL SYSTEM .. 481–553

Mode of annexing pronominal Signs .. 481–486

Pronominal terminations suffixed, not directly to root, but to signs of tense. 1. Personal signs suffixed, not prefixed; position of pronoun in old Turanian dialects; position in Buriat, in Semitic, in modern Indo-European dialects. Position in Malayāḷam. 2. Dravidian personal signs suffixed, not to root, but to temporal particles; three elements in every Tamil verb. In Indo-European languages pronominal signs not appended to participles: Turkish, Bengali. 3. In Telugu third person sometimes left destitute of conjugational signs; similar usage in several other languages. 4. Traces in Tamil and Canarese of very primitive system of conjugation. Dravidian verb appears to have been originally uninflected. 5. Distinctions of gender in Dravidian verb peculiarly minute.

FORMATION OF THE TENSES .. 486–490

Participles must first be investigated.

Verbal Participles, their Signification and Force .. 487

Verbal participles explained; name not quite appropriate.

1. *Present Verbal Participle;* illustration.

2. *Preterite* do. do. do. .. 487

Sanskrit participle in *tvā;* Dravidian participles continuative; native definition; Turanian participles; Mr. Edkins.

1. *The Present Tense* .. 488

(1.) How formed in poetical Tamil; (2) Tamil and Malayāḷam seem formerly to have had a present participle; (3.) Canarese usage; (4.) Telugu usage.

FORMATION OF THE PRESENT .. 490–495

Canarese participle in *ut;* Mr Kittel's explanation; Old Canarese participle in *dap.* Mr Kittel; Telugu present participle; Tuḷu. Sign of present tense in Tamil and Malayāḷam; Old Tamil inscription; Malayāḷam form the same, somewhat modified. Which is the more ancient Tamil form, *giṟu?* or *gindru?* Explanation of *gindru;* Dr Graul's "Outlines of Tamil Grammar"; present tense seldom used in Tamil poetry; Tuda.

The Preterite Tense .. 495

PAGE

Semitic and Indo-European modes of forming preterite; Dravidian mode. Use of participles.

1. Formation of Preterite by Reduplication of Final Consonant .. 496

This mode confined to a small number of verbs; how it differs from Indo-European reduplication.

2. Formation of Preterite by suffixing Particle or Sign of Past Time .. 497–507

Each dialect to be examined *seriatim*.

(1.) *The Canarese Preterite* .. 497-500

Signs of past time *i* or *d*; *d* the more characteristic.

(2.) *The Tamil Preterite* .. 500–504

The same signs of time as in Canarese.

(3.) *The Malayāḷam Preterite* .. 504

Substantially as in Tamil; misleading spelling; in Dr Gundert's Grammar and Dictionary, and Brigel's "Grammar of Tuḷu," Lepsius's method adopted.

(4.) *The Telugu Preterite* .. 505–506

Originally resembled Tamil.

(5.) *The Tuḷu Preterite* .. 507

Difference between imperfect and perfect.

(6.) *Preterites of Minor Dialects* .. 507

Tuda; Kōta; Mr Metz; Dr Pope; Gōṇḍ. Conclusion; *d*, or some modification of it, the most characteristic sign of Dravidian preterite.

Origin of the Dravidian Sign of Past Time .. 507–520

1. *Origin of* I .. 507

Originally a vowel of conjunction; compare Sanskrit and Latin.

2. *Origin of* D .. 508–512

Is it remotely connected with Indo-European suffix of passive participle? certainly not borrowed from it; Bengali preterite *l*; Max Müller; Bopp. New Persian; modern Teutonic preterite *d*; Turkish preterite *di* or *d*; Hungarian *d*; Finnish *t*. May not this sign of the preterite have had its origin in the Dravidian languages themselves? Dr Graul's "Outlines of Tamil Grammar"; the *d* of *adu*, the demonstrative. Explanation of Turkish preterite *di*; Max Müller; Mongolian gerund in *d*; Mr Edkins.

3. *The Future Tense* .. 513–517

Difference between formation of preterite and that of future; two futures: future the least distinctive tense; form of the Tamil future surviving in the poets. Ordinary

PAGE

mode of forming the future. Aoristic future in *um*. Future formed on the basis of the formed verbal theme; altogether impersonal. *u* instead of *um*; probably the basis of the conjunctive.

Future Verbal Participle .. 517–518

Use of the participle in classical Tamil and Malayāḷam. Changes in its initial consonant; Canarese and Telugu aoristic futures.

2. *The more Distinctive Future* .. 519

Telugu and Canarese forms

Affinities of the Sign of the Future .. 519

Bengali future; Latin future; Max Müller; Ugrian affinities; no affinities reliable.

4. COMPOUND TENSES .. 520

Mode of formation.

THE RELATIVE PARTICIPLE .. 520–525

Dravidian languages have no relative pronoun; use a participle instead; how North Indian vernaculars express meaning of relative. Explanation; suffix of relative participle; *a* most largely used; Canarese use. Adjectives formed by means of the same suffix.

Origin of the Relative Suffixes .. 523

A possessive case-sign originally; Manchu illustrates this; Chinese; Mr Edkins; light thrown on this part of speech by non-Aryan languages of Asia. Use of relative pronoun, in Turkish and Finnish.

FORMATION OF MOODS .. 525–539

Properly speaking, only one mood.

1. *The Conditional or Subjunctive* .. 525–530

Dravidian subjunctive formed by postfixing a particle expressing condition; two forms in Tuḷu. Telugu conditionals *ēni* and *ē*. Ancient Tamil conditional in *il* or *in*; use of *āgil*. Third form postfixed *kāl*; meaning of *kāl*; fourth form in *āl*. *āl* sign of instrumental case; origin of *āl*.

2. *The Imperative* .. 530–533

Second person singular imperative identical with root. Imperative of transitives differing from that of intransitives; particles added to imperative in Telugu and Tamil; Canarese imperative. Tamil imperative second person plural; *um*, used as a conjunctive and as a continuative; plural imperative in classical Tamil. Tam. and Mal. *in* and Old Canarese *im* identical; Dr Gundert; Gesenius; Hebrew imperative.

3. *The Infinitive* .. 533–537

PAGE

The true Dravidian infinitive a verbal noun incapable of being declined. Various forms of the infinitive; Max Müller's supposition. Formation of infinitive. *a* alone the normal formative of Dravidian infinitive; origin of infinitive in *ga* in classical Tamil. Telugu and Canarese infinitives.

Origin of the Infinitive Suffix A .. 537

Probably identical with *a*, the demonstrative base; connection between *a* and *al*.

Use of the Infinitive .. 538

Used in five ways; illustrations of each. Connection between infinitive and verbal noun in *al*; Gōṇḍ infinitive; Armenian affinity.

FORMATION OF VERBAL NOUNS .. 540–553

Two classes of Dravidian verbal nouns—participial and verbal nouns, properly so called.

1. *Participial Nouns* .. 540–542

Formation of participial nouns; neuter singular used in three different significations. Analogy between these nouns and infinitives; abstract participial nouns in Tamil and Malayāḷam; abstract appellative nouns.

2. *Verbal Nouns* .. 542–543

Such nouns express the act, not the abstract; derivative nouns different from verbal nouns; illustrations.

3. *Derivative Nouns* .. 544–552

Various classes; mode of formation of each class. Four purposes served by the doubling of final consonants; mode of formation of derivative nouns, continued. Alphabetical list of formatives used in the formation of derivatives, with illustrations.

4. *Nouns of Agency* .. 552–553

i, the suffix of Dravidian nouns of agency, resembles Sanskrit, but not borrowed from it.

Adverbs .. 553

Every Dravidian adverb either a noun or a verb.

COMPARATIVE PARADIGM OF A DRAVIDIAN VERB .. 554–564

PART VII

GLOSSARIAL AFFINITIES .. 565–624

Comparison of vocables of less importance than comparison of grammatical forms and structure, but useful when carefully conducted; testimony of comparative vocabulary as to position occupied by Dravidian tongues.

SECTION I.—INDO-EUROPEAN AFFINITIES .. 565–605

1. *Indebtedness of Sanskrit to the Dravidian Languages* 565–579

Extraneous questions to be set aside. Statement of the question at issue; British words in English; Greek

PAGE

and Latin in Sanskrit. Six rules for detecting Dravidian words in Sanskrit lexicons.

Words probably borrowed by Sanskrit from the Dravidian tongues, alphabetically arranged. Names of places not included; origin of name Malaya. Dr Gundert's views in *Journal of German Oriental Society.*

Selections from Dr Gundert's list of words, alphabetically arranged. Selections from a list of similar words by Mr Kittel in the *Indian Antiquary.*

2. *Sanskrit Affinities* .. 579–587

Words which appear to be the common property of Sanskrit and the Dravidian languages.

List of such words alphabetically arranged.

3. *Extra-Sanskritic or West Indo-European Affinities* .. 587–605

List of words, alphabetically arranged, which appear to bear a closer resemblance to the non-Sanskritic members of the Indo-European family than to Sanskrit.

SECTION II.—SEMITIC AFFINITIES .. 605–609

Resemblances between Dravidian and Hebrew words interesting, but scarcely such as to establish relationship. Alphabetical list of such words.

SECTION III.—SCYTHIAN AFFINITIES .. 610–622

These affinities clearly and more direct than Indo-European or Semitic affinities; vocabularies of the Scythian languages present extraordinary divergences. Alphabetical list of words. Hungarian affinities; Dr Gundert's. Chinese, Japanese, and Mongolian affinities; Mr Edkins's book; Max Müller's remarks; these affinities adduced as aids to inquiry.

APPENDIX .. 625–635

1. *Tuda.* Information derived from Dr Pope, Mr Metz, and Colonel Marshall. Dr Pope's conclusions respecting Tuda. 2. *Kōta;* who are the Kōtas? paradigm of pronoun and verb; resemblance to Ancient Canarese. 3. Gōṇḍ, publications by Mr Driberg and Mr Dawson; particulars in which Goṇḍ agrees with Telugu and Canarese; more numerous particulars in which it agrees with Tamil. Particulars in which it takes a course of its own. 4. *Ku;* Mr Latchmaji's Grammar. *Note.*—Agreements and disagreements with other idioms. 5. *Rājmahāl;* list of words defective; contains Dravidian element. 6. *Orāon;* Mr Batsch's "Grammar and Vocabulary"; Orāon, more distinctively Dravidian. Dravidian words in Orāon. 7. *Dravidian element in Brahuī.* Dr Bellew's book. Brahuī contains many Scythian elements, some distinctively Dravidian. Illustrations of the Dravidian element. Difference between Brahuī and languages of the North-Eastern frontier.

INDEX .. 637–644

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DRAVIDIAN COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR

Introduction

It is the object of the following work to examine and compare the grammatical principles and forms of the various Dravidian languages, in the hope of contributing to a more thorough knowledge of their primitive structure and distinctive character. In pursuing this object, it will be the writer's endeavour to point out everything which appears likely to throw any light on the question of the relation which this family of languages bears to the principal families or groups into which the languages of Europe and Asia have been divided.

Whilst the grammatical structure of each Dravidian language and dialect will be investigated and illustrated in a greater or less degree, in proportion to its importance and to the writer's acquaintance with it, it will be his special and constant aim to throw light upon the structure of Tamil—a language which he has for more than thirty-seven years studied and used in the prosecution of his missionary labours, and which is probably the earliest cultivated, and most highly developed, of the Dravidian languages—in many respects the representative language of the family.

The idioms which are included in this word under the general term 'Dravidian,' constitute the vernacular speech of the great majority of the inhabitants of Southern India. With the exception of Orissa, and those districts of Western India and the Dekhan in which Gujarātī and Marāṭhī are spoken, the whole of the peninsular portion of India from the Vindhya mountains and the river Nerbudda (Narmadā) to Cape Comorin (Kumārī), is peopled, and from the earliest period appears to have been peopled, by different branches of one and the same race, speaking different dialects of one and the same language—the language to which the term 'Dravidian'

is here applied; and scattered offshoots from the same stem may be traced still farther north, as far as the Rājmahāl hills in Bengal, and even as far as the mountain fastnesses of Belūchistān.

Gujarātī, Marāṭhī (with its offshoot, Koṅkaṇī), and Oriya, the language of Oḍra-dēśa, or Orissa, idioms which are derived from the decomposition of Sanskrit, form the vernacular speech of the Hindū population in the peninsular portion of India within their respective limits: besides which, and besides the Dravidian languages, various idioms which cannot be termed indigenous or vernacular are spoken or occasionally used by particular classes resident in Peninsular India.

Sanskrit, though it is improbable that it ever was the vernacular language of any district or country, whether in the north or in the south, is in every southern district read, and to some extent understood, by the Brāhmans—the descendants of those Brahmanical colonists of early times to whom the Dravidians appear to have been indebted to some extent for the higher arts of life and a considerable portion of their literary culture. Such of the Brāhmans as not only retain the name, but also discharge the functions of the priesthood, and devote themselves to professional studies, are generally able to understand and interpret Sanskrit writings, though the vernacular language of the district in which they reside is that which they use in their families, and with which they are most familiar. They are styled, with reference to the language of their adopted district, Drāviḍa Brāhmans, Āndhra Brāhmans, Karṇāṭaka Brāhmans, &c.; and the Brāhmans of the several language-districts have virtually become distinct castes; but they are all undoubtedly descended from one and the same stock, and Sanskrit, though now regarded only as an accomplishment or as a professional acquirement, is properly the literary dialect of their ancestral tongue.

Hindūstānī is the distinctive language of the Muhammedan portion of the population in the Dekhan—most of which consists of the descendants of those warlike Paṭāns, or Afghāns, and other Muhammedans from Northern India by whom most of the peninsula was overrun some centuries ago. It may almost be regarded as the vernacular in some parts of the Hyderabad country; but generally throughout Southern India the middle and lower classes of the Muhammedans make as much use of the language of the district in which they reside as of their ancestral tongue, if not more. Hindūstānī was never the ancestral language of the class of southern Muhammedans, generally called by the English 'Lubbais,' but by

Indians on the eastern coast Śōnagas (Yavanas), and by those on the western coast Māppiḷḷas. These are descendants of Arab merchants and their native converts, and speak Tamil or Malayāḷam.

Hebrew is used by the small colony of Jews resident in Cochin and the neighbourhood, in the same manner and for the same purposes as Sanskrit is used by the Brāhmans. Gujarātī and Marāṭhī are spoken by the Gujarātī bankers and the Pārsī shopkeepers who reside in the principal towns in the peninsula. The mixed race of 'country-born' Portuguese are rapidly forgetting (except in the territory of Goa itself) the corrupt Portuguese which their fathers and mothers were accustomed to speak, and learning English instead; whilst French still retains its place as the language of the French employés and their descendants in the settlements of Pondicherry (Puduchchēri), Carrical (Kāreikkāl), and Mahé (Mayyuṛi), which still belong to France.

Throughout the British territories in India, English is not only the language of the governing race, and of its 'East-Indian,' Eurasian, or 'Indo-British' offshoot, but is also used to a considerable and rapidly increasing extent by the natives of the country in the administration of justice and in commerce; and in the Presidency of Madras and the principal towns it has already won its way to the position which was formerly occupied by Sanskrit as the vehicle of all higher learning. Neither English, however, nor any other foreign tongue appears to have the slightest chance of becoming the vernacular speech of any portion of the inhabitants of Southern India. The indigenous Dravidian languages, which have maintained their ground for more than two thousand years against Sanskrit, the language of a numerous, powerful, and venerated sacerdotal race, may be expected successfully to resist the encroachments of every other tongue.

Use of the Common Term 'Dravidian'

I have designated the languages now to be subjected to comparison by a common term, because of the essential and distinctive grammatical characteristics which they all possess in common, and in virtue of which, joined to the possession in common of a large number of roots of primary importance, they justly claim to be considered as springing from a common origin, and as forming a distinct family of tongues.

This family was at one time styled by European writers 'Tamu-

lian' or 'Tamulic'; but as Tamil is the oldest and most highly cultivated member of the family, and that which contains the largest proportion of the family inheritance of forms and roots, and as it is desirable to reserve the terms 'Tamil' and 'Tamilian' (or as they used sometimes to be erroneously written 'Tamul' and 'Tamulian') to denote the Tamil language itself and the people by whom it is spoken, I have preferred to designate this entire family by a term which is capable of a wider application.

One of the earliest terms used in Sanskrit to designate the family seems to have been that of *Āndhra-Drāviḍa-bhāshā,* 'the Telugu-Tamil language,' or rather, perhaps, 'the language of the Telugu and Tamil countries.' This term is used by Kumārila-bhaṭṭa, a controversial Brāhman writer of eminence, who is supposed to have lived at the end of the seventh century A.D.; and, though vague, it is not badly chosen, Telugu and Tamil being the dialects spoken by the largest number of people in Southern India. Canarese was probably supposed to be included in Telugu and Malayāḷam in Tamil; and yet both dialects, together with any sub-dialects that might be included in them, were evidently regarded as forming but one *bhāshā* (language).

The word I have chosen is 'Dravidian,' from Drāviḍa, the adjectival form of Draviḍa. This term, it is true, has sometimes been used, and is still sometimes used, in almost as restricted a sense as that of Tamil itself, so that though on the whole it is the best term I can find, I admit that it is not perfectly free from ambiguity. It is a term, however, which has already been used more or less distinctively by Sanskrit philologists, as a generic appellation for the South Indian peoples and their languages, and it is the only single term they seem ever to have used in this manner. I have, therefore, no doubt of the propriety of adopting it.

Manu says (x. 43, 44): "The following tribes of Kshatriyas have gradually sunk into the state of Vṛishalas (outcasts), from the extinction of sacred rites and from having no communication with Brāhmans, viz.—Pauṇḍrakas, Oḍras, *Draviḍas,* Kāmbojas, Yavanas, Śakas, Pāradas, Pahlavas, Chīnas, Kirātas, Daradas, and Khaśas." Of the tribes here mentioned the only tribe belonging to Southern India is that of the Draviḍas. This name, therefore, appears to have been supposed to denote the whole of the South Indian tribes. If any of those tribes were not intended to be included, it would probably be the Andhras, the Telugus of the interior, who had already been mentioned by name in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, and classed

with Puṇḍras, Sabaras, and Pulindas as degraded descendants of Viśvāmitra. The same statement is made in the Mahā-bhārata; and in the two lists of degraded Kshatriyas therein given, the Draviḍas are the only South Indian tribe mentioned. It must be concluded therefore, that the term is generically used, seeing that the more specific names of Pāṇḍyas, Chōlas, &c., had become well-known in Northern India by that time. Doubtless it is in the same sense that Satya-vrata, the Indian Noah, is called in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa 'the lord of Draviḍa' (Muir's "Sanskrit Texts," vol. i.).*

The more distinctively philological writers of a later period used the term Drāviḍa in what appears to be substantially the same sense as that in which I propose that it should be used. The principal Prākrits—that is, colloquial dialects—of ancient India were the Mahārāshtrī, the Saurasenī, and the Māgadhī. Amongst minor or less-known Prākrit dialects the Drāviḍī, or language of the Drāviḍas, was included. A Sanskrit philologist quoted by Muir (vol. ii. 46) speaks of the language of Drāviḍa as a *vibhāshā*, or minor Prākrit; and another (p. 50) speaks of 'the language proper to Draviḍas' (in which persons of that race should be represented as speaking in dramas) as the Drāviḍī. It is evident that we have here to understand not the Tamil alone, or any other South Indian language alone, but the Dravidian languages generally, supposed in a vague manner by North Indian writers to constitute only one tongue. This language of the Draviḍas was evidently included in what was called the Paiśāchī Prākrit, a name which appears to have been applied promiscuously to a great number of provincial dialects, including dialects so widely differing from one another as 'the language of the Pāṇḍyas' (Tamil), and 'that of the Bhoṭas' (Tibetan). The only property these languages can have possessed in common must have been the contempt in which they were held by Brāhman philologists, in virtue of which it must have been that they were styled also Paiśāchī, the language of *piśāchas*, or demons. The more accurate term Drāviḍī has continued to be used occasionally by northern scholars up to our own time. As late as 1854, the learned Hindū philologist Bābu Rājendra Lāl Mitra (quoted by Muir, vol. ii. 127), speaks of the 'Drāviḍi' as one of the recognised Prākrits, equally with the Saurasenī, and as being, like it, the parent of some of the

* The tradition is recorded in the ancient Tamil classics which speaks of a large continent which once existed contiguous to Southern India, and which was submerged by the ocean during a certain inundation not far removed from human recollection.—*The Tamilian Antiquary.*

present vernaculars of India. It thus appears that the word 'Drāviḍa,' from which the term 'Dravidian' has been formed, though sometimes used in a restricted sense, as equivalent to Tamil, is better fitted, notwithstanding, for use as a generic term; inasmuch as it not only has the advantage of being more remote from ordinary usage, and somewhat more vague, but has also the further and special advantage of having already been occasionally used by Indian philologists in a generic sense. By the adoption of this term 'Dravidian,' the word 'Tamilian' has been left free to signify that which is distinctively Tamil.

Enumeration of Dravidian Languages

The idioms which I designate as 'Dravidian' are twelve in number, exclusive of the Brahuī. They are as follows:—

1. Cultivated Dialects

1. Tamil.	4. Canarese.
2. Malayāḷam.	5. Tuḷu.
3. Telugu.	6. Kuḍagu or Coorg.

2. Uncultivated Dialects.

1. Tuda.	4. Khond or Ku.
2. Kōta.	5. Orāon.
3. Gōnḍ.	6. Rājmahāl.

I. Tamil.—This language being probably the earliest cultivated of all the Dravidian idioms, the most copious, and that which contains the largest portion and the richest variety of indubitably ancient forms, it is deservedly placed at the head of the list. It includes two dialects, the classical and the colloquial, or the ancient and the modern, called respectively the 'Śen-Damiṟ' and the 'Koḍun-Damiṟ,' which differ one from the other so widely that they might almost be regarded as different languages. The Tamil language is spoken throughout the vast plain of the Carnatic, or country below the Ghauts, from Pulicat to Cape Comorin, and from the Ghauts, or central mountain range of Southern India, to the Bay of Bengal. It is also spoken in the southern part of the Travancore country on the western side of the Ghauts, from Cape Comorin to the neighbourhood of Trivandrum; and in the northern and north-western parts of Ceylon, where Tamilians commenced to form settlements prior even to the Christian era, and from whence they have gradually thrust out the Singhalese. All throughout Ceylon the *coolies* in the

coffee plantations are Tamilians; the majority of the money-making classes even in Colombo are Tamilians; and it seems not unlikely that ere long the Tamilians will have excluded the Singhalese from almost every profitable employment in their own island. The majority of the domestic servants of Europeans and of the camp-followers in every part of the Presidency of Madras being Tamil people, Tamil is the prevailing language in all the military cantonments in Southern India, whatever be the vernacular language of the district. Hence, at Cannanore in the Malayāḷam country, at Bangalore in the Canarese country, at Bellary in the Telugu country, and at Secunderabad, where Hindustānī may be considered as the vernacular, the language which most frequently meets the ear in the bazaars is Tamil.

The majority of the Klings (Kalingas), or Hindus, who are found in Pegu, Penang, Singapore, and other places in the further east, are Tamilians: a large portion of the coolies who have emigrated in such numbers to the Mauritius and to the West Indian colonies are Tamilians; in short, wherever money is to be made, wherever a more apathetic or a more aristocratic people is waiting to be pushed aside, thither swarm the Tamilians, the Greeks or Scotch of the east, the least superstitious and the most enterprising and persevering race of the Hindūs. Including Tamilians resident in military stations and distant colonies, and the Tamilian inhabitants of South Travancore, and Northern Ceylon, and excluding not only Muhammedans, &c., but also people of Telugu origin who are resident in the Tamil country, and who form probably ten per cent of the whole population, the people who speak the Tamil language may be estimated at about twenty-one millions.

Madras, the chief city in the Tamil country, is also the chief city in the South Indian Presidency. The name by which it is known amongst natives everywhere is, not Madras, but Chennappa-paṭṭaṇam abbreviated into Chenna-paṭṭaṇam, a name which it derived from Chennappa Nāyakkar, father-in-law of the Nayakkar of Chinglepat, a petty local chieftain, a feudatory of the Chandragiri Rājā, from whom the English obtained possession of a little fort on the coast which they converted into a fortified factory. The origin of the name by which it appears always to have been called by Europeans—Madras (officially Madraspatam)—has never been made out with certainty. Perhaps the most probable derivation is from the Telugu *maduru* (Tamil *madil*), the surrounding wall of a fort, a rampart. There is a neighbouring town, Sadras, originally

a Dutch settlement, the name of which closely resembles Madras. Sadras is an European corruption from Sadurei, which is an abbreviation of Sadurangam (= Sans. Chaturanga), the four constituent arms of an army. I have not been able to discover any authority for the statement sometimes made that Madras is derived from Mandrājpaṭṭaṇam.

The proper spelling of the name Tamil is Tamiṛ, but through the change of ṛ into ḷ it is often pronounced Tamiḷ; and is often (though erroneously) written Tamil by Europeans. Tamul is the mode of writing the name which appears to have been introduced by the French; but the name given to the language by the Portuguese, and by which it was generally known amongst the earlier Europeans, was neither Tamul nor Tamil, but 'the Malabar'—a name founded on a misapprehension.*

Colebrooke, though writing in Northern India, was aware of the identity of Malabar with Tamil. He says ("Essay on the Sanskrit and Prākrit Languages"), "The language of the province is the Tāmel, to which Europeans have given the name of Malabar." The identity, however, of the two languages was known at a much earlier date to persons who had the opportunity of acquiring local knowledge. In the very first book ever printed in Tamil characters—at Ambalakkāḍu, on the Malabar coast, in 1577 or 9—the language of the book is styled 'Malavar or Tamul.' The writer apparently regarded Tamil as the more correct word. See "Sounds: Alphabet."

The Sanskrit name corresponding to Tamil is Drāviḍa, a word which denotes both the country inhabited by the people called Draviḍas and the language spoken by them; and I have come to the conclusion that the words *Tamiṛ* and *Draviḍa*, though they seem to differ a good deal, are identical in origin. Supposing them to be one and the same word, it will be found much easier to derive *Tamiṛ* from *Draviḍa* than *Draviḍa* from *Tamiṛ*. It might naturally seem improbable at the outset that a Dravidian people residing in the extreme south should call themselves and be called by their neighbours, not by a Dravidian, but by a Sanskrit name; but Pāṇḍya, the name of the southernmost portion of the Dravidians, is Sanskrit, and a similar peculiarity meets us with regard to almost all the names of the South Indian peoples—Chōlas, Kēralas, Andhras, Kalingas, &c.—which, so far as is known at present, are Sanskrit,

* But compare the title of 'The Chief of the Maḷabars (Tamils),' conferred on the nephew and successor of Ananda Runga Pillai, Dupleix's Dewana at Pondicherry, by King Louis XVI of France in 1766.—*Editors.*

not Dravidian. The name Karṇāṭaka alone appears to have a Dravidian origin. If the other names were originally Dravidian, as this seems to have been, and as it might naturally be supposed they all must have been, their original shape and root-meaning have disappeared. What adds to the difficulty is, that though these words have a place in Sanskrit dictionaries and are accepted as Sanskrit by the Dravidian people, Sanskrit fails as completely as the Dravidian languages to furnish us with a clue to their original meaning. When we have traced them back to Sanskrit we are obliged to leave them there. The name Āndhra appears, as has already been mentioned, in one of the Brāhmaṇas, but, like most of the Vedic proper names, it is incapable of explanation. May it not be, indeed, that those proper names belonged originally to some old North Indian vernacular—some præ-Aryan, though not necessarily non-Aryan—speech, which had disappeared before the literary history of Sanskrit commenced. If this were the case, it would be in vain to expect the derivation of such words as Draviḍa to be cleared up now. The compound *dr* is quite un-Dravidian. It would be *tira* in Tamil; but even if we suppose some such word as Tiraviḍa or Tiramiḍa to have been converted into Draviḍa by the Sanskrit-speaking people, we get no nearer to an explanation of the original meaning of the word.

The oldest form of Draviḍa—or, at least, the form which appears to have been most widely in use—appears to have been Dramiḍa; and this is the first step towards identifying the two words, Draviḍa and Tamiṟ. Both forms of the word are known in Tamil, but Dramiḍa (written Tiramiḍa) is preferred by the classics, and is placed first in ancient Tamil vocabularies. In Varāha-mihira's Bṛhat-saṃhitā, according to Dr. Kern, some manuscripts give Dramiḍa instead of Draviḍa. Through the change of *ḍ* into *ḷ*, the Draviḍas are called Dramilas in Tāranātha's Tibetan "History of the Propagation of Buddhism in India" (A.D. 1573), and Dr. Gundert informs me that this is the form in which the word occurs again and again in the old Malayāḷam versions of the Purāṇas. In the Pāli of the Mahāwanso the form used is Damilo, the derivative of which is Dāmilo; and as initial *d* becomes *t* by rule in Tamil, we now reach the ordinary Tamil mode of writing the word, Tamiṟ or Tamil. Each of the changes that have taken place is in accordance with a recognised Dravidian law of sound. Initial *dr* is always softened in the Prākrits into *d*—*e.g.*, *drōha* becomes *dōhō*. In the same manner *śr* becomes *ś*, an example of which we have in the word Śramaṇa, a Buddhist or

Jaina ascetic, which in Tamil has become Samaṇa (in Pāli, Sammana; in the Greek of Clemens Alexandrinus the plural is Σαμαναιοί and Σεμνοί (*Samanaiyoi* or *Semnoi*)). The change of *v* into *m* or of *m* into *v*, even in Sanskrit itself, is seen in such words as *dhmāṅksha*, Sans. a crow, instead of *dhvāṅksha*, and especially in the affixes *mat* and *vat*, *man* and *van*, *min* and *vin*. Perhaps the most considerable change is from *ḍ* in Draviḍa to *ṛ* in Tamiṛ ; but this also is quite in accordance with usage, as will appear in the chapter on "Sounds". Compare *nāḍi*, Sans. a measure, with the Tam.-Mal. *nāṛi* or *nāḷi*. A good illustration of this change is furnished by the name of one of the nations included under the general name of Tamil—viz., that of the Cholas. This name in the Sanskrit of one of Aśoka's inscriptions is Chōḍa, in ordinary Sanskrit Chōla, in Tamil Śōra, in Telugu Chōḷa. In Telugu inscriptions it is often Chōḍa as in Aśoka's. The change of *d* to *t* in the beginning of a word is unavoidable in Tamil, but we have a reminiscence perhaps of the original sound in the name given to the language by the first Danish missionaries—viz., Lingua Damulica.

In the Indian segment of the very interesting set of Roman maps, called from the name of the discoverer, the Peutinger Tables —(this segment at least seems to me anterior to Ptolemy's Geography)—we find a considerable portion of the country covered by two names—Andre Indi and Damirice. We can scarcely err in identifying these names with the Telugu and Tamil countries—the languages of which were called, as we have seen, by Kumārila-bhaṭṭa, some centuries later, the languages of the Āndhras and Drāviḍas. If so, the earliest appearance of the name Tamil in any foreign documents will be found also to be most perfectly in accordance with the native Tamil mode of spelling the name. Damirice evidently means Damir-ice. Compare the Αϱιάκη (*Ariākī*) of Ptolemy and the Aryaka of Varāhamihira. In another place in the same map a district is called Scytia Dymirice; and it appears to have been this word which, by a mistake of Δ for Λ, Ptolemy wrote Λυμιϱίκη (*Lumirikī*). The *D* retains its place, however, in the Cosmography of the anonymous geographer of Ravenna, who repeatedly mentions Dimirica as one of the three divisions of India, and the one farthest to the east. He shows also that the Tamil country must have been meant by the name, by mentioning Modura as one of the cities it contained. There can be little doubt that the name Tamil may also be identified with the Tchi-mo-lo of Hwen Thsang, a word which may also be read Dimala or even Dimara.

It is remarkable that the native Tamil scholars, though generally willing enough to trace every word to a Sanskrit origin, have failed to see in Tamiṟ—or Tamiṟa, as it is also sometimes written—a *tadbhava* of Draviḍa or Dramiḍa, and have invented for the name of their language (like their neighbours the Telugu people—though perhaps with less reason), the meaning of 'sweetness or fragrance' —a meaning of the word Tamiṟ which has nothing to support or commend it, but its agreement with the estimate formed by the Tamilians of the euphoniousness of their native tongue. I accept their estimate of their language as in the main correct but cannot accept their derivation of the word.

A discussion respecting the origin of the word Tamil would not be complete without some reference to the names of the three great subdivisions into which the Tamil people were divided in ancient times—Chēras, Chōlas, and Pāṇḍyas. The arrangement of the names is climatic, and denotes that the Pāṇḍyas were supposed in those times to have the pre-eminence—a supposition which appears to be in accordance with the facts of the case.

PĀṆḌYA.—The Singhalese traditions preserved in the Mahāwanso represent Vijaya, the first sovereign of Ceylon, as marrying a daughter of the Pāṇḍya king, in consequence of which his son was called Pāṇḍuvaṃśadeva. Arjuna also, one of the five Pāṇḍava brothers, is related in the Mahā-bhārata to have married a daughter of the king of the Pāṇḍyas in the course of his many wanderings. There is no certainty in these traditions; but it is certain that about the time of Pliny and the Periplus a portion of the Malabar coast was ruled over by the Pāṇḍyas, a proof that their power had considerably extended itself from its original seats; and I regard it as nearly certain that the Indian king who sent an embassy to Augustus* was not Porus, but Pandion—*i.e.*, the king of the Pāṇḍyas, called in Tamil Pāṇḍiyan. If this be admitted, it is an interesting proof of the advanced social position occupied by the Pāṇḍyas—(probably in consequence of the foreign trade they carried on in

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* Compare the following by Sir M. E. Grant Duff in the "Contemporary Review" of September, 1891: "There is a coin in the Madras Museum, the finding of which was I think one of the most interesting epigrams of events with which I am acquainted. It is none other than the *Aureus* of Claudius, which was struck to commemorate the conquest of Britain, and it was found in the Madura District. . . . I myself possess a coin of the Arian Emperor Valens, which was found in the Vaigai river in the same district. Such unlooked for links between ideas and associations separated by half the world are very curious."—*Editors.*

connection with their settlements on the Malabar coast)—that after the termination of the political relations that subsisted between the successors of Alexander and the princes of Northern India, the Pāṇḍyas were the only Indian princes who perceived the advantages of an European alliance.

The Sanskrit Pāṇḍya is written in Tamil Pāṇḍiya, but the more completely Tamilised form Pāṇḍi is still more commonly used all over Southern India. I derive *Pāṇḍi*, not from the Tamil and Malayāḷam *paṇḍu*, ancient, though that is a very tempting derivation, but—as native scholars always derive the word—from the Sanskrit Pāṇḍu, the name of the father of the Pāṇḍava brothers. This very form Pāṇḍya, in the sense of a descendant of Pāṇḍu, is mentioned, as I am informed by Professor Max Müller, by Kātyāyana, the immediate successor of Pāṇini. The second and most celebrated capital of the Pāṇḍyas—(the first was Kolkei on the Tāmraparṇi)—was Madurei, in English Madura, which is the Tamil mode of writing Mathurā [the Muttra of our maps, and the Μέθορα(*Methora*) of the Greeks] the name of the city which remained in the possession of the Pāṇḍavas at the conclusion of the great war. The Madura of the Pāṇḍyas is appropriately called in the Harivaṃśa, 'the Southern Mathurā.' There is another (Maturā) in Ceylon, and a fourth (Madūra) in the Eastern Archipelago. The Singhalese annalists in the Mahāwanso call the king of the Pāṇḍyas sometimes Pāṇḍyava, sometimes Pāṇḍu; and this shows that there cannot be any doubt of the connection of the name of the Pāṇḍyas with that of the heroes of the great war, though the origin and nature of that connection cannot now be ascertained. Pāṇḍya must at first have been the name of the ruling family only. Its extension to the people followed the course which dynastic names have often taken in other parts of the world. Megasthenes speaks of a country in India which was called Πανδαίη (*Pandaiē*), after the name of the only daughter of the Indian Hercules—that is of Krishṇa. I have no doubt that the country referred to was that of the Pāṇḍyas. A writer who had heard of the Andræ and Calingæ could not but have heard of the Pāṇḍyas also. He partly, it is true, misapprehended the legends related to him; but he was right in deriving the name of the Pāṇḍya country from the name of its rulers, and in connecting their name—in some fashion,. however erroneously—with mythological heroes and heroines. The myth really current at that time—if we may suppose the substance of the Mahābhārata in its present shape then in existence—was that Arjuna, one of the Pāṇḍava brothers and

Krishṇa's chief friend, had in the course of his wanderings in the south married a daughter of the king of the Pāṇḍyas. Everything related by Megasthenes respecting this country, especially the statement that it was there that pearls were procured, serves to identify it with the Pāṇḍya country. Pliny, apparently following another passage of Megasthenes, enumerates amongst the Indian nations a nation called Pandæ. It is not clear where he supposed their country was situated, but we cannot doubt that the Pāṇḍyas of Madura, wherever he thought they were located, were the people referred to. His statement that the Pandæ alone amongst Indian nations were ruled by women, though not correct (so far as is now known), if supposed to relate to the Pāṇḍyas of Madura, may be regarded as sufficiently applicable to the peculiar social usages of the Malabar coast, where almost every inheritance still runs in the female line, and where, in Pliny's own times at least, if not also in those of Megasthenes, the Pāṇḍyas of Madura had colonies. Pliny expressly mentions that a portion of the western coast was then under the rule of king Pandion, "far away from his mediterranean emporium of Modura"; yet he remarks also that this name, with others in the same neighbourhood, was new to him. He evidently had no idea that the subjects of king Pandion were identical with the Pandæ he himself had already referred to.

CHŌLA, the name of the Tamil people placed second in the list, is a word of unknown origin. It appears as Choḍa in one of Aśoka's inscriptions, and also in the Telugu inscriptions of the Chālukya dynasty. In modern Telugu this word appears as Chōḷa, in Tamil as Chōṛa or Sōṛa. We have here doubtless the Σῶραι (*Sōrai*), &c., of Ptolemy. It is difficult to identify the country called Choliya by Hwen Thsang with the country inhabited by the Chōlas, but it seems probable that the names are identical; and we know that the Northern Circars were ruled by an offshoot of the Chōlas in the eleventh century. The original seat of the Chōlas seems to have been the extensive fertile valley of the Kāvērī, including the Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts; but subsequently they ruled over the whole of the Tamil country north of the Kāvērī. Their capital city in the earliest period was *Uṟieyūr* (literally the 'city of habitation'), called also *Kōṛi*, which appears to have been nearly identical with the modern Trichinopoly (*Tiriśirāppaḷḷi*). In the eleventh century the Chōḷas reached the zenith of their power, and ruled—as is ascertained by inscriptions—over the whole Tamil country, including not only the country north of the Kāvērī, but also the country

of the Pāṇḍyas, South Travancore, the northern districts in Ceylon, and a portion of the Telugu country.

Chera, the name of the third Tamilian people, is a word which presents itself to us in many shapes, as will be seen when we proceed to consider the Malayāḷam language. The language of the Chōlas never differed from that of the Pāṇḍyas ; and originally the language of the Chēras also differed but little from that of the other two portions of the Tamil people, as appears from the Syrian and Jewish inscriptions of the eighth century. By whatever local or dynastic names they may have called themselves, they all—whether Chēras, Chōlas or Pāṇḍyas—continued to be called Draviḍas, and the language they spoke in common was everywhere called by the one name of Drāviḍa or Tamil.

This idea of the original identity of the Chēras, or people of Kērala, with the Chōlas and Pāṇḍyas, is quite in accordance with native traditions. According to Tamil tradition, *Chēran, Chōṛan,* and *Pāṇḍiyan* were three royal brothers, who at first lived and ruled in common at Koḷkei, on the Tāmraparṇī, a river in Tinnevelly renowned in ancient song, on the banks of which the earliest civilisation in southern India appears to have been built up. Eventually a separation took place : Pāṇḍyan remained at home ; Chēran and Chōran went forth to seek their fortunes, and founded kingdoms of their own to the north and west. We have a similar representation, perhaps merely an echo of the Tamil tradition, in the Hari-vaṃśa and several Purāṇas (see Muir's "Sanskrit Texts," vols. i and ii.), in which Pāṇḍya, Kērala, *Kōla,* and Chōla are represented as the four sons of Ākrīḍa, or of Dushyanta, the adopted son of Turvasu, a prince of the lunar line of the Kshatriyas. Who the *Kōlas* of this list were is not clear. The term is supposed by some to have been intended to denote the Canarese people, Karnāṭa being given in this connection instead of Kōla by several Purāṇas. The Canarese people, however, are never called Kōlas either by themselves or by their Dravidian neighbours ; and it seems most probable that the Kōlas or Kolarians were referred to, perhaps under the impression (if so, an erroneous one, except in so far as the Orāons and Mālers are concerned) that they also were Dravidians.

The Tamil language is called *Aravam* by the Mussalmans of the Dekhan, the Telugus, and the Canarese. What is the derivation of this term Aravam ? Its origin appears to me very uncertain.

Dr Gundert suggested that as Tamil literature excelled other literatures in ethics, it might have been perhaps from this circumstance that Tamilians were called Aravas. *Aravas* on this supposition would signify moralists, for *aṟam* in Tamil means virtue ; it might mean perhaps even Buddhists, for *Aṟavan*, Tam. 'the virtuous one,' is a name of Buddha. It would not be a valid objection to this derivation that the *r* of the Telugu and Canarese word *Aravam* is the ordinary liquid or semi-vowel, whilst the *r* of the Tamil *aram* is the hard, rough ṟ, for the hard ṟ of Tamil generally changes into *r* in Telugu and Canarese ; and this very word *aṟam*, Tam. virtue, is *aravu* in Canarese. Another theory derives the term from *aṟivu*, the Tamil word for knowledge, the Tamil people being supposed to be distinguished amongst the people of the south for their intelligence. Another derivation is from *Aruvā*, the name of an unknown district somewhere in the Tamil country, which was reckoned one of the twelve districts in which, according to the Tamil grammarians, bad Tamil was spoken. A formidable, if not a fatal, objection to these derivations is, that they have all a Tamil origin, whereas *Aravam* is absolutely unknown in Tamil itself as a name either of the people or of their language. It is by the Telugus, Canarese, and Dekhanis that the name is used, and its derivation must, therefore, be sought out of the Tamil country. The opinion of the best Telugu pandits I have consulted is that *Arava* is a Sanskrit, not a Dravidian, word. It is to be divided as *a-rava*, destitute of sound; and this name has been given, they suppose, to Tamil by the northern neighbours of the Tamilians on account of its being destitute of aspirates. Being the only language in India totally without aspirates, it was despised by outsiders for what was regarded as a defect, and was called in consequence *Arava*, which may be rendered 'unsonorous.' It was not likely, if this were the origin of the word, that the Tamil people would apply it to their own tongue. *Aravam-u* having come to be used in Telugu as the name of the language, the Telugu people went in time a step further, and called the people who spoke the language *Arava-lu*, Aravas. The Telugu word *Aravam-u*, 'the Tamil language,' is not to be confounded with the Tamil word *aravam*, sound. It is a curious circumstance that the latter word means sound, whilst the former means being without sound. The initial *a* of the Tamil word is not, as it might readily be supposed to be, the Sanskrit *a* privative, but is one of the devices employed in Tamil to render it possible for Tamil organs to pronounce an initial *r*. (Comp. *araśan*, king from Sanskrit *rājā*). It may also be noticed that whilst the Sanskrit word

rava means a loud sound, a noise, the Tamil form of the same word, *aravam,* means a very slight noise.*

II. Malayāḷam.—This language claims to be placed next to Tamil in the list of Dravidian tongues, on account of the peculiarly close relationship to Tamil in which it stands. Malayāḷam is spoken along the Malabar coast, on the western side of the Ghauts, or Malaya range of mountains, from the vicinity of Chandragiri, near Mangalore, where it supersedes Canarese and Tuḷu, to Trivandrum (Tiruvanantapuram), where it begins to be superseded by Tamil. The people by whom this language is spoken in the native states of Travancore (Tiruvidāṅkōḍu or Tiravāṅkōḍu) and Cochin (Kochchi), and in the British Indian districts of Malabar and Canara, may be estimated at 6,750,000. All along the Malabar coast Tamil intertwines itself with Malayāḷam. Though that coast was for many ages more frequented by foreigners than any other part of India, though Phœnicians, Greeks, Jews, Syrian or Persian Christians, and Arabs, traded in succession to the various ports along the coast, and though permanent settlements were formed by the last three classes, yet the Malayāḷam people continue to be of all Dravidians the most exclusive and superstitious, and shrink most sensitively from contact with foreigners. Hence the lines and centres of communication have been occupied, and a considerable portion of the commerce and public business of the Malabar States has been monopolised, especially in Travancore, by the less scrupulous and more adroit Tamilians.

Malayāḷam is also called *Malayāṛma,* another form of which is *Malayāyma;* but both words are substantially the same. The first part of each word is not the Sanskrit *Malaya,* 'a range of mountains' (probably identical with the Western and Southern Ghauts), but the Dravidian *mala,* 'a mountain,' from which doubtless the Sanskrit *malaya* itself was derived. The second part of the word, *āḷam* or *āṛma,* is an abstract neuter noun, between *mala* and which *y* is inserted by rule to prevent hiatus. *āḷam* is plainly a verbal derivative from the root *āḷ,* 'to possess,' 'to use,' 'to rule' (not to be confounded with *āṛam,* 'depth', from the root *āṛ,* 'to the deep'). It bears the same relation to *āṛma,* originally *āḷma* (Tam. *āṇmei,* euphonised from *āḷmei*), that *tanam* (Mal. Tam. 'quality') does to *tanma,* Mal. (Tam. *tanmei*); that is, it is more commonly used, but

* It is noteworthy, perhaps, that the people who are represented by Ptolemy as occupying, according to Colonel Yule, the portion of the Coromandel coast near Nellore, are called by him the Arvarni.

is reckoned less elegant. *āṛma* is softened from *āḷma*, as in Tam. *veḷḷāḷan*, a cultivator, is sometimes softened into *veḷḷāṛan*. More frequently *ṛ* changes to *ḷ*, but the change of *ḷ* to *ṛ* is also known. This *ṛ* is further softened in Malayāḷam to *y*, in consequence of which *Malayāṛma* becomes *Malayāyma*. In colloquial Tamil this softening process is sometimes carried so far that the *ḷ* disappears altogether and leaves no trace behind. Thus, *veḷḷāṇmei*, Tam. cultivation, becomes in Malayāḷam *veḷḷāyma*, but in colloquial Tamil *veḷḷāmei*; *naṭṭāṇmei*, Tam. the headship of a village, from *nāḍu* and *āṇmei*, becomes in Malayāḷam *nāṭṭāyma*, but in colloquial Tamil *nāṭṭāmei* *nāṭṭāṇma* is also found in Malayāḷam; and this supplies us with a clear proof of the descent of *āyma*, through *āṇma*, from *āḷma*. Perhaps the best rendering of the term Malayāḷam or Malayāṛma is the 'mountain region.' If we had a word in English for a mountain district ending in 'ship' like 'township,' it would come still nearer. When used as an abstract term in compounds *aṇmei* means use or possession—*e.g.*, *villāṇmei*, the use of the bow, from *vil*, bow. The appellative noun connected with this word *āṇmei* is *āḷan* or *āḷi*, each of which forms is in ordinary use both in Tamil and Malayāḷam—*e.g.*, *villāḷan* = *villāḷi*, Tam.-Mal. a bowman. The appellative noun corresponding to *Malayāḷam* or *Malayāṛma* is *Malayāḷi*, a man of Malayāḷam, a mountaineer.

The Malayāḷam language is not distinguished from Tamil by Sanskrit writers, the term Drāviḍa, as used by them, including both tongues; but the Malayāḷam *country* has a name of its own in Sanskrit, with special names for the various districts included in it, from Gokarṇam to Cape Comorin. The general name of this entire region in Sanskrit is Kērala, a term which appears in the Kapur Di Giri version of Aśoka's edict, in the third century B.C., in which the king of this country is called *Kēralamputra*. *Kēralam* is found in all the Dravidian dialects in one shape or another. In Tamil, through the softening of *k* into *s*, *c*, or *ch*, this word sometimes becomes *Sēralam*, more commonly still *Sēram*. Where the initial *k* is retained unchanged, it is followed by the Dravidian *ḷ*—*e.g.*, *Kēraḷam*—and this is the case also in Telugu and Canarese. In Malayāḷam we find *Keraḷam*, *Chēralam* and *Chēram*, as in Tamil, and also *Kēram*. A man of *Kēraḷam* is called sometimes *Kēlan* or *Kēḷu*, and though this is evidently a contraction of *Keraḷan*, it must be one of great antiquity, for we find it in Pliny's name of the king of the country Celobotras, a form of the word which is thus seen to be as accurate as Ptolemy's Κηϱοβόθϱος (*Kērobothros*).

The Kerala of the ancients seems to have divided itself into two portions, one of which, the district lying along the sea coast, has always retained the Sanskritic name of Kērala, whilst it also called itself by the Tamil name of Chera; the other, an inland district, including Coimbatore, Salem, and a portion of Mysore, seems to have dropped the name of Kerala altogether, and called itself exclusively either Chera or Kongu. It is to the latter district that the papers of Professor Dowson and Dr Eggeling on the Chera dynasty refer. Though, however, the districts and dynasties differed, I have no doubt that the *names* Kerala and Chera were originally one and the same, and it is certain that they are always regarded as synonymous in native Tamil and Malayāḷam lists of synonyms. In the various lists of the boundaries of Chera given by Tamil writers, the Malabar coast from Calicut southward—that is, the whole of southern Kerala—is invariably included. Probably Kēra was the earliest form of the word, Kērala a Sanskritic derivative. The word *Koṅgu,* one of the names of the Chera country, means, like Kuḍagu (Coorg), crooked, curved, and is evidently a name derived from the configuration of the country. The meaning of *Kēram* is not so certain. One meaning of this word in Malayāḷam is 'a cocoa-nut palm.' This would furnish us with a very natural origin for the name of the country; but, unfortunately, it seems to be only a secondary meaning, the name of the country itself being probably the origin of this name of its most characteristic tree. No word allied to Malayāḷam, the native name of the language, and the name most commonly used now for the country, seems to have been known to the earlier Greeks. A portion of the name appears for the first time in the " Christian Topography " of Cosmas Indicopleustes, about 545 A.D., who, writing especially about Ceylon, mentions amongst the adjacent countries, " Μαλὲ, (*Malé*) whence the pepper comes." This form of the word is evidently identical with the Tamil *malei,* a hill, the hill country, a word which would be in common use then, as now, amongst the Tamil settlers in Ceylon. The distinctively Malayāḷam form of the same word is *mala.*

Malayāḷam being, as I conceive, a very ancient offshoot of Tamil, differing from it chiefly at present by its disuse of the personal terminations of the verbs and the larger amount of Sanskrit derivatives it has availed itself of, it might perhaps be regarded rather as a dialect of Tamil, than as a distinct member of the Dravidian family. Though its separation from Tamil must have taken

place at a very early period, yet it seems to have participated, as time went on, in the progressive cultivation and refinement of Tamil, —possibly through the political influence the Tamilians acquired on the western coast in early times, an illustration of which we have seen in the fact that the author of the "Periplus" represents Nelkynda, one of the most important emporia on the western coast, as belonging to the Pāṇḍya king of Madura, the principal potentate in the Tamil country. The oldest Malayāḷam poetry, as I learn from Dr Gundert, imitated Tamil rather than Sanskrit. It eschewed all letters not included in the thirty-two adopted by Tamil, and the character employed was a character often used in inscriptions in the Tamil country, particularly in the south, and differing very widely from the Malayāḷam character now in use. The "Rāma Charita," probably the oldest poem in the language, though not, after all, of any very great antiquity, was composed before the introduction of the Sanskrit alphabet, and exhibits substantially the same phase of the language as the Jewish and Syrian Śāsanas (inscriptions). Bearing this in mind, it is remarkable that the Brahmanisation of the language and literature should now have become so complete. This process appears to have been carried on systematically only during the last two or three centuries, yet one of the most marked characteristics of the Malayāḷam language, as we now find it, is the quantity of Sanskrit it contains. The proportion of Sanskrit words adopted by the Dravidian languages is least in Tamil, greatest in Malayāḷam; and the modern Malayāḷam character seems to have been derived in the main from the Grantha, the character in which Sanskrit is written in the Tamil country. In consequence of these things, the difference between Malayāḷam and Tamil, though originally slight, has progressively increased, so that the claim of Malayāḷam, as it now stands, to be considered, not as a mere dialect of Tamil, but as a sister language, cannot be called in question. Originally, it is true, I consider it to have been not a sister of Tamil, but a daughter. It may best be described as a much-altered offshoot.

The descent of Malayāḷam from Tamil may be illustrated by the word it uses to denote east. This is *kiṛakku,* meaning beneath, downwards, a word which corresponds to that which is used to denote west, viz., *mēlku,* above, upwards; both of which words necessarily originated, not in the western coast, but in the Tamil country, or the country on the eastern side of the Ghauts, where a lofty range of mountains rises everywhere to the westward, and where, consequently, to go westward is to go upwards, whilst to

the eastward the country slopes downwards to the sea. The configuration of the Malayāḷam country, as of the whole of the western coast, is directly the reverse of this, the mountain range being to the eastward, and the sea to the westward. Notwithstanding this, the Malayāḷam word for east is identical with the Tamil word! To what can this coincidence point but the original identity of Malayāḷam with Tamil? The people by whom Malayāḷam is spoken must originally have been a colony of Tamilians. They must have entered the Malayāḷam country by the Paulghaut or Coimbatore gap, and from thence spread themselves along the coast, northward to the Chandragiri river, southward to the Neyyāru river near Trivandrum, at each of which points their further progress seems to have stopped by settlements of colonists of a kindred race, who had already reached the western coast by different routes. Dr Gundert (Introduction to "Malayāḷam Dictionary"), whilst admitting Tamil and Malayāḷam to be very nearly related, appears to be unwilling to consider Malayāḷam as an offshoot of Tamil. He argues (in a private communication) that the words used in Malayāḷam for east and west cannot safely be regarded as proving the immigration of the Malayāḷam people from the east, and that if the analogous progress of the Aryans to the south be considered, it will appear probable that the Dravidians, like the Aryans, formed settlements on the western coast first, and afterwards made their acquaintance with the eastern. It is true, as he observes, that *paḍiññāṟu*, properly *paḍiññāyiṟu*, meaning the setting sun, is more commonly used in Malayāḷam for west than *mēlku*, but *paḍuññāyiṟu*, is also a Tamil word, and Dr Gundert admits that both *mēlku* and *kiṟakku* must have originated in the Tamil country. The argument from the analogy of the Aryan immigration appears to prove too much. It would require us to regard the whole Tamil people as immigrants from the western coast, and the Tamil language as an offshoot from Malayāḷam, the geographical and philological difficulties in the way of both which suppositions appear to me to be insuperable.

Origin of the terms 'Coromandel' and 'Malabar.'—Before passing on to the rest of the Dravidian languages, it may be desirable to inquire into the origin of the names 'Coromandel' coast and 'Malabar' coast, by which the eastern and western coasts of the southern portion of the Indian peninsula, in which the Tamil and Malayāḷam languages are spoken, are usually designated.

1. *Coromandel.*—The best derivation of Coromandel is from

the Tamil *Chōṛamaṇḍalam,* the Chōla country, from *Chōṛa,* the Tamil form of the name which is best known in its Sanskrit form of Chola, and *maṇḍalam* (a Sanskrit *tadbhava*), 'a district of country.' Undoubtedly Fra Paulino à St Barṭolomæo was wrong in supposing Chōḷamaṇḍalam to have meant 'the millet country.' The first word, Chōṛam, though often pronounced like Chōḷam ('maize,' not 'millet'), is always written in Tamil Chōṛam, and the compound Chōṛa-maṇḍalam, 'the country of the Chōṛas,' like Pāṇḍya-maṇḍalam, 'the country of the Pāṇḍyas,' has been in common use for ages. The first Portuguese, as I learn from Dr Gundert, always called by the name of Choramandala the fifth province of the Rāyar's empire (the empire of the so-called Rāyulu or Telugu kings of Vijayanagara), which they represented as extending from the frontiers of Quilon (that is, from near Cape Comorin) to Orissa. The Portuguese evidently adopted this name as the equivalent of Ma'bar, the name by which the greater part of the Coromandel coast had up to that time been generally called by the Muhammedans and those Europeans who derived their information from them. (See Ibn Batuta and Marco Polo.) This name Ma'bar, literally a ford or passage, was used originally to denote the coast of Madura, from which there was an easy passage by Rāma's bridge to Ceylon. The application of the name was then indefinitely extended northwards. The change from Choramandala to Coromandel is one which would easily be made. The middle point appears to be Choromandel, the mode in which the name was written by the early Dutch.

In the first edition of this work, whilst assigning this origin to the term Coromandel coast, I suggested also that it was difficult to see how the first mariners could have become acquainted with this somewhat high-flown classical word. It seemed to me desirable, therefore, to seek for some more trite and easy derivation of the word Coromandel—some derivative that would suit the circumstances of mariners and factors; and this, I said, I think we find in *Karu-maṇal* (literally, black sand), the name of a small village on the eastern coast, near Pulicat (the first settlement of the Dutch), which is invariably pronounced and written Coromandel by the Europeans who are resident in Madras, some of whom annually take refuge in *Karumaṇal* or Coromandel during the hot land winds. Coromandel is often the first point which is sighted by ships from Europe bound to Madras; and the objects on which my own eyes first rested on approaching the coast, in January 1838, were the cocoanut trees of Coromandel and the distant Nagari

hills. I fear, however, this easy derivation must be given up, and the more ancient one, which carries us back to the first arrival of the Portuguese in India, retained. I learn also from Mr C. P. Brown, that in a map of the Jaghire of Madras in "Kitchin's Atlas" (about 1790), the name of the village in question is written, not Coromandel, but *Karri mannel,* so that the application of the name Coromandel to this village by the English must be of recent date. One of the names given to the eastern coast in Telugu is *Kharamaṇḍalam,* from *khara,* Sans. hot; but this name has never been used so widely along the coast as to render it likely that it was the origin of the name Coromandel. Besides, this name was never used, as Chōṛamaṇḍalam was, as a political designation.

I am indebted to Colonel Yule, the learned editor of Marco Polo, for additional information regarding the use of the term Coromandel by the early Portuguese. He says—"It certainly was a name in use when the Portuguese arrived in India. This appears from its use in the short narrative of Hieronimo de Sto Stefano, dated in 1499, which is published at the end of Major's 'India' in the fifteenth century. After mentioning Ceylon he says, 'departing thence after twelve days we reached another place called Coromandel.' The city of Choromandel appears in 'Vaithema's Travels' (published in 1510); and in Barbosa, the most complete of the early Portuguese accounts, we have the country of Charamandel (in the Portuguese edition), Coromandel (in Ramusio's Italian), Cholmendel and Cholmender in a Spanish MS. translated by Lord Stanley of Alderley in the Hakluyt series. I believe both Spanish and Portuguese pronounce the *ch* as we do, so I should think it probable that the Italian co was written ço. This Cholmendel is remarkable, as the MS. is supposed to date about 1510, too early for theories about Chola-mandala. I had given up the hope of finding proof of the use of this name by the Muhammedans, but on turning to Rowlandson's translation of the 'Tohfat al Majāhidīn, or History of the Muhammedans in Malabar,' I have found (p. 153) that the Franks had built fortresses 'at Mielapoor and Nagapatam, and other seaports of Solmondul,' and the name occurs again in the next page." Colonel Yule, in mentioning this in the *Bombay Antiquary* for August, 1874, adds—"The occurrence of this name in this form and in a Muhammedan writer upsets a variety of theories as to the origin of the name."

The Coromandel coast is evidently the Παραλία Σωρωτων (*Paralia Sōrōtōn*) (or Σωριγών) (*Sōrigōn*) of Ptolemy, and also the

district της ἰδίως λεγουμένης Παραλίας Τωριγγων (*Tīs idiōs legoumenēs paralias Tōringōn*), (or Σωριγγων) (*Sōringōn*), in which the mouth of the Χαβηρος (*Kabīros*), the Kāvērī, was situated. These seem remarkable anticipations of the name by which the coast was known in later times.

2. *Malabar.*—The origin of the name Malabar has hitherto been enveloped in greater obscurity than that of the corresponding name Coromandel. The first part of the name (Mala) is evidently the Malayāḷam word for mountain, as in the name Malayāḷam itself, and we can scarcely err in concluding it to have been a perpetuation of the Malĕ of the later Greeks. I learn from Colonel Yule that in the relations of the Arabian navigators the name Malĕ held its place, nearly as Cosmos has it, without any such suffix as *bār*, down to the eleventh or twelfth century. In 851 A.D. it occurs, he says, as Malai or Kulam-Malai, in 1150 as Mali and also Maliah. It is interesting to find the name Quilon (Kulam, properly Kollam) as early as 851 associated with the name of the coast, in the compound term Kulam-Malai; but Colonel Yule has found Quilon mentioned by name prior even to 660,* which tends to show, as he observes, that the Quilon era (the first year of which corresponds to A.D. 824-5) did not in reality take its origin, as has been supposed, from the foundation of the city.

The first appearance of the affix *bār* is in 1150, and from the time of its appearance, the word to which it is affixed—the first part of the compound—is frequently found to change. Colonel Yule gives the following Arabian forms—Malībār, Manībār, Mulībār, Mūnībār, Mālībār; and the following as the forms used by early European travellers, &c.—Minibar, Milibar, Melibar (Marco Polo), Minubar, Melibaria. From the time of the arrival of the Portuguese in India it seems always to have called Malabar, as by ourselves, and in this form of the word *Mala*, mountain, is correctly given. It has been more difficult to ascertain the origin and meaning of the affix *bār*. Lassen explained it as identical with the Sanskrit *vāra*, in the sense of 'a region'; Malaya-vāra = Malabar = the region of Malaya, the Western Ghauts. The difficulty in the way of accepting this is that Malaya-vāra is a factitious word, not really found

* A letter in Assemani's Bibliotheca, from the Patriarch Jesajabus (died A.D. 660) to Simon, Metropolitan of Persia, blames his neglect of duty, saying that in consequence, not only is India, "which extends from the coast of the kingdom of Persia to COLON, a distance of 1200 parasangs, deprived of a regular ministry, but Persia itself is lying in darkness."—*Colonel Yule.*

in Sanskrit, and never actually used by the people of the Malabar coast. The same difficulty stands in the way of Mala-vāram, Tam.-Mal. the foot of the mountains, and Malappāḍu, the mountain district. These derivations might be regarded at first sight as admissible; but they are Indian vernacular words, and if the name Malabar had been derived from them, we should expect to find them in use in India itself, whereas there is no trace of either of them having ever actually been used by any Indian people.

Dr Gundert suggested to me the possibility of the derivation of *bār* from the Arabic *barr*, continent, as he considered it probable that the name of Malabar had first been brought into use by the Arabian navigators. Colonel Yule arrived independently at a similar conclusion. He preferred, however, the Persian *bār* to the Arabic *barr*, and has given illustrations of the use of this Persian affix by the Arabs, which appear to me to carry conviction. He says (in one of the private communications with which he has favoured me), "This affix *bār* seems to have been much used by navigators. We have Zanzi-*bār* (the country of the blacks), Kala-bār (see the 'Arabic Relations,' by Reinaud, I. 17, where it is explained that 'the word *bār* signifies either a coast or a kingdom'); and even according to Johnson's 'Persian Arabic Dictionary,' Hindū-bār. Burton says (*Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, vol. xxix. p. 30) that at Zanzibar, in distinguishing the mainland from the island, they call the former Barr-el-Moli, or 'continent.' And in a note he adds, 'The word Moli, commonly used in the corrupt Arabic of Zanzibar, will vainly be sought in the dictionaries.' Query, if this word Moli for continent may not have shaped some of the forms of the name of Malabar that we have above. I suppose *bār* itself is rather Persian than Arabic, and may be radically the same affix that we have in so many Indian names of countries, Marwar, Rajwar, &c." This Persian derivation seems to me so satisfactory that it may safely be accepted. *bār*, country, may have been added to *Male* to distinguish the mainland from the adjacent islands, the Maldives and the Laccadives. The Mal*dives* may have been *dives* or islands of Malĕ, whilst Mala*bār* was the continent or mainland of Malĕ. Colonel Yule informs me that Pyrard de la Val and Moresby agree in calling the principal island Male; the first vowel of this name may be either long or short. In Singhalese the islands are called the *Mal*dives, but in Tamil they are called *Māl*dives; and this Temil *māl* differs considerably from Mala, the name of the Malabar coast, whilst it

agrees perfectly with the name given to the islands by Ibn Batuta, who calls them Dhibat-al-mahāl, from the name of the 'atoll' where the sultan of the islands lived—viz., Al-mahāl. Mahāl is always corrupted into *māl* in Tamil.

The Persian *bār*, one of the meanings of which is 'a country,' is regarded by Vuller ("Lexicon Pers.-Lat.") as identical in origin with the Sanskrit *vāra*, a noun of multitude. It does not follow, however, that it is identical with the affix *vār* which we find in so many Indian names of countries, as Mārwār, Dhārwār, Kattywār, &c. The apparent resemblance between this *wār* and the Persian *bār* and especially the Sanskrit *vāra* disappears on investigation. This *wār* is written *vāḍ*; and Dr Trumpp assures me that its lineal descent from the Sanskrit *vāṭa* (*vāṭa, vāḍ, vāṛ*) is capable of proof. *vāṭa*, Sans., means not only 'an enclosure,' but also 'a district'—*e.g.*, *Prāchyavāṭa*, the eastern district. Dr Eggeling informs me that he has found Dhārwār written Dhārā-varsha in an inscription of the seventh century. According to Dr Trumpp, however, the *wār* of the modern Dharwar must have had a different origin, as *varsha* becomes in the Prākrit, not *vār*, but *varisō* or *varakhī*.

III. TELUGU.—In respect of antiquity of culture and glossarial copiousness, Telugu is generally considered as ranking next to Tamil in the list of Dravidian idioms, whilst in point of euphonic sweetness it justly claims to occupy the first place. This language was sometimes called by the Europeans of the last generation the 'Gentoo,' from the Portuguese word for heathens or 'gentiles,' a term which was used at first to denote all Hindūs or 'natives,' but which came in time to mean the Telugus alone. The use of the term Gentoo for Telugu, like that of Malabar for Tamil, has now nearly disappeared. Telugu is spoken all along the eastern coast of the Peninsula, from the neighbourhood of Pulicat, where it supersedes Tamil, to Chicacole, where it begins to yield to the Oriya, and inland it prevails as far as the eastern boundary of the Marāṭha country and Mysore, including within its range the 'Ceded districts' and Karnūl, a considerable part of the territories of the Nizam, or the Hyderabad country, and a portion of the Nāgpūr country and Gōṇḍvana. The district thus described was called Telingānā by the Muhammedans. The Telugu people, though not at present the most enterprising or migratory, are undoubtedly the most numerous branch of the Dravidian race. Including the Nāyuḍus (Tam. Nāyakkas = Sans. Nāyakas), Reḍḍis, and other Telugu tribes settled in the Tamil country, who are chiefly the descendants of

those soldiers of fortune by whom the Pāṇḍya and Chōla kingdoms were subverted, and who number not much less than a million of souls; and including also the Telugu settlers in Mysore, and the indigenous Telugu inhabitants of the native states, the people who speak the Telugu language may be estimated as amounting to at least twenty-three millions. The Telugu-speaking people in the Nizam's territory number, according to the latest census, more than six millions.

Though the Telugu people cannot at present be described as the most migratory portion of the Dravidians, there was a time when they appear to have exhibited this quality more conspicuously than any other branch of the race. Most of the Klings, or Hindūs, found in the eastern archipelago in our times, are, it is true, Tamilians: but the Tamilians, in trading and forming settlements in the East, have entered on a field formerly occupied by the Telugus, and not only so, but have actually inherited the name by which their Telugu predecessors were known. 'Kling' stood for 'Kalinga,' and Kalinga meant the seaboard of the Telugu country. The Hindūs, who in the early centuries of the Christian era formed settlements, built temples, and exercised dominion in Sumatra and Java, appear to have been Telugus, not Tamilians; and whilst the Tamil country was overrun by the Telugus in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, no corresponding settlement of Tamilians in the Telugu country to any considerable extent seems to have followed the establishment in that country (or at least in the portion of it specially called Kalinga) of a dynasty of Chōla kings in the eleventh or twelfth centuries.

Telugu is called Āndhra by Sanskrit writers—that is, the language of the Andhras, one of the two nations into which the Telugu people seems from the earliest times to have been divided. The other nation was the Kalingas. The Andhras seem to have been better known than the Kalingas to the early Aryans. They are mentioned as early as in the "Aitareya Brāhmaṇa of the Rig-veda," though represented therein as an uncivilised race; and in Puranic times a dynasty of Andhra kings is represented to have reigned in Northern India. The Andaræ are represented by Pliny (after Megasthenes) as a powerful people, and the Andre Indi have a place in the "Peutinger Tables" (north of the Ganges!) amongst the few Indian nations of which the author of those tables had heard. The first reference to their language I find made by any foreigner is in the memoirs of Hwen Thsang, the Chinese pilgrim,

about the middle of the seventh century A.D., who states that the language of the Āndhras differed from that of Central India, whilst the forms of the written characters were for the most part the same. It is clear from this that Telugu culture had already made considerable progress, especially amongst the Āndhra branch of the nation. Hence it naturally happened that the name of the Āndhras, instead of that of the Kalingas, who inhabited the more remote seaboard, and were perhaps less cultured, was given by Sanskrit writers to the language which both branches of the nation spoke in common. It occupies the first place—not Kalinga or Trilinga—in the compound term, Āndhra-Drāviḍabhāshā, by which Kumārila-bhaṭṭa, shortly after Hwen Thsang's date, designated what he appears to have supposed to be the one language spoken by the Dravidians.

Telugu is the name by which the language is called by the Telugu people themselves; other forms of the name are Teluṅgu, Teliṅga, Tailiṅga, Tenugu, and Tenuṅgu. The name has been corrupted still further in various directions by Muhammedans and other foreigners. One of the above-mentioned forms, Tenugu or Tenuṅgu, is sometimes represented by Telugu pandits as the original form of the word, and the meaning they attribute to it is sweetness. This derivation seems to have been an afterthought, suggested by the resemblance of the word to *tēne*, honey; but there is more reason for it—both on account of the resemblance between the two words, and also on account of the exceedingly *melli*-fluous character of the Telugu language, than for the corresponding afterthought of the Tamil pandits, respecting the meaning of the word Tamiṛ.

The favourite derivation of Telugu or Teluṅgu, the ordinary name of their language, is from Trilinga, 'the language of the three lingas'; that is, as they represent, of the country of which three celebrated linga temples constituted the boundaries. This derivation was accepted by Mr A. D. Campbell, but is rejected by Mr C. P. Brown, who affirms it to be an invention of modern poets, and regards the name Telugu as devoid of any known root. Probably so much of the theory as is built on the connection of the name with certain temples may be unceremoniously discarded; but the derivation of the name itself from *trilinga* (without committing ourselves to the determination of the sense in which the word *linga* is used) may perhaps be found to be deserving of a better fate. If the derivation of Telugu from Trilinga be an invention, it must

be admitted to have at least the merit of being an ingenious invention; for though it is quite true, as Mr Brown observes, that Trilinga, as a name of a country, is not found in any of the lists of Indian countries contained in the Purāṇas, yet the existence of such a name seems capable of being established by reliable evidence derived from other sources. Tāranātha, the Tibetain author already referred to, who derived his information, not from modern Telugu poets or pandits, but from Indian Buddhistical narratives (which, having been written before Buddhism disappeared from India, must have been of considerable antiquity), repeatedly designates the Telugu country Trilinga, and describes Kalinga as a portion of Trilinga, and Kalingapura as its capital. The name of Trilinga had reached Ptolemy himself at a time anterior probably to the date of the Purāṇas. It is true his Τϱΐγυπτον (Τϱΐγλυφον ?) *τô καί* Τϱ ίλΐγγον βασίλειον(*Triglypton* [*Triglyphon*] *to kai Trilingon Basileion*) is placed by him to the east of the Ganges; but the names of places mentioned by Ptolemy seem generally much more liable than the positions he assigns to them; and it is conceivable that the mariners or merchants from whom he derived his information spoke of the place in question merely as beyond the Ganges, without being certain whether it was east or south. We have seen that in like manner the "Peutinger Tables" place the Andre Indi—about whose identity with the Telugu people there can be no doubt—beyond the Ganges. The foreign name Trilingam must have been the name by which the place was called by the natives of the place, whilst Triglypton or Triglyphon must have been a translation of the name which had come into use amongst the Greeks. Hence the antiquity of Trilinga, as the name of a state, or of the capital city of a state, situated somewhere in India in Ptolemy's time, must be admitted to be established. The word *linga* forms the second portion of the name of several Indian nations mentioned by Pliny (after Megasthenes), as the Bolingæ, and the Maccocalingæ, a various reading of which is Maccolingæ.

Another name mentioned by Pliny, Modogalingam, involves some difficulty. He says—"Insula in Gange est magnæ magnitudinis gentem continens unam, Modogalingam nomine." Mr A. D. Campbell, in the Introduction to his "Telugu Grammar," represented the *modoga* of this name as the ancient Telugu word for three, and hence argued that Modogalingam was identical with Trilingam. If this identification were admitted, not only would the antiquity of Trilingam be firmly established, but also the opinion

of the pandits that the original name of their language was Trilinga, and that this Trilinga became gradually Telinga, Telungu, Telugu, and Tenugu, would be confirmed. The Telugu word for 'three,' however, is not *modoga,* but *mūḍu* ; *mūḍugu* might be used; but it is a poetical form, the use of which would be pedantic. Mr C. P. Brown prefers to write the name of the nation referred to by Pliny (after a MS. in Sillig's edition) "modo Galingam," and considers this Galingam equivalent to Calingam. The change of *c* (*k*) into *g* in such a connection would be quite in accordance with Telugu laws of sound, provided *modo,* as well as Calingam, were a Telugu word; and if it were Telugu it would more naturally represent *mūḍu,* three, than anything else. On this supposition, modo-Galingam would mean, not indeed 'the three lingas,' but "the three Kalingas"; and it is remarkable that the corresponding expression Tri-kalinga has been found in actual use in India. General Cunningham, in his "Ancient Georgraphy of India," mentions an inscription in which a line of kings assumed the title of 'lords of Tri-kalinga.' Dr Kern also, in his translation of Varāhamihira's "Brihat-saṃhitā," mentions that the name Tri-kalinga is found in one of the Purānas; and the same name has recently been found in an inscription on a copper plate referred to in the proceedings of the Bengal Asiatic Society for 1872, p. 171. General Cunningham thinks it probable that there is a reference to these three Kalingas in the circumstance that Pliny mentions the Macco-Calingæ and the Gangarides-Calingæ as separate nations from the Calingæ; and that the Mahā-bhārata mentions the Kalingas three times, and each time in connection with different neighbours. The circumstance that Modogalingam is represented as an 'island in the Ganges' presents no insuperable obstacle to its identification with Tri-kalinga or Telingāna. The term island has often been used very vaguely. Tāranātha calls the Tamil country an island; and Kalinga was supposed to be a Gangetic country by Sanskrit writers themselves, who generally agreed in representing it as the last of the districts visited by the Ganges. It is also to be remembered that the Godāvarī is often supposed by natives to be somehow identical with the Ganges. General Cunningham thinks Telinga derived, not from Trilinga, but from Tri-kalinga, but this derivation of the word needs to be historically confirmed. Kalinga and *linga* may probably in some way be connected, but the nature and history of the connection have not as yet been made out.

One of the names by which the Telugu language is known in

the Tamil country is *Vaḍugu*, and a Telugu man, especially if a member of the Nāyakka caste, is called a *Vaḍugan*. The root of this is *vaḍa*, north, the Telugu country lying to the north of the Tamil. This word explains the name 'Badages,' by which certain marauding hordes were designated by the early Portuguese, and in the letter of St Francis Xavier. Mr C. P. Brown informs me that the early French missionaries in the Guntur country wrote a vocabulary " de la langue Talenga, dite vulgairement le Badega."

IV. CANARESE.—The next place is occupied by Canarese, properly the Kannaḍa, or Karṇāṭaka, which is spoken throughout the plateau of Mysore, in the southern Mahratta country, and in some of the western districts of the Nizam's territory, as far north as Beder. It is spoken also (together with Malayāḷam, Tuḷu, and Koṇkaṇi, but more extensively than any of them) in the district of Canara, properly Kannaḍiyam, on the Malabar coast, a district which was subjected for centuries to the rule of Canarese princes, and hence acquired the name by which it is at present known. The speech of the Badagas ('people from the north'), commonly called by the English Burghers, the most numerous class of people inhabiting the Neilgherry hills, is undoubtedly an ancient Canarese dialect. The Canarese, properly so called, includes, like the Tamil, two dialects—classical, commonly called Ancient Canarese, and the colloquial or modern; of which the former differs from the latter, not—as classical Telugu and Malayāḷam differ from the colloquial dialects of those languages—by containing a larger infusion of Sanskrit derivatives, but by the use of different inflexional terminations. The *dialect* called Ancient Canarese is not to be confounded with the *character* denoted by that name, which is found in many ancient inscriptions in the Maratha country, as well as in Mysore. The language of all really ancient inscriptions in the Haḷa Kannaḍa, or Ancient Canarese character, is Sanskrit, not Canarese.

The people that speak the Canarese language may be estimated at ten millions and a half.

The term Karṇāṭa or Karṇāṭaka is said to have been a generic term, including both the Telugu and Canarese peoples and their languages, though it is admitted that it usually denoted the latter alone, and though it is to the latter that the abbreviated form Kannaḍam has been appropriated. *Karṇāṭaka* (that which belongs to *Karṇāṭa*) is regarded as a Sanskrit word by native pandits, but I agree with Dr Gundert in preferring to derive it from the Dravidian words *kar*, black, *nāḍ-u* (the adjectival form of which in

Telugu is *nāṭ-i*), country—that is, the black country—a term very suitable to designate the "black, cotton soil," as it is called, of the plateau of the Southern Dekhan. The use of the term is of considerable antiquity, as we find it in Varāhamihira at the beginning of the fifth century A.D. Tāranātha also mentions Karṇāṭa. The word Karṇāṭa or Karṇāṭaka, though at first a generic term, became in process of time the appellation of the Canarese people and of their language alone, to the entire exclusion of the Telugu. Karṇāṭaka has now got into the hands of foreigners, who have given it a new and entirely erroneous application. When the Muhammedans arrived in Southern India, they found that part of it with which they first became acquainted—the country above the Ghauts, including Mysore and part of Telingāna—called the Karṇāṭaka country. In course of time, by a misapplication of terms, they applied the same name, the Karṇāṭak, or Carnatic, to designate the country below the Ghauts, as well as that which was above. The English have carried the misapplication a step further, and restricted the name to the country below the Ghauts, which never had any right to it whatever. Hence the Mysore country, which is properly the Carnatic, is no longer called by that name by the English; and what is now geographically termed 'the Carnatic' is exclusively the country below the Ghauts, on the Coromandel coast, including the whole of the Tamil country, and the district of Nellore only in the Telugu country. The word Karṇāṭaka was further corrupted by the Canarese people themselves into Kannaḍa or Kannara, from which the language is styled by the English 'Canarese.'

V. Tuḷu.—Next in the list of cultivated Dravidian languages stands Tuḷu or Tuḷuva. The claim of this peculiar and very interesting language to be ranked amongst the cultivated members of the family may perhaps be regarded as open to question, seeing that it is destitute of a literature in the proper sense of the term, and never had a character of its own. The Canarese character having been used by the Basle missionaries in the Tuḷu books printed by them at Mangalore—the only books ever printed in Tuḷu—that character has now become inseparably associated with the language. Notwithstanding its want of a literature, Tuḷu is one of the most highly developed languages of the Dravidian family. It looks as if it had been cultivated for its own sake, and it is well worthy of careful study. This language is spoken in a very limited district and by a very small number of people. The Chandragiri

and Kalyānapuri rivers, in the district of Canara, are regarded as its ancient boundaries and it does not appear ever to have extended much beyond them. The number of the Tuḷu-speaking people has been found to exceed half a million, and their country is broken in upon to such a degree by other languages that Tuḷu might be expected soon to disappear. All Tuḷu Christians are taught Canarese as well as Tuḷu. Tuḷu, however, shows, it is said, no signs of disappearing, and the people have the reputation of being the most conservative portion of the Dravidian race. The name Tuḷu means, according to Mr Brigel, mild, meek, humble, and is to be regarded therefore as properly denoting the people, not their language.

Tuḷu was supposed by Mr Ellis to be merely a dialect of Malayāḷam; but although Malayāḷam characters were, and still are, ordinarily employed by Tuḷu Brāhmans in writing Sanskrit, in consequence of the prevalence of Malayāḷam in the vicinity, the supposition that Tuḷu was a dialect of Malayāḷam can no longer be entertained. The publication of Mr Brigel's "Tulu Grammar" has thrown much new light on this peculiarly interesting language. It differs far more widely from Malayāḷam than Malayāḷam does from Tamil. It differs widely, but not so widely, from Canarese; still less so from Coorg. The dialect from which it differs most widely is Tamil. There is a tradition mentioned by Mr Ellis, in his treatise on Mirasi right, to the effect that the ancient Kurumbars or nomadic shepherds, in the neighbourhood of Madras, were expelled and their lands given to Veḷḷāḷas from Tuḷuva; and this tradition is confirmed by the fact that certain Veḷḷāla families in that neighbourhood call themselves, and are called by others, Tuḷuva Veḷḷāḷas. Probably, however, the number of Tuḷuva immigrants was not very considerable, for there is no trace of any infusion of the peculiarities of Tuḷu into the colloquial Tamil of Madras, which, if it differs in any degree from the Tamil spoken in the rest of the Tamil country, differs, not in a Tuḷu, but in a Telugu direction.

VI. KUḌAGU or COORG.—Last in the list of cultivated Dravidian languages is the language of Coorg; but though I have thought it best to give this language a place amongst the cultivated members of the family, the propriety of doing so seems to me still more doubtful than that of placing Tuḷu in this list. Coorg is a small but interesting district, formerly an independent principality, beautifully situated amongst the ridges of the Western Ghauts.

between Mysore on the east and North Malabar and South Canara on the west. The native spelling of Coorg is usually *Koḍagu,* properly *Kuḍagu,* from *kuḍa,* west, a meaning of the word which is usual in Ancient Tamil. In the first edition of this work this language had not assigned to it a place of its own, but was included under the head of Canarese. It had been generally considered rather as an uncultivated dialect of Canarese, modified by Tuḷu, than as a distinct language. I mentioned then, however, that Dr Mögling, a German missionary, who had resided for some time amongst the Coorgs, was of opinion that their language was more closely allied to Tamil and Malayāḷam than to Canarese. It is not quite clear to me yet to which of the Dravidian dialects it is most closely allied. On the whole, however, it seems safest to regard it as standing about midway between Old Canarese and Tuḷu. Like Tuḷu it has the reputation of puzzling strangers by the peculiarities of its pronunciation. A grammar of the Coorg language has been published by Major Cole, Superintendent of Coorg, and some specimens of Coorg songs, with an epitome of the grammar by the Rev. B. Gräter of Mangalore. "Like the similar dialects spoken by the tribes of the Nīlagiris, there can be no doubt that this language has preserved its form comparatively free from change owing to the retired position of the people who speak it. That the inhabitants of Coorg early settled on the Western Ghauts is shown by the primitive Dravidian custom of polyandria which they still follow. They are as yet far from being Brahmanised, and they have no literature in the proper sense of the word."—Burnell's "Specimens of South Indian Dialects," No. 3.

The six languages which follow differ from those that have been mentioned in that they are entirely uncultivated, destitute of written characters, and comparatively little known.

VII. Tuda—Toda, properly Tuda, is the language of the Tudas or Tudavars, a primitive and peculiarly interesting tribe inhabiting the Neilgherry (Nīlagiri) hills. It is now regarded as certain that the Tudas were not the original inhabitants of those hills, though it is still far from certain who the original inhabitants were. Their numbers could not at any time have exceeded a few thousands, and at present, probably through opium-eating and polyandria, and through the prevalence amongst them at a former period of female infanticide, they do not, it has been ascertained, number more than about 700 souls. I have to thank the Rev. F. Metz, the veteran missionary among the Neilgherry tribes, for much information

respecting the Tudas and their language; and an interesting book has lately been written by Colonel Marshall, entitled "A Phrenologist among the Todas," in which everything that is known of this people is fully described. The same book contains a valuable epitome of the grammar of their language by the Rev. Dr Pope. Dr Pope connects the name of the Todas with the Tamil word *toṛa*, a herd; but the *d* of Tuda is not the lingual *d*, but the dental, which has no relationship to *ṛ* or *ḷ*. The derivation of the name may be regarded as at present unknown.

VIII. Kōta.—The language of the Kōtas, a small tribe of helot craftsmen inhabiting the Neilgherry hills, and numbering about twelve hundred souls.* This language may be considered as a very old and very rude dialect of the Canarese, which was carried thither by a persecuted low-caste tribe at some very remote period. Besides the languages of the Todas and Kōtas, two other languages are vernacular on the Neilgherry hills—viz., the dialect spoken by the Burghers or Baḍagars (the northern people), an ancient but organised dialect of the Canarese; and the rude Tamil spoken by the Iruḷars ('people of the darkness') and Kuruburs (Can. *Kurubaru*, Tam. *Kurumbar*, shepherds), who are occasionally stumbled upon by adventurous sportsmen in the denser, deeper jungles, and the smoke of whose fires may occasionally be seen rising from the lower gorges of the hills.

IX. Gōṇḍ.—The language of the indigenous inhabitants of the extensive hilly and jungly tracts in Central India, formerly called Gōndwana. According to the recent census the various tribes included under the general name of Gōṇḍs number one million and a half. The Māriās are regarded as the purest, and are certainly the wildest, tribe of Gōṇḍs. They sometimes call themselves Kōhitūr, a name which is evidently identical with Kōītōr, the name by which four out of the twelve tribes of Gōṇḍs call themselves. It has been asserted, indeed, that all the Gōṇḍs, when speaking of themselves in their own language, prefer to call themselves Kōītōrs. This word is a plural appellative regularly formed from Kōī. Much valuable information concerning the Gōṇḍs is contained in Colonel Dalton's "Ethnology of Bengal"; in the papers left in MS. by the late Rev. S. Hislop, edited by Sir R. Temple; and in the *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*. A grammar and vocabulary of the Gōṇḍ language were published by the Rev. J. G. Driberg, at Bishop's College,

* The latest census figures show that there are nine of these in Assam. —*Editors*.

Calcutta, in 1849. A translation of the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark into Gōṇḍ by the Rev. J. Dawson, published at Allahabad in 1872-73, furnishes us with a still more valuable contribution to the knowledge of the language. Mr Dawson has also recently published a brief grammar and vocabulary of the language in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society.*

X. KHOND; more properly Ku. This is the language of the people who have hitherto been commonly called Khonds. By their neighbours in Orissa their name is said to be pronounced Kandhs; but by themselves they are called, it is said, Kus. They are a primitive race supposed to be allied to the Gōṇḍs, and inhabit the eastern parts of Gōndwana, Gūmsur, and the hilly ranges of Orissa, which constitute the Tributary Mahāls. Colonel Dalton says they are not found further north than the 22nd degree of latitude, and that they extend south as far as Bastar, whence their position as the aboriginal people is taken up by the Savaras or Sauras. They acquired a bad notoriety for a long time, through their horrid practice of stealing the children of their neighbours of the plains, and offering them up in sacrifice—a practice now entirely suppressed. The meaning of the name of this people is involved in obscurity. Some consider Khond a kindred word with Gōṇḍ, and derive both names from the Tamil word *kundru,* a hill, literally a small hill, the Telugu form of which is *koṇḍa.* This would be a very natural derivation for the name of a hill people; but, unfortunately, their nearest neighbours, the Telugus, call them, not Koṇḍs or Gōṇḍs, but Gōnds, also Kōds; and as they call themselves *Kus,* according to Mr Latchmajī, the author of the grammar of their language, the existence of any connection between their name and *Kundru* or *koṇḍa,* a hill, seems very doubtful. The term Ku is evidently allied to Kōī, the name by which the Gōṇḍs call themselves, and which they are fond of lengthening into Kōītōr. The Khonds, according to the late census, number nearly 530,000 souls.

XI. The MALER, commonly called the Rājmahāl, the language of the Pahārias, or hill people, who seem to have been the original inhabitants of the Rājmahāl hills in Bengal. The brief vocabulary of the language of this tribe contained in the "Asiatic Researches," vol. v., and the somewhat fuller lists of words belonging to the same language contained in Mr Hodgson's and Sir George Campbell's collections and in Colonel Dalton's "Ethnology of Bengal," lead to the supposition that the Rājmahāl idiom is in its basis Dravidian. This language is not to be confounded with the speech

of the Santāls, a branch of the extensive Kōl family inhabiting at present the skirts of the Rājmahāl hills (but said to be mostly emigrants from the Hazārābāgh district), who belong to a stock totally different from that of the Mālers. Unfortunately very little is known of the grammatical structure of this language. The numbers of the people by whom it is spoken have been ascertained to amount to 64,000.

XII. ORĀON.—The Orāons of Chūtiā Nāgpūr and the neighbouring districts are estimated to amount to 800,000. Colonel Dalton has given a very full and interesting account of this tribe in his "Ethnology of Bengal." They have preserved, like the Mālers, the rudiments of a language substantially Dravidian, as appears from the lists of words collected by Mr Hodgson and Colonel Dalton, and especially from an epitome of the grammar of their language prepared by the Rev. F. Batsch.

Their traditions are said to connect them with the Konkan, from which it is supposed they derive the name Khurñk, by which they invariably call themselves. They assert that for many generations they were settled on the Rohtās and adjoining hills in the Patna district, and that when driven out from thence, one party emigrated to the Rājmahāl hills, the other went south-eastward till they arrived in the highlands of Chūtiā Nāgpūr. This tradition of the original identity of the Mālers and the Orāons is borne out by the evident affinity of their languages, and, as Colonel Dalton mentions, by the similarity of their customs. According to their traditions, the Orāons arrived in Chūtiā Nāgpūr later than the Mūndas and other Kōlarians.

Tuda, Kōta, Gōṇḍ, and Ku, though rude and uncultivated, are undoubtedly to be regarded as essentially Dravidian dialects, equally with the Tamil, the Canarese, and the Telugu. I feel some hesitation in placing in the same category the Rājmahāl and the Orāon, seeing that they appear to contain so large an admixture of roots and forms belonging to some other family of tongues, probably the Kōlarian. I venture, however, to classify them as in the main Dravidian, because the Dravidian roots they contain are roots of primary importance, including the pronouns and the first four numerals, from which it may fairly be inferred that these dialects belonged originally to the Dravidian family. The Orāon was considered by Mr Hodgson as a connecting link between the Kōl dialects and the Māler; the Māler as a connecting link between the Kōl and the distinctively Tamilian families. The Māler seems to me, on the whole, less distinctively Dravidian than the Orāon,

perhaps because the Mālers, or hill men of Rājmahāl, are locally more remote than the Orāons from the present seats of the Dravidian race. Sir George Campbell's lists of words belonging to the Māler and Orāon dialects appear to contain a larger proportion of words that can be recognised as distinctively Dravidian than any previous lists.

The existence of a distinctively Dravidian element in two at least of these aboriginal dialects of the Central Provinces and Bengal being established, the Dravidian race can now be traced as far north as the confines of Bengal, if not also to the banks of the Ganges; and the supposition that this race was diffused at an early period through the greater part of India is thereby confirmed.

Colonel Dalton carries the Dravidian element still further than I have ventured to do. He says ("Ethnology of Bengal," p. 243), "The Dravidian element enters more largely into the composition of the population of Bengal than is generally supposed. I believe that a large majority of the tribes described as Hinduised aborigines might with propriety have been included in this group. The people called Bhūiyas, diffused through most of the Bengal districts, and massed in the jungle and tributary estates of Chūtiā Nāgpūr and Orissa, certainly belong to it; and if I am right in my conjecture regarding the Kocch nation, they are of the same stock. I roughly estimate the Bhūiyas at two and a half millions, and the Kocch at a million and a half, so that we have in these two peoples about one-tenth of the Bengal population, who in all probability should be classed as Dravidian." I hesitate for the present to endorse this supposition, in the absence of lingual affinities of any kind and of physical characteristics—if there are any such even amongst the Dravidians themselves—that can be regarded as distinctly Dravidian.

Leaving these doubtful races out of account, the numbers, as far as can be ascertained by the census of 1911, of the various peoples and tribes by whom distinctively Dravidian languages are spoken are here exhibited.

1.	Tamil . . .	19,189,740*
2.	Telugu . . .	23,542,859
3.	Canarese . . .	10,525,739
4.	Malayāḷam . .	6,792,277
	Carry forward .	60,050,615

* This does not include the Eastern Archipelago, Mauritius, and other places. The peoples speaking the Tamil language may thus be roughly estimated at twenty-one millions.

	Brought forward . .	60,050,615
5.	Tuḷu	531,498
6.	Kuḍagu or Coorg . .	42,881
7.	Tuda	730
8.	Kōta	1,280
9.	Gōṇḍ	1,527,157
10.	Khond or Ku . . .	530,476
11.	Rājmahāl . . .	64,875
12.	Orāon	800,328
		63,549,840

According to this estimate the Dravidian-speaking peoples amount to nearly sixty-four millions of souls.

In this enumeration of the Dravidian languages the idioms of the Ramūsis, the Lambāḍis, and various other wandering, predatory, or forest tribes have not been included. The Lambāḍis, the gipsies of the peninsula, speak a dialect of Hindūstānī; the Ramūsis a *patois* of Telugu; the tribes inhabiting the hills and forests, corrupted dialects of the languages of the contiguous plains. None of these dialects is found to differ essentially from the speech of the more cultivated classes residing in the same neighbourhood. The Malearaśas, 'hill-kings' (in Malayāḷam, Mala-arayas), the hill tribe inhabiting the Southern Ghauts, speak corrupt Malayāḷam in the northern part of the range, where Malayāḷam is the prevailing language, and corrupt Tamil, with a tinge of Malayāḷam, in the southern, in the vicinity of Tamil-speaking districts.

In the above list of the Dravidian languages I have not included the Hō, the Mūnda, or any of the rest of the languages of the Kōls, the Savaras, and other rude tribes of Central India and of Bengal, called 'Kōlarian' by Sir George Campbell, and included by Mr Hodgson under the general term Tamulian. These languages might naturally be supposed to be allied to Gōṇḍ or Ku, to Orāon or Rājmahāl, and consequently to be of Dravidian origin; but though a few Dravidian words may perhaps be detected in some of them, their grammatical structure shows that they belong to a totally different family of languages. Without the evidence of similarity in grammatical structure, the discovery of a small number of similar words seems to prove only local proximity, or the existence of mutual intercourse at an earlier or later period, not the original relationship either of races or of languages.

I leave also out of account the languages of the north-eastern frontier of India, which are spoken by the Bōdos, Dhimāls, and other tribes inhabiting the mountains and forests between Kumaon and Assam. These were styled Tamulian by Mr Hodgson, on the supposition that all the aborigines of India, as distinguished from the Aryans, or Sanskrit-speaking race and its offshoots, belonged to one and the same stock; and that of this aboriginal race, the Tamilians of Southern India were to be considered the best representatives. But as the relationship of those north-eastern idioms to the languages of the Dravidian family, is unsupported by the evidence either of similarity in grammatical structure or of a similar vocabulary, and is founded only on such general grammatical analogies as are common to the whole range of the Scythian group of languages, it seems to me almost as improper to designate those dialects Tamilian or Dravidian, as it would be to designate them Turkish or Tungusian. Possibly they may form a link of connection between the Indo-Chinese or Tibetan family of tongues, and the Kōlarian; but even this is at present little better than an assumption. Professor Max Müller proposed to call all the non-Aryan languages of India, including the Sub-Himālayan, the Kōl, and the Tamilian families, Nishāda languages, the ancient aborigines being often termed Nishādas in the Purāṇas. Philologically, I think, the use of this common term is to be deprecated, inasmuch as the Dravidian languages differ so widely from the others, that they possess very few features in common. For the present, I have no doubt that the safest common appellation is the negative one, non-Aryan, or non-Sanskritic.

Brahuī, the language of the mountaineers in the khanship of Kelat in Beluchistan, contains not only some Dravidian words, but a considerable infusion of distinctively Dravidian forms and idioms; in consequence of which this language has a better claim to be regarded as Dravidian or Tamilian than any of the languages of the Nepāl and Bhūtān frontier, which had been styled 'Tamulian' by Mr Hodgson. I have not included, however, the Brahuī in the list of Dravidian languages which are to be subjected to systematic comparison (though I shall refer to it occasionally for illustration), because the Dravidian element contained in it bears but a small proportion to the rest of its component elements. *

* The census of 1911 includes the Brahuī in the Dravidian family, and there are 170,998 persons speaking that language. There are also two other languages included in the group, namely, the Malhar spoken by 236 persons and the Kolamī spoken by 24,074 persons.—*Editors.*

It is true that the great majority of the words in the Brahuī language seem altogether unconnected with Dravidian roots; but it will be evident from the analogies in structure, as well as in the vocabulary, that this language contains many grammatical forms essentially and distinctly Dravidian, together with a small proportion of important Dravidian words. The Brahuīs state that their forefathers came from Haleb (Aleppo); but even if this tradition could be regarded as a credible one, it would apply to the secondary or conquering race, apparently of Indo-European origin, not to their Dravidian predecessors. The previous existence of the latter race seems to have been forgotten, and the only evidence that they ever existed is that which is furnished by the Dravidian element which has been discovered in the language of their conquerors.

The Brahuī enables us to trace the Dravidian race beyond the Indus to the southern confines of Central Asia. The Brahuī language, considered as a whole, seems to be derived from the same source as the Panjābī and Sindhī, but it evidently contains a Dravidian element; and the discovery of this Dravidian element in a language spoken beyond the Indus tends to show that the Dravidians, like the Aryans, the Græco-Scythians, and the Turco-Mongolians, must have entered India by the north-western route.

The Dravidian Idioms not merely Provincial Dialects of the same Language

Though I have described the twelve vernacular idioms mentioned in the foregoing list as dialects or varieties of one and the same original Dravidian language, it would be erroneous to consider them as dialects in the popular sense of the term—viz., as provincial peculiarities or varieties of speech. Of all those idioms no two are so nearly related to each other that persons who speak them can be mutually understood. The most nearly related are Tamil and Malayāḷam; and yet it is only the simplest and most direct sentences in the one language that are intelligible to those who speak only the other. Involved sentences in either language, abounding in verbal and nominal inflexions, or containing conditions and reasons, will be found, by those who speak only the other language, to be unintelligible. Tamil, Malayāḷam, Telugu, and Canarese, have each a distinct and independent literary culture; and each of the three former—Tamil, Malayāḷam, and Telugu—has a system of written characters peculiar to itself. The modern Canarese *character* has been borrowed from that of the Telugu,

and differs but slightly from it; but the Canarese *language* differs even more widely from Telugu than it does from Tamil; and the Ancient Canarese character is exceedingly unlike the character of the Telugu.

Of the six cultivated Dravidian dialects mentioned above—Tamil, Telugu, Canarese, Malayāḷam, Tuḷu, Kuḍuga—the farthest removed from each other are Tamil and Telugu. The great majority of the roots in both languages are, it is true, identical; but they are often so disguised in composition by peculiarities of inflexion and dialectic changes, that not one entire sentence in the one language is intelligible to those who are acquainted only with the other. The various Dravidian idioms, though sprung from a common origin, are therefore to be considered, not as mere provincial dialects of the same speech, but as distinct though affiliated languages. They are as distinct one from the other as Spanish from Italian, Hebrew from Aramaic, Sindhī from Bengālī. If the cultivated Dravidian idioms differ so materially from each other, it will naturally be supposed that the uncultivated idioms—Tuda, Kōta, Gōṇḍ, Khond, and the Orāon—must differ still more widely both from one another and from the cultivated languages. This supposition is in accordance with facts. So many and great are the differences and peculiarities observable amongst these rude dialects, that it has seemed to me to be necessary to prove, not that they differ, but that they belong, notwithstanding their differences, to the same stock as the more cultivated tongues, and that they have an equal right to be termed Dravidian.

The Dravidian Languages independent of Sanskrit

It was supposed by the Sanskrit Pandits (by whom everything with which they were acquainted was referred to a Brāhmanical origin), and too hastily taken for granted by the earlier European scholars, that the Dravidian languages, though differing in many particulars from the North Indian idioms, were equally with them derived from the Sanskrit. They could not but see that each of the Dravidian languages to which their attention had been drawn contained a certain proportion of Sanskrit words, some of which were quite unchanged, though some were so much altered as to be recognised with difficulty; and though they observed clearly enough that each language contained also many non-Sanskrit words and forms, they did not observe that those words and forms constituted the bulk of the language, or that it was in them that the

living spirit of the language resided. Consequently they contented themselves with ascribing the non-Sanskrit portion of these languages to an admixture of a foreign element of unknown origin. According to this view there was no essential difference between the 'Drāviras' and the 'Gauras'; for the Bengālī and other languages of the Gaurian group appear to contain also a small proportion of non-Sanskritic words and forms, whilst in the main they are corruptions of Sanskrit. This representation fell far short of the real state of the case, and the supposition of the derivation of the Dravidian languages from Sanskrit, though entertained in the past generation by a Colebrooke, a Carey, and a Wilkins, is now known to be entirely destitute of foundation. The orientalists referred to, though deeply learned in Sanskrit, and well acquainted with the idioms of Northern India, were unacquainted, or but very slightly acquainted, with the Dravidian languages. No person who has any acquaintance with the principles of comparative philology, and who has carefully studied the grammars and vocabularies of the Dravidian languages, and compared them with those of Sanskrit, can suppose the grammatical structure and inflexional forms of those languages and the greater number of their more important roots capable of being derived from Sanskrit by any process of development or corruption whatsoever.

The hypothesis of the existence of a remote original affinity between the Dravidian languages and Sanskrit, or rather between those languages and the Indo-European family of tongues, inclusive of Sanskrit, of such a nature as to allow us to give the Dravidian languages a place in the Indo-European group, is altogether different from the notion of the direct derivation of those languages from Sanskrit. The hypothesis of a remote original affinity is favoured by some interesting analogies both in the grammar and in the vocabulary, which will be noticed in their place. Some of those analogies are best accounted for by the supposition of the retention by the Dravidian family, as by Finnish and Turkish, of a certain number of roots and forms belonging to the præ-Aryan period, the period which preceded the final separation of the Indo-European group of tongues from the Scythian. I think I shall also be able to prove, with respect to one portion at least of the analogies referred to, that instead of the Dravidian languages having borrowed them from Sanskrit, or both having derived them from a common source, Sanskrit has not disdained to borrow them from its Dravidian neighbours. Whatever probabilities may

be in favour of the hypothesis now mentioned, the older supposition of the direct derivation of the Dravidian languages from Sanskrit, in the same manner as Hindī, Bengālī, and the other Gaurian dialects are directly derived from it, was certainly erroneous. (1.) It overlooked the circumstance that the non-Sanskritic portion of the Dravidian languages was very greatly in excess of the Sanskrit. (2) It overlooked the still more material circumstance that the pronouns and numerals of the Dravidian languages, their verbal and nominal inflexions, and the syntactic arrangement of their words—everything, in short, which constitutes the living spirit of a language—were originally and radically different from Sanskrit. (3.) The orientalists who held the opinion of the derivation of the Dravidian languages from Sanskrit, relied mainly on the circumstance that all dictionaries of Dravidian languages contained a large number of Sanskrit words scarcely at all altered, and a still larger number which, though much altered, were evidently Sanskrit derivatives. They were not, however, aware that such words are never regarded by native scholars as of Dravidian origin, but are known and acknowledged to be derived from Sanskrit, and that they are arranged in classes, according to the degree in which they have been corrupted, or with reference to the medium through which they have been derived. They were also unaware that true Dravidian words, which form the great majority of the words in the southern vocabularies, are placed by native grammarians in a different class from the above-mentioned derivatives from Sanskrit, and honoured with the epithets 'national words' and 'pure words.'

In general no difficulty is felt in distinguishing Sanskrit derivatives from the ancient Dravidian roots. There are a few cases only in which it may be doubtful whether particular words are Sanskrit or Dravidian—*e.g.*, *nīr*, water, and *mīn*, fish, are claimed as component parts of both languages, though I believe that both are of Dravidian origin.

COMPARATIVE LIST of Sixty Words of Primary Importance (not including Pronouns and Numerals) in Sanskrit and Tamil.

	Sanskrit	Tamil		Sanskrit	Tamil
father,	*pitṛi,*	*appa(n).*	dog,	*śvan,*	*nāy.*
mother,	*mātṛi,*	*āyi*	cat,	*viḍāla,*	*pūnei.*
son,	*sūnu,*	*maga(n).*	tiger,	*vyāghra,*	*kaḍu-vāy.*
daughter,	*duhitṛi,*	*maga(ḷ).*	deer,	*mṛiga,*	*mān.*
head,	*śiras,*	*talei.*	monkey,	*kapi,*	*kurang-u.*
eye,	*akshi,*	*kaṇ.*	bear,	*śriksha,*	*karaḍi.*
ear,	*karṇa,*	*śevi.*	hog,	*śūkara,*	*paṉṟi.*
mouth,	*mukha,*	*vāy.*	snake,	*sarpa,*	*pāmbu.*
tooth,	*danta,*	*pal.*	bird,	*vayas,*	*paṟavei.*
hair,	*kēśa,*	*mayir.*	black,	*kāla,*	*kar-u.*
hand,	*hasta,* *kara,*†	*kei.*	white,	*śukla,*	*veḷ.*
			red,	*rakta,*	*śe.*
foot,	*pad,*	*kāl.*	great,	*mahat,*	*per-u.*
sun,	*sūrya,*	*ñāyiṟ-u.*	small,	*alpa,*	*śiṟ-u.*
moon,	*chandra,*	*tiṅgaḷ.*	sweet,	*madhura,*	*in.*
sky,	*div,*	*vān.*	sour,	*amla,*	*puḷi.*
day,	*divasa,*	*nāḷ.*	salt,	*lavaṇa,*	*uppu.*
night,	*nak,*	*iravu.*	eat,	*bhaksh,*	*tin.*
fire,	*agni,*	*tī.*	drink,	*pā,*	*kuḍi.*
water,	*ap, nīra,**	*nīr.*	come,	*ē,*	*vā.*
fish,	*matsya,* *mīna,**	*mīn.*	go,	*gam,*	*pō.*
			stand,	*sthā,*	*nil.*
hill,	*parvata,*	*malei.*	sit,	*ās,*	*ir-u.*
tree,	*druma,*	*maram.*	walk,	*char,*	*ēg-u.*
stone,	*aśman,*	*kal.*	run,	*dru,*	*ōḍ-u.*
house,	*veśman,*	*il.*	sleep,	*svap,*	*uṟang-u.*
village,	*grāma,*	*ūr.*	hear,	*śru,*	*kēḷ.*
elephant,	*hastin,*	*ānei.*	tell,	*vad,*	*śol.*
horse,	*aśva,*	*kudirei.*	laugh,	*has,*	*nagei.*
cow,	*gō,*	*ā.*	weep,	*rud,*	*aṟ-u*
buffalo,	*mahisha,*	*erumei.*	kill,	*han,*	*kol.*

* See "Glossarial Affinities," I. † See "Glossarial Affinities," II.

(4.) The orientalists who supposed the Dravidian languages to be derived from Sanskrit were not aware of the existence of uncultivated languages of the Dravidian family, in which Sanskrit words are not at all, or but very rarely, employed; they were also not aware that some of the Dravidian languages which make use of Sanskrit derivatives, are able to dispense with those derivatives altogether, such derivatives being considered rather as luxuries or articles of finery than as necessaries. It is true it would now be difficult for Telugu to dispense with its Sanskrit: more so for Canarese; and most of all for Malayāḷam:—those languages having borrowed from Sanskrit so largely, and being so habituated to look up to it for help, that it would be scarcely possible for them now to assert their independence. Tamil, however, the most highly cultivated *ab intra* of all Dravidian idioms, can dispense with its Sanskrit altogether, if need be, and not only stand alone, but flourish without its aid.

The ancient or classical dialect of the Tamil languages, called Shen-Tamil (Śen-Damiẓ) or correct Tamil, in which nearly all the literature has been written, contains exceedingly little Sanskrit; and differs from the colloquial dialect, or the language of prose, chiefly in the sedulous and jealous care with which it has rejected the use of Sanskrit derivatives and characters, and restricted itself to pure Ancient Dravidian sounds, forms, and roots. So completely has this jealousy of Sanskrit pervaded the minds of the educated classes amongst the Tamilians, that a Tamil poetical composition is regarded as in accordance with good taste and worthy of being called classical, not in proportion to the amount of Sanskrit it contains, as would be the case in some other dialects, but in proportion of its freedom from Sanskrit! The speech of the very lowest classes of the people in the retired country districts accords to a considerable extent with the classical dialect in dispensing with Sanskrit derivatives. In every country it is in the poetry and in the speech of the peasantry that the ancient condition of the language is best studied. It is in studied Tamil prose compositions, and in the ordinary speech of the Brāhmans and the more learned Tamilians, that the largest infusion of Sanskrit is contained; and the words that have been borrowed from Sanskrit are chiefly those which express abstract ideas of philosophy, science, and religion, together with the technical terms of the more elegant arts. Even in prose compositions on religious subjects, in which a larger amount of Sanskrit is employed than in any other department of literature, the proportion of Sanskrit which has

found its way into Tamil is not greater than the amount of Latin contained in corresponding compositions in English. Let us, for example, compare the amount of Sanskrit contained in the Tamil translation of the Ten Commandments with the amount of Latin which is contained in the English version of the same formula, and which has found its way into it, either directly from ecclesiastical Latin, or indirectly, through the medium of Norman-French. Of forty-three nouns and adjectives in the English version twenty-nine are Anglo-Saxon, fourteen Latin: of fifty-three nouns and adjectives in Tamil (the difference in idiom causes this difference in the number) thirty-two are Dravidian, twenty-one Sanskrit. Of twenty verbs in English, thirteen are Anglo-Saxon, seven Latin: of thirty-four verbs in Tamil, twenty-seven are Dravidian, and only seven Sanskrit. Of the five numerals which are found in English, either in their cardinal or their ordinal shape, all are Anglo-Saxon: of the six numerals found in Tamil, five are Dravidian, one ('thousand') is Sanskrit. Putting all these numbers together for the purpose of ascertaining the percentage, I find that in the department of nouns, numerals, and verbs, the amount of the foreign elements is in both instances the same—viz., as nearly as possible forty-five per cent. In both instances, also, all the pronouns, prepositions, adverbs, and conjunctions, and all the inflexional forms and connecting particles, are the property of the native tongue.

Archbishop Trench's expressions respecting the character of the contributions which our mother-English has received from Anglo-Saxon and from Latin respectively, are exactly applicable to the relation and proportion which the native Dravidian element bears to the Sanskrit contained in Tamil. " All its joints, its whole articulation, its sinews, and its ligaments, the great body of articles, pronouns, conjunctions, prepositions, numerals, auxiliary verbs, all smaller words which serve to knit together, and bind the larger into sentences, these, not to speak of the grammatical structure of the language, are exclusively Anglo-Saxon (Dravidian). The Latin (Sanskrit) may contribute its tale of bricks, yea, of goodly and polished hewn stones, to the spiritual building, but the mortar, with all that holds and binds these together, and constitutes them into a house, is Anglo-Saxon (Dravidian) throughout."

Though the proportion of Sanskrit which we find to be contained in the Tamil version of the Ten Commandments happens to correspond so exactly to the proportion of Latin contained in the English version, it would be an error to conclude that the Tamil language is as deeply indebted to Sanskrit as English is to Latin.

Tamil can readily dispense with the greater part or the whole of its Sanskrit, and by dispensing with it rises to a purer and more refined style; whereas English cannot abandon its Latin without abandoning perspicuity. Anglo-Saxon has no synonyms of its own for many of the words it has borrowed from Latin; so that if it were obliged to dispense with them, it would, in most cases, be under the necessity of using a very awkward periphrasis instead of a single word. Tamil, on the other hand, is peculiarly rich in synonyms; and generally it is not through any real necessity, but from choice and the fashion of the age, that it makes use of Sanskrit. If the Ten Commandments were expressed in the speech of the lower classes of the Tamil people, the proportion of Sanskrit would be very greatly diminished; and if we wished to raise the style of the translation to a refined and classical pitch, Sanskrit would almost entirely disappear. Of the entire number of words contained in this formula there is only one which could not be expressed with faultless propriety and poetic elegance in equivalents of pure Dravidian origin. That word is 'image'! Both word and thing are foreign to primitive Tamil usages and habits of thought, and were introduced into the Tamil country by the Brāhmans, with the Purānic system of religion and the worship of idols. Through the predominant influence of the religion of the Brāhmans, the majority of the words expressive of religious ideas in actual use in modern Tamil are of Sanskrit origin, and though there are equivalent Dravidian words which are equally appropriate, and in some instances more so, such words have gradually become obsolete, and are now confined to the poetical dialect; so that the use of them in prose compositions would sound affected and pedantic. This is the real and only reason why Sanskrit derivatives are so generally used in Tamil religious compositions.

In the other Dravidian languages, whatever be the nature of the composition or subject-matter treated of, the amount of Sanskrit employed is considerably larger than in Tamil; and the use of it has acquired more of the character of a necessity. This is in consequence of the literature of those languages having chiefly been cultivated by Brāhmans. Even in Telugu the principal grammatical writers and the most celebrated poets have been Brāhmans. There is only one work of note in that language which was not composed by a member of the sacred caste; and indeed the Telugu Śūdras, who constitute *par excellence* the Telugu people, seem almost entirely to have abandoned to the Brāhmans the culture of their own language, with every other branch of literature

and science. In Tamil, on the contrary, few Brāhmans have written anything worthy of preservation. The language has been cultivated and developed with immense zeal and success by native Tamilians; and the highest rank in Tamil literature which has been reached by a Brāhman is that of a commentator.* The commentatary of Parimēlaṛagar on the Kuṛaḷ of Tiruvaḷḷuvar (supposed to have been a Pariar, yet the acknowledged and deified prince of Tamil authors) is the most classical production written in Tamil by a Brāhman.

Professor Wilson observes that the spoken languages of the South were cultivated in imitation of Sanskrit, and but partially aspired to an independent literature; that the principal compositions in Tamil, Telugu, Canarese, and Malayāḷam, are translations or paraphrases from Sanskrit works, and that they largely borrow the phraseology of their originals. This representation is not perfectly correct, in so far as Tamil is concerned; for the compositions that are universally admitted to be the finest in the language, viz., the Kuṛaḷ and the Chintāmaṇi, are perfectly independent of Sanskrit, and original in design as well as in execution; and though it is true that Tamil writers have imitated—I cannot say translated—the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahā-bhārata, and similar works, they boast that the Tamil Rāmāyaṇa of their own Kambar is greatly superior to the Sanskrit original of Vālmīki.

(5) Of all evidences of identity or diversity of languages the most conclusive are those which are furnished by a comparison of their grammatical structure; and by such a comparison the independence of the Dravidian languages of Sanskrit will satisfactorily and conclusively be established. By the same comparison (at the risk of anticipating a question which will be discussed more fully in the body of the work), the propriety of placing these languages, if not in the Scythian group, yet in a position nearer that group than the Indo-European, will be indicated.

The most prominent and essential differences in point of grammatical structure between the Dravidian languages and Sanskrit, are as follows:—

(i) In the Dravidian languages all nouns denoting inanimate substances and irrational beings are of the neuter gender. The distinction of male and female appears only in the pronouns of the third person; in the adjectives (properly appellative nouns) which denote rational beings, and are formed by suffixing the pronominal

* This is not strictly accurate. Brahmins have contributed also to Tamil literature, devotional as well as philosophical.—*Editors.*

terminations; and in the third person of the verb, which, being formed by suffixing the same pronominal terminations, has three forms in the singular and two in the plural, to distinguish the several genders, in accordance with the pronouns of the third person. In all other cases where it is required to mark the distinction of gender, separate words signifying 'male' and 'female' are prefixed; but, even in such cases, though the object denoted be the male or female of an animal, the noun which denotes it does not cease to be considered neuter, and neuter forms of the pronoun and verb are required to be conjoined with it. This rule presents a marked contrast to the rules respecting gender which we find in the vivid and highly imaginative Sanskrit, and in the other Indo-European languages, but it accords with the usage of the languages of the Scythian group.

(ii) Dravidian nouns are inflected not by means of case-terminations, but by means of suffixed post-positions and separable particles. The only difference between the declension of the plural and that of the singular, is that the inflexional signs are annexed in the singular to the base, in the plural to the sign of plurality, exactly as in the Sythian languages. After the pluralising particle has been added to the base, all nouns, irrespective of number and gender, are declined in the same manner as in the singular.

(iii) Dravidian neuter nouns are rarely pluralised; neuter plurals are still more rare in the inflexions of the verb.

(iv) The Dravidian dative *ku*, *ki*, or *ge*, bears no analogy to any dative case-termination which is found in Sanskrit or in any of the Indo-European languages; but it corresponds to the dative of the Oriental Turkish, to that of the language of the Scythian tablets of Behistun, and to that of several of the languages of the Finnish family.

(v) In those connections in which prepositions are used in the Indo-European languages, the Dravidian languages, with those of the Scythian group, use post-positions instead—which post-positions do not constitute a separate part of speech, but are simply nouns of relation or quality, adopted as auxiliaries. All adverbs are either nouns or the gerunds or infinitives of verbs, and invariably precede the verbs they qualify.

(vi) In Sanskrit and the Indo-European tongues, adjectives are declined like substantives, and agree with the substantives to which they are conjoined in gender, number, and case. In the Dravidian languages, as in the Scythian, adjectives are incapable of declension. When used separately as abstract nouns of quality, which is the

original and natural character of Dravidian adjectives, they are subject to all the inflexions of substantives; but when they are used adjectivally—*i.e.*, to qualify other substantives—they do not admit any inflexional change, but are simply prefixed to the nouns which they qualify.

(vii) It is also a characteristic of these languages, as of the Mongolian, the Manchu, and several other Scythian languages, in contradistinction to the languages of the Indo-European family, that, wherever it is practicable, they use as adjectives the relative participles of verbs, in preference to nouns of quality, or adjectives properly so called; and that in consequence of this tendency, when nouns of quality are used, the formative termination of the relative participle is generally suffixed to them, through which suffix they partake of the character both of nouns and of verbs.

(viii) The existence of two pronouns of the first person plural, one of which includes, the other excludes, the party addressed, is a peculiarity of the Dravidian dialects, as of many of the Scythian languages; but is unknown to Sanskrit and the languages of the Indo-European family. The only thing at all resembling it in these languages is their use of the dual.

(ix) The Dravidian languages have no passive voice. The passive is expressed by auxiliary verbs signifying 'to suffer,' &c.

(x) The Dravidian languages like the Scythian, but unlike the Indo-European, prefer the use of continuative participles to conjunctions.

(xi) The existence of a negative as well as an affirmative voice in the verbal system of these languages, constitutes another essential point of difference between them and Sanskrit: it equally constitutes a point of agreement between them and the Scythian tongues.

(xii) It is a marked peculiarity of these languages, as of the Mongolian and the Manchu, and in a modified degree of many other Scythian languages, that they make use of relative participles instead of relative pronouns. There is no trace of the existence of a relative pronoun in any Dravidian language except the Gōnd alone, which seems to have lost its relative participle, and uses instead the relative pronoun of the Hindī. The place of such pronouns is supplied in the Dravidian languages, as in the Scythian tongues mentioned above, by relative participles, which are formed from the present, preterite, and future participles of the verb by the addition of a formative suffix; which suffix is in general identical with the sign of the possessive case. Thus, 'the person who came' is in Tamil

vand-a, āḷ, literally 'the who-came person'; *vand-u,* the preterite *verbal* participle signifying 'having come,' being converted into a *relative* participle, equivalent to 'the-who-came,' by the addition of the old possessive and adjectival suffix *a*.

(xiii) The situation of the governing word is characteristic of each of these families of languages. In the Indo-European family it usually precedes the word governed: in the Dravidian and in all the Scythian languages, it is invariably placed after it; in consequence of which the nominative always occupies the first place in the sentence, and the one finite verb the last. The adjective precedes the substantive: the adverb precedes the verb: the substantive which is governed by a verb, together with every word that depends upon it or qualifies it, precedes the verb by which it is governed: the relative participle precedes the noun on which it depends: the negative branch of a sentence precedes the affirmative: the noun in the genitive case precedes that which governs it: the *pre*-position changes places with the noun and becomes a *post*-position in virtue of its governing a case: and finally the sentence is concluded by the one, all-governing, finite verb. In each of these important and highly characteristic peculiarities of syntax, the Dravidian languages and the Scythian are thoroughly agreed.*

Many other differences in grammatical structure, and many differences also in regard to the system of sounds, will be pointed out hereafter, in the course of the analysis; but in the important particulars which are mentioned above, the Dravidian languages evidently differ so considerably from the languages of the Indo-European family, and in particular from Sanskrit (notwithstanding the predominance for so many ages of the social and religious influence of the Sanskrit-speaking race), that it can scarcely be doubted that they belong to a totally different family of tongues. They are neither derived from Sanskrit, nor are capable of being affiliated to it: and it cannot have escaped the notice of the student that in every one of those particulars in which the grammatical structure of the Dravidian languages differs from Sanskrit, it agrees with the structure of the Scythian languages, or the languages of Central and Northern Asia.

In some particulars—as might be expected from the contact into which the Sanskrit-speaking race was brought with the abori-

* The only exceptions to the rule respecting the position of the governing word in the Dravidian languages are found in poetical compositions, in which, occasionally, for the sake of effect, the order of words required by rule is transposed.

ginal races of India—Sanskrit appears to differ less widely than the other Indo-European tongues from the languages of the Scythian group. One of these particulars—the appearance in Sanskrit of consonants of the cerebral series—will be discussed further on in connection with the Dravidian system of sounds. Mr Edkins, in his "China's Place in Philology," has opened up a new line of inquiry in regard to the existence of Turanian influences in the grammatical structure of Sanskrit. He regards the inflexion of nouns by means of case-endings alone, without prepositions in addition, as the adoption by Sanskrit of a Turanian rule. He thinks also the position of the words in a Sanskrit prose sentence is Turanian rather than Aryan. It is an invariable law of the distinctively Turanian tongues that related sentences precede those to which they are related. It is another invariable law that the finite verb is placed at the end of the sentence. In both these particulars Mr Edkins thinks that Sanskrit has yielded to Turanian influences. This certainly seems to be the case with regard to the vernaculars which have been developed out of the old colloquial Sanskrit; but in so far as the Sanskrit of literature is concerned, the Turanian rule is far from being universally followed. Mr Edkins himself gives an illustration from a Sanskrit prose story (p. 315), which shows that a relative clause sometimes succeeds, instead of preceding, the indicative clause, and that the position of the finite verb is not always at the end of the sentence. Perhaps all that can be said with certainty is that in Sanskrit prose and in prosaic verse related sentences generally precede, and the finite verb generally comes last. Up to this point, therefore, it may perhaps fairly be held that Turanian influences have made themselves felt even in Sanskrit. We are safer, however, in dealing with facts than with causes; for on this theory it might be necessary to hold that Latin syntax is more 'Turanian' than Greek, and German more 'Turanian' than English.

Is there a Dravidian Element in the Vernacular Languages of Northern India?

The hypothesis of the direct derivation of the Dravidian tongues from Sanskrit, with the admixture of a proportion of words and forms from an unknown source, having been found untenable, some oriental scholars adopted an opposite hypothesis, and attributed to the influence of the Dravidian languages that corruption of Sanskrit out of which the vernaculars of Northern India have arisen. It was supposed by the Rev. Dr Stevenson, of Bombay, * Mr Hodgson, of

* *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay.*

Nepāl,* and some other orientalists, (1) that the North-Indian vernaculars had been derived from Sanskrit, not so much by the natural process of corruption and disintegration, as through the overmastering, remoulding power of the non-Sanskritic element contained in them; and (2) that this non-Sanskritic element was identical with the Dravidian speech, which they supposed to have been the speech of the ancient Nishādas, and other aborigines of India.

The first part of this hypothesis appears to rest upon a better foundation than the second; but even the first part appears to me to be too strongly expressed, and to require considerable modification; for in some important particulars the corruption of Sanskrit into Hindī, Bengālī, &c., has been shown to have arisen from that natural process of change which we see exemplified in Europe, in the corruption of Latin into Italian and Spanish. Nevertheless, on comparing the grammatical structure and essential character of Sanskrit with those of the vernaculars of Northern India, I feel persuaded—though here I am off my own ground, and must express myself with diffidence—that the direction in which those vernaculars have been differentiated from Sanskrit has to a considerable extent been non-Aryan, and that this must have been owing, in what way soever it may have been brought about, to the operation of non-Aryan influences.

The modifications which the grammar of the North Indian languages has received, being generally of one and the same character, and in one and the same direction, it may be concluded that there must have been a common modifying cause; and as the non-Sanskritic portion of those languages, which Professor Wilson styles "a portion of a primitive, unpolished, and scanty speech, the relics of a period prior to civilisation," has been calculated to amount to one-tenth of the whole, and in Marāṭhī to a fifth, it seems reasonable to infer that it was, in part at least, from that extraneous element that the modifying influences proceeded.

It is admitted that before the arrival of the Aryans, or Sanskrit-speaking colony of Brāhmans, Kshatriyas, and Vaiśyas, the greater part of Northern India was peopled by rude aboriginal tribes, called by Sanskrit writers Dasyus, Nishādas, Mlēchchas, &c.; and it is the received opinion that those aboriginal tribes were of Scythian, or at least of non-Aryan, origin. On the irruption of the Aryans, it would

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* *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal;* also "Aborigines of India," Calcutta, 1849.

naturally happen that the copious and expressive Sanskrit of the conquering race would almost overwhelm the vocabulary of the rude Scythian tongues spoken by the aboriginal tribes. Nevertheless, as the grammatical structure of the Scythian tongues possesses peculiar stability and persistency, and as the præ-Aryan tribes, who were probably more numerous than the Aryans, were not annihilated, but only reduced to a dependent position, and eventually, in most instances, incorporated in the Aryan community, it would seem almost necessarily to follow that they would modify, whilst they adopted, the language of their conquerors, and that this modification would consist, partly in the addition of new words, and partly also in the introduction of a new spirit and tendency.

This hypothesis seems to have the merit of according better than any other with existing phenomena. Seeing that the northern vernaculars possess, with the words of the Sanskrit, a grammatical structure which in the main appears to be Scythian, it seems more correct to represent those languages as having a Scythian basis, with a large and almost overwhelming Sanskrit addition, than as having a Sanskrit basis, with a small admixture of a Scythian element. The existence of a 'Tartarean or Chaldee,' that is, of a Scythian, element in the colloquial dialects of Northern India was first asserted by Sir W. Jones ("Asiatic Researches," vol. i), and till of late has been generally admitted. It has recently been called in question in the *Indian Antiquary* (April 1872), in a paper by Mr Growse, B.C.S. His observations are confined to Hindī, and deal, not with its grammatical principles, but with the vocabulary only; but they prove the necessity of more extended research before the existence of any considerable amount of non-Sanskritic elements in that dialect can be regarded as certain.

The second part of the hypothesis of Dr Stevenson, viz., the identity of the non-Sanskritic element contained in those languages —supposing the existence of such an element established—with the languages of the Dravidian family, rests on a different foundation, and appears to me to be less defensible. According to the supposition in question, the Scythian or Dravidian element is substantially one and the same in all the vernacular languages of India, whether northern or southern, but is smallest in amount in those districts of Northern India which were first conquered by the Aryans; greater in the remoter districts of the Dekhan, Telingana, and Mysore; and greatest of all in the Tamil country, at the southern extremity of the peninsula, to which the aggressions of the Brāhmanical race had scarcely extended in the age of Manu and the Rāmāyaṇa.

This hypothesis certainly appears at first sight to accord with the current of events in the ancient history of India; but whatever relationship, in point of blood and race, may originally have subsisted between the northern aborigines and the southern—whatever *ethnological* evidences of their identity may be supposed to exist—when we view the question *philologically,* and with reference to the *ethnological* evidences of their identity may be supposed to exist—when we view the question *philologically,* and with reference to the evidence furnished by their languages alone, the hypothesis of their identity does not appear to me to have been established. It may be true that various analogies in point of grammatical structure appear to connect the non-Sanskritic element contained in the North-Indian idioms with the Scythian tongues. This connection, however (if it really exists), amounts only to a general relationship to the entire group of Scythian languages; and scarcely any special relationship to the Dravidian languages, *in contra-distinction* to those of the Turkish, the Finnish, or any other Scythian family, has yet been shown to exist. Indeed I conceive that the non-Aryan substratum of the North-Indian idioms presents as large a number of points of agreement with the oriental Turkish, or with that Scythian tongue or family of tongues by which the New Persian has been modified, as with any of the Dravidian languages.

The principal particulars in which the grammar of the North-Indian idioms accords with that of the Dravidian languages are as follows:—(1), the inflexion of nouns by means of separate postfixed particles added to the oblique form of the noun; (2), the inflexion of the plural by annexing to the unvarying sign of plularity the same suffixes of case as those by which the singular is inflected; (3), the use in several of the northern idioms of two pronouns of the first person plural, the one including, the other excluding, the party addressed; (4), the use of post-positions, instead of prepositions; (5), the formation of verbal tenses by means of participles; (6), the situation of the relative sentence before the indicative; (7), the situation of the governing word after the word governed. In the particulars above-mentioned, the grammar of the North-Indian idioms undoubtedly resembles that of the Dravidian family: but the argument founded upon this general agreement is to a considerable extent neutralised by the circumstance that those idioms accord in the same particulars, and to the same extent, with several other families of the Scythian group. None of those particulars in which the Dravidian languages differ from the Turkish or the Mongolian (and there are many such

points of difference) has as yet been discovered, so far as I am aware, in the North-Indian idioms. For instance, those idioms contain no trace of the relative participle which is used in all the Dravidian tongues, except the Gōṇḍ, instead of a relative pronoun; they are destitute of the regularly inflected negative verb of the Dravidian languages; and they contain not one of the Dravidian pronouns or numerals—not even those which we find in the Medo-Scythic tablets of Behistun, and which still survive even in the languages of the Ostiaks, the Chinese, and the Lapps. If the non-Sanskritic element contained in the northern vernaculars had been Dravidian, we might also expect to find in their vocabularies a few primary Dravidian roots—such as the words for 'head,' 'foot,' 'eye', 'ear,' &c.; but I have not been able to discover any reliable analogy in words belonging to this class. The only resemblances which have been pointed out are those which Dr Stevenson traced in a few words remote from ordinary use, and on which, in the absence of analogy in primary roots, and especially in grammatical structure, it is impossible to place any dependence. The wideness of the difference between the Dravidian vocabulary and that of the languages of Northern India with respect to primary roots, together with the essential agreement of all the Dravidian vocabularies one with another, will appear from the following comparative view of the pronouns of the first and second persons singular. It sometimes happens that where one form of the pronoun is used in the nominative, another survives in the oblique cases, and a third in the verbal inflexions: it also sometimes happens that the ancient form of the pronoun differs from the modern. Where such is the case I have given all extant forms a place in the list, for the purpose of facilitating comparison.

Pronoun of the First Person Singular.

Gaurian Idioms.		Dravidian Idioms.	
(Sanskrit primary form, *aham*; secondary forms, *ma, mi, m*; Turkish primary form, *man*.)		Tamil,	*nān, yān, ēn, en.*
		Canarese,	*ān, yān, nā, nānu, en, ēne.*
		Tuḷu,	*yān, yen, e.*
		Malayāḷam	*ñān, ēn, en, ena, eni, ini.*
		Telugu,	*nēnu, nē, ēnu, ē, nā, nu, ni.*
Hindī,	*main.*	Tuda,	*ān, en, eni, ini.*
Bengālī,	*mūi.*	Kōta,	*āne, en, e.*
Marāṭhī,	*mī.*	Gōṇḍ,	*annā, nā, ān, na.*
Gujarātī,	*hun.*	Ku,	*ānu, nā, in, e.*
Sindhi,	*man.*	Rājmahāl,	*en.*
		Orāon,	*enan.*

Pronoun of the Second Person Singular

Gaurian Idioms.		Dravidian Idioms.	
(Sanskrit primary forms, *tvam, tav, te*: secondary form, *si, s*; Turkish primary form, *sen.*)		Tamil,	*nī, nin, nun, ei, i, āy, ōy.*
		Canarese,	*nīn, nīnu, nī, nin, ay, e, īye, ī,, i.*
		Tuḷu,	*ī, nin, ni.*
		Malayāḷam,	*nī, nin.*
Hindī,	*tu, tun, te.*	Telugu,	*nīvu, īvu, nī, nin, vu, vi.*
Bengālī,	*tūi, to.*	Tuda,	*nī, nin, i.*
Marāṭhī,	*tūn, tu, to.*	Kōta,	*nī, nin, i.*
Gujarātī,	*tūn, ta.*	Gōṇḍ,	*imma, ni, ī.*
Sindhi,	*tun*, to.	Ku,	*īnu, nī, i.*
		Orāon,	*nīen.*
		Rājmahāl,	*nin.*
		Brahuī,	*nī, nā.*
		Scythic of the Behistun tablets,	*nī.*

From the striking dissimilarity existing between the Gaurian pronouns and the Dravidian, it is obvious that, whatever may have been the nature and origin of the influences by which the Gaurian languages were modified, those influences do not appear to have been distinctly Dravidian. In the pronouns of almost all the North-Indian languages we may notice the Scythic termination—the obscure *n*, which forms the final of most of the pronouns. We cannot fail also to notice the entire disappearance of the nominative of the Sanskrit pronoun of the first person singular, and the substitution for it of the Turkish-like *main* or *man*; but in no connection, in no number or case, in no compound or verbal inflexion, do we see any trace of the peculiar personal pronouns of the Dravidian family. Possibly further research may disclose the existence in the northern vernaculars of distinctively Dravidian forms and roots; but their existence does not appear to me as yet to be proved; for most of Dr Stevenson's analogies take too wide a range, and where they are supposed to be distinctly Dravidian they disappear on examination. I conclude, therefore, that the non-Sanskritic portion of the northern languages cannot safely be placed in the same category with the southern, except perhaps in the sense of both being Scythian rather than Aryan.

Thus far I had written in the first edition of this work. Since then the subject has been much discussed, especially in Muir's "Sanskrit Texts," vol. ii., and in Beames's "Comparative Gram-

mar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India." The general result appears to be that it remains as certain as ever—it could scarcely become more certain—that few, if any, traces of *distinctively* Dravidian elements are discernible in the North-Indian vernaculars. On the one hand, Dr Gundert argues strongly—not indeed for the existence of Dravidian elements in those vernaculars, as distinguished from their existence in Sanskrit—but for the existence of such elements in Sanskrit itself. See his remarks on this subject (from the *Journal of the German Oriental Society for* 1869), in the section on Glossarial Affinities. On the other hand, Mr Growse thus concludes a discussion on the question of the existence of traces of a non-Aryan element in the northern vernaculars —"The foregoing considerations demonstrate the soundness of the proposition laid down in the outset, viz., that the proportion of words in the Hindī vocabulary not connected with Sanskrit forms is exceedingly inconsiderable; such fact appearing—first, from the silence of the early grammarians as to the existence of any such non-Sanskritic element; secondly, from the discovery that many of the words hastily set down as barbarous are in reality traceable to a classic source; and, thirdly, from the unconscious addherence of the modern vernacular to the same laws of formation as influenced it in an admittedly Sanskritic stage of development."

The following more extended remarks in confirmation of the same view of the subject are from Mr Beames's "Comparative Grammar" (Introduction, pp. 9-10,* § 3):—"Next comes the class of words described as neither Sanskritic nor Aryan, but *x*. It is known that on entering India the Aryans found that country occupied by races of a different family from their own. With these races they waged a long and chequered warfare, gradually pushing on after each fresh victory, till at the end of many centuries they obtained possession of the greater part of the territories they now enjoy. Through these long ages, periods of peace alternated with those of war, and the contest between the two races may have been as often friendly as hostile. The Aryans exercised a powerful influence upon their opponents, and we cannot doubt but that they themselves were also, but in a less degree, subject to some influence from them. There are consequently to be found even in Sanskrit some words which have a very non-Aryan look, and the number of such words is much greater still in the modern

* "A Comparative Grammar of the Modern Non-Aryan Languages of India," &c., by John Beames, Esq., B.C.S. London, 1872.

languages, and there exists, therefore, a temptation to attribute to non-Aryan sources any words whose origin it is difficult to trace from Aryan beginnings.

"It may be as well here to point out certain simple and almost obvious limitations to the application of the theory that the Aryans borrowed from their alien predecessors. Verbal resemblance is, unless supported by other arguments, the most unsafe of all grounds on which to base an induction in philology. Too many writers, in other respects meritorious, seem to proceed on Fluellen's process, 'There is a river in Macedon, and there is also moreover a river in Monmouth, and there is salmon in both.' A certain Tamil word contains a *P*, so does a certain Sanskrit word, and *ergo*, the latter is derived from the former! Now, I would urge, that, in the first place, the Aryans were superior morally as well as physically to the aborigines, and probably therefore imparted to them more than they received from them. Moreover, the Aryans were in possession of a copious language before they came into India; they would therefore not be likely to borrow words of an ordinary, usual description, such as names for their clothing, weapons, and utensils, or for their cattle and tools, or for the parts of their bodies, or for the various relations in which they stood to each other. The words they would be likely to borrow would be names for the new plants, animals, and natural objects which they had not seen in their former abodes, and even this necessity would be reduced by the tendency inherent in all races to invent descriptive names for new objects. A third limitation is afforded by geographical considerations. Which were the tribes that the Aryans mixed with, either as friends or foes? Could the bulk of them have come into frequent and close contact with the Dravidians; and if so, when and how? These are questions which it is almost impossible to answer in the present state of our knowledge, but they are too important to be altogether set aside; and it may be therefore pointed out, merely as a contribution to the subject, that the tribes driven out of the valley of the Ganges by the Aryans were almost certainly Kols to the south, and semi-Tibetans to the north. It is fair to look with suspicion on an etymology which takes us from Sanskrit to Tamil, without exhibiting a connecting series of links through the intervening Kol tribes. If the above limitations are rigidly applied, they will narrow very much the area within which non-Aryan forms are possible in Sanskrit and its descendants, and will force us to have recourse to a far more extensive and careful research within the domain of

Sanskrit itself than has hitherto been made, with a view to finding in that language the origin of modern words."

I coincide generally in the above remarks, especially in so far as they bear on the question of the influence of the Dravidian languages, properly so called, on the North-Indian or Aryan vernaculars. That influence, as I have always held, must have been but slight. It is a different question whether the influences by which the Aryan vernaculars have been moulded into their present shape may not have been in some degree Scythian or at least non-Aryan. Dravidian, Scythian, and non-Aryan are not convertible terms. Mr Beames himself says, in his chapter on "Vowel Changes," p. 128, "I am not in a position to point out how far, or in what direction, Aryan vocalism has been influenced by these alien races (on the northern and eastern frontier, in Central India, and on the south) ; but that some sort of influence has been at work is almost beyond a doubt." In treating of 'the breaking down of *a* and *ā* into *e*' in the northern vernaculars, he says, "this seems to be one of those points where non-Aryan influences have been at work."—P. 140. In treating also of the cerebral *ḷ*, he says, "This curious heavy *ḷ* is very widely employed in the Dravidian group of languages, where it interchanges freely with *r* and *ḍ*, and it is also found in the Kōle family in Central India. The Marathas and Oriyas are perhaps of all the Aryan tribes those which have been for the longest time in contact with Koles and Dravidians, and it is not surprising, therefore, to find the cerebral *ḷ* more freely used by them than by others."—P. 245.

Dr Ernest Trumpp, in his "Grammar of the Sindhī Language," maintains that the northern vernaculars exhibit decided traces of non-Aryan influences. He thinks we shall be able "to trace out a certain residuum of vocables, which we must allot to an old aboriginal language, of which neither name nor extent is now known to us, but which in all probability was of the Tātār stock of languages, and spread throughout the length and breadth of India before the irruption of the Aryan race." In confirmation of this view he adduces the preference of cerebral consonants to dentals. "Nearly three-fourths," he thinks, "of the Sindhī words which commence with a cerebral are taken from some aboriginal non-Aryan idiom which in recent times has been termed Scythian, but which he would prefer to call Tātār." "And this," he proceeds to say, "seems to be very strong proof that the cerebrals have been borrowed from some idiom anterior to the introduction of the Aryan languages." In noticing the aversion of the Prākrit to aspirates, he remarks that "this

aversion seems to point to a Tātār underground current in the mouth of the common people, the Dravidian languages of the south being destitute of aspirates." He attributes also to Dravidian influences the pronunciation of *ch* and *j* in certain connections as *ts* and *dz*, by Marāṭhi as by Telugu.

To what Group of Languages are the Dravidian Idioms to be affiliated?

From the commencement of my Tamil studies I felt much interested in the problem of the ulterior relationship of the Dravidian family of languages; and before I was aware of the opinion which Professor Rask of Copenhagen was the first to express, I arrived by a somewhat similar process at a similar conclusion—viz., that the Dravidian languages are to be affiliated not so much to the Indo-European as to the Scythian group of tongues. I described the conclusion I arrived at as similar to Rask's, not the same, because I did not think it safe to place the Dravidian idioms unconditionally in the Scythian group, but preferred considering them more closely allied to the Scythian than to the Indo-European. In using the word 'Scythian,' I use it in the wide, general sense in which it was used by Rask, who first employed it to designate that group of tongues which comprises the Finnish, the Turkish, the Mongolian, and the Tungusian families. All these languages are formed on one and the same grammatical system, and in accordance with the same general laws. They all express grammatical relation by the simple agglutination of auxiliary words or particles; whilst in the Semitic languages grammatical relation is expressed by variations in the internal vowels of the roots, and in the Chinese and other isolative, monosyllabic languages, by the position of words in the sentence alone. The Indo-European languages appear to have been equally with the Scythian agglutinative in origin; but they have come to require to be formed into a class by themselves, through their allowing their agglutinated auxiliary words to sink into the position of mere signs of inflexion. The Scythian languages have been termed by some the Tātār family of tongues, by others the Finnish, the Altaïc, the Mongolian, or the Turanian; but as these terms have often been appropriated to designate one or two families, to the exclusion of the rest, they seem too narrow to be safely employed as common designations of the entire group. The term 'Scythian' having already been used by the classical writers in a vague, undefined sense, to denote generally the barbarous tribes of unknown origin that inhabited the

northern parts of Asia and Europe, it seemed to me the most appropriate and convenient word which was available.

Professor Rask, who was the first to suggest that the Dravidian languages were probably Scythian, did little more than suggest this relationship. The evidence of it was left both by him and by the majority of succeeding writers in a very defective state. General statements of the Scythian relationship of the Dravidian languages, with a few grammatical illustrations, occupy a place in Prichard's "Researches," and have been repeated in several more recent works. Prichard himself wished to see the problem, not merely stated, but solved; but I believe it can never be definitely solved without previously ascertaining, by a careful intercomparison of dialects, what were the most ancient grammatical forms and the most essential characteristics of the Dravidian languages and of the various families of languages included in the Scythian group respectively. It was not till after I had commenced to carry the first edition of this work through the press that I became acquainted with Professor Max Müller's treatise "On the Present State of our Knowledge of the Turanian Languages," included in Bunsen's "Outlines of the Philosophy of Universal History." Notwithstanding the great excellence of that treatise, I did not find my own work forestalled by the Professor's. His was a general survey of the whole field. It was my object to endeavour to cultivate more thoroughly one portion of the field, or at least to prepare it for thorough cultivation. Whilst the principal features of the Dravidian tongues are strongly marked, and whilst their grammatical principles and syntactic arrangement are of too peculiar a nature to be easily mistaken, there is much in the phonic system of these languages, in their dialectic interchanges and displacements, and in their declensional and conjugational forms, which cannot be understood without special study.

In the course of the grammatical analysis and comparison of the Dravidian languages on which we are about to enter, I hope to help forward the solution of the problem of their ulterior relationship. It is a problem which has often, up to a certain point, been ingeniously elucidated, but which has never yet been thoroughly investigated. I am very far from regarding anything contained in the following work as a thorough investigation of this problem. The chief object I have in view is to contribute to a better knowledge of the Dravidian languages themselves. However interesting the question of affiliation may be, I regard that question as quite subsidiary to the object of the work in hand. Besides, I believe it will be found neces-

sary for the satisfactory solution of the question, that the intercomparison of the various languages and families of languages of which the Scythian group is composed, should be carried much further than it has been carried as yet. An excellent beginning has been made in Boller's treatises: "Die Finnischen Sprachen" and "Die Conjugation in den Finnischen Sprachen," Schott's treatise "Über das Finnish-Tatarische Sprachengeschlecht," and Castrén's "De Affixis Personalibus Linguarum Altaicarum"; in addition to which we have now Professor Hunfalvy's paper "On the Study of the Turanian Languages," in which he carefully compares the Hungarian, Vogul, Ostiak, and Finnish, and proves that the vocabularies of those four languages are of a common origin, and that their grammars are closely related. Till, however, the comparative study of the whole of these languages has been carried still further, one term of the comparison will always be liable to be misapprehended. My knowledge of the Scythian languages is only at second hand, and I am fully conscious of the truth of Böhtlingk's dictum, that "it is dangerous to write on languages of which we do not possess the most accurate knowledge." I trust, therefore, it will be remembered that if I advocate any particular theory on this question of affiliation, I do so with considerable diffidence.

Professors Pott and Friedrich Müller, followed by an increasing number of philologists, are unwilling to admit that the various languages of the so-called Scythian or Turanian class or group have had a common origin. They admit them to be morphologically or physiologically related, but do not concede to them any genealogical relationship. Dr Black also (*Journal of the Anthropological Society*, 1871) thinks it "not impossible that some or all of the Turanian languages exhibit only certain stages of development in one particular direction, taken either by members of different families, or by different branches of the same family." On the whole, however, the resemblances apparent amongst these languages, both in structure and vocabulary, as pointed out by Castrén and the other writers referred to, seem to me too numerous and essential to admit of any other conclusion than that of their original oneness. "These languages" appear to me, to use Professor Max Müller's words, to "share elements in common which they must have borrowed from the same source, and their formal coincidences, though of a different character from those of the Aryan and Semitic families, are such that it would be impossible to ascribe them to mere accident" ("Lecture I.," 301). "The only coincidences we are likely to find,"

he says, "in agglutinative languages long separated, are such as refer to 'the radical materials of language, or to those parts of speech which it is most difficult to reproduce—pronouns, numerals, and prepositions. It is astonishing rather that any words of a conventional meaning should have been discovered as the common property of the Turanian languages than that most of their words and forms should be peculiar to each.'"

The various particulars which I adduced in the preceding section to prove that the Dravidian languages are essentially different from, and independent of, Sanskrit (each of which will be considered more fully under its own appropriate head) may also be regarded as contributing to show, both that the various languages of the Scythian group have sprung from a common origin, and also that the Dravidian languages—if not actually to be included in the Scythian group—stand to that group in some sort of relationship. In some important particulars the Dravidian languages have undoubtedly approximated to the Indo-European, especially in this, that instead of continuing to be purely agglutinative they have become partly inflexional. Several of the words of relation used as auxiliaries in declension and conjugation have ceased to be capable of being used as independent words. Still, it would be unnecessary on this account alone to disconnect these languages wholly from the Scythian group, for those auxiliary words, though they have now in some instances shrunk into the condition of fossilised relics, are always separable from the roots to which they are appended. They have never so far coalesced with the roots—as such words have generally done in the Indo-European languages—as to form with the roots only one integral word, in which it is almost impossible to determine which is the root and which is the modificatory element. It is also to be remembered that the Turkish, Finnish, Hungarian, and Japanese languages, though in many particulars distinctively Turanian, have become still more inflexional than the Dravidian. Mr Edkins, in his "China's Place in Philology," has warmly supported both the positions I have advocated—viz., the original unity of all the Scythian languages and the affiliation of the Dravidian languages on the whole to the Scythian group. A considerable number of the minute coincidences on which he relies will probably disappear on further investigation; but the more this branch of philology is studied the more I think it will be evident that the main lines of his argument—especially with regard to the resem-

blances between the Dravidian languages and the Mongolian—are correct. I cannot say that I think the resemblances of the Dravidian languages to the Chinese very numerous. Mr Edkins holds the original unity, not only of the Scythian languages, but of all the languages of Europe and Asia, and argues that "what are called families of languages are only dialects of an earlier speech." This general principle seems to me to be in accordance, on the whole, with such facts as are known to us respecting the history of human speech, but it will probably be a considerable time before it is scientifically established. I may add that, to my own mind, the light which is thrown on the structure of the Dravidian languages by the study of the languages of the Scythian group has always seemed a strong confirmation of the theory of the existence in them of a Scythian element. The relative participle is one of the most distinguishing features of the Dravidian verb; but I never clearly understood the principle of the formation of that particle till I saw how it was formed in the Mongolian and Manchu; and no person, however reluctant to see a Scythian element in the Dravidian languages, has ever, so far as I am aware, objected to the explanation of the origin of the relative participle given in the first edition of this work, or suggested another. (See "The relative Participle," in Part V., on "The Verb.")

A remarkable confirmation, on the whole, of the Scythian theory has been furnished by the translation of the Behistun tablets. The inscriptions discovered at Behistun or Baghistān, in western Media, record the political autobiography of Darius Hystaspes in the Old Persian, in the Babylonian, and also in the language of the Scythians of the Medo-Persian empire; and the translation of the Scythian portion of those inscriptions has thrown a new light on the connection of the Dravidian languages with the Scythian group. The language of the second series of tablets was shown in Mr Norris's paper (in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xv.) to be distinctively Scythian. Professor Oppert holds that the people by whom this language was spoken were Medians, but agrees with Mr Norris in considering the language Scythian—that is, Turanian. We are now enabled, therefore, to compare the Dravidian idioms with a fully developed language of the Scythian family, as spoken in the fifth century B.C.: and whilst the language of the tablets has been shown to belong generally to the Scythian group, it has been found to bear a special relationship to a particular family included in that group—the Ugro-Finnish—a family which the Dravidian dialects

have long appeared to me to resemble. The principal points of resemblance between the Dravidian dialects and the language of the tablets are as follows:—

(1.) The language of the tablets appears to accord with the Dravidian tongues in the use of consonants of the cerebral class, *ṭ*, *ḍ*, and *ṇ*. These sounds exist also in Sanskrit, but I have long suspected that Sanskrit borrowed them from the indigenous Dravidian languages (*vide* the section on "Sounds"); and I find that Mr Norris has expressed the same opinion.

(2.) The language of the tablets agrees with Tamil in regarding the same consonant as a surd in the beginning of a word, and as a sonant in the middle, and in pronouncing the same consonant as a sonant when single, and as a surd when doubled. (See in the section on "sounds" illustrations of the Tamil rule.)

(3.) The genitive case of the language of the tablets is formed by suffixing the syllables *na*, *nina*, or *inna*. The analogous forms of the Dravidian languages are *nī* in the Telugu, *na* or *a* in Gōṇḍ or Brahuī, and *in* in Tamil.

(4.) The dative of the tablets is *ikki* or *ikka*. There are analogies to this both in the Tātar-Turkish and in the Ugrian families; but the form which is most perfectly in accordance with it is that of the Dravidian dative suffix *ku*, *ki*, *ka*, &c., preceded as the suffix generally is in Tamil and Malayāḷam, by a euphonic *u* or *i*, and a consequent doubling of the *k*. Compare *nin-ikka*, to thee, in the language of the tablets, with the corresponding *nin-a-ge*, in Canarese, and especially the Malayāḷam *nin-a-kku*.

(5.) The pronouns of the language of the tablets form their accusative by suffixing *un*, *in*, or *n*. Compare the Telugu accusative inflexion *nu* or *ni*, and the Canarese *am*, *ann-u*, &c.

(6.) The only numeral written in letters in the Scythian tablets is *kir*, one, with which appears to be connected the numeral adjective, or indefinite article, *ra*, or *irra*. In Telugu, 'one' is *oka*, and in Tamil *or*. The Ku numeral adjective 'one' is *ra*, corresponding to the Tamil *oru*, but more closely to the *ṛa* or *irra* of the tablets.

In the language of the tablets all ordinal numbers end in *im*, in Tamil in *ām*, in Samoïede in *im*.

(7.) The pronoun of the second person is exactly the same in the language of the inscriptions as in the Dravidian languages. In all it is *nī*; the oblique form, which is also the accusative, is *nin*. Unfortunately the plural of this pronoun is not contained in the tablets—the singular having been used instead of the plural in addressing inferiors.

(8.) The language of the tablets, like the Dravidian languages, makes use of a relative participle. A relative pronoun is used in addition to the relative participle; but Mr Norris supposes the use of this pronoun to be owing to the imitation of the Persian original. The particular particle which is used in the tablets in forming the relative participle differs from that which is generally used in the Dravidian languages; but the position and force of this particle, and the manner in which the participle formed by it is employed, are in perfect harmony with Dravidian usage. Perhaps the use of this relative participle is the most remarkable and distinctive characteristic of the grammar of every unaltered dialect of the Scythian family.

(9.) The negative imperative, or prohibitive, particle of the tablets is *inni*, in Gōṇḍ *minni*.

The conjugational system of the language of the tablets accords with that of the Hungarian, the Mordvin, and other languages of the Ugrian family, but differs considerably from the Dravidian languages, which form their tenses in a simpler manner, by the addition of particles of time to the root, and which form the persons of their verbs by the addition of the ordinary pronominal terminations to the particles of time. Notwithstanding this discrepancy in the inflexions of the verbs, the resemblances shown to subsist between the language of the tablets and the Dravidian idioms, most of which are in particulars of primary importance, seem to establish the existence of a radical, though very remote, connection. From the discovery of these analogies, we are led to conclude that the Dravidian race, though resident in India from a period long prior to the commencement of history, originated in the central tracts of Asia—the seed-plot of nations; and that from thence, after parting company with the Aryans and the Ugro-Turanians, and leaving a colony in Balūchistān, they entered India by way of the Indus.

Whilst I regard the grammatical structure and prevailing characteristic of the Dravidian idioms as in the main Scythian, I claim for them also, and have always claimed, as will be seen further on, the possession of certain remarkable affinities to the Indo-European family. In so far as they may be regarded as Scythian, they are allied not to the Turkish family, or to the Ugrian, or to the Mongolian or to the Tungusian (each of which families differs materially from the others, notwithstanding generic points of resemblance), but to the group or class in which all these families are comprised,

The Scythian family to which, on the whole, the Dravidian languages may be regarded as most nearly allied, is the Finnish or Ugrian, with some special affinities, as it appears, to the Ostiak branch of that family; and this supposition, which I had been led to entertain from the comparison of grammars and vocabularies alone, derives some confirmation from the fact brought to light by the Behistun tablets, that the ancient Scythic race, by which the greater part of Central Asia was peopled prior to the irruption of the Medo-Persians, belonged not to the Turkish, or to the Mongolian, but to the Ugrian stock. If we can venture to take for granted, at present, the conclusiveness of the evidence on which this hypothesis rests, the result at which we arrive is one of the most remarkable that the study of comparative philology has yet realised. How remarkable that distinct affinities to the speech of the Dravidians of inter-tropical India should be discoverable in the language of the Finns of Northern Europe, and of the Ostiaks and other Ugrians of Siberia; and, consequently, that the præ-Aryan inhabitants of the Dekhan should appear, from the evidence furnished by their language alone, in the silence of history, in the absence of all ordinary probabilities, to be allied to the tribes that appear to have overspread Europe before the arrival of the Teutons and the Hellenes, and even before the arrival of the Celts!* What a confirmation of the statement that "God hath made of *one* blood all nations of men, to dwell upon the face of the whole earth"!

In weighing the reasons which may be adduced for affiliating the Dravidian languages in the main to the Scythian group, it should be borne in mind that whilst the generic characteristic of the Scythian languages are very strongly marked and incapable of being mistaken, in a vast variety of minor particulars, and especially in their vocabularies, the languages comprised in this family differ from one another more widely than the various idioms of the Indo-European family mutually differ. Thus whilst in nearly all the Indo-European languages the numerals are not only similar, but the same —(the Sanskrit word for *one* being the only real exception to the rule of general identity)—not only do the numerals of every Scythian family differ so widely from those of every other as to present few or no points of resemblance, but even the numerals of any two

* Professor Hunfalvy does not admit that the Finno-Ugrian race arrived in Europe before the Celts, Teutons, and Slavonians. I adhere, however, to the ordinary belief prevailing amongst ethnologists, which appears to me in the main well-grounded. The late arrival of the Magyars in Hungary is of course admitted.

languages of the same family are found to differ very widely. So great, indeed, is the diversity existing amongst the Scythian tongues, that, whilst the Indo-European idioms form but one family, the Scythian tongues form not so much a family as a group of families—a group held together not by the bond of identity in details, but only by the bond of certain general characteristics which they all possess in common. The Indo-European languages may be regarded as forming but a single genus, of which each language—(Sanskrit, Zend, Old Persian, Greek, Latin, Gothic, Lithuanian, Slavonic, Celtic)—forms a species; whilst the languages of the Scythian group, more prolific in differences, comprise at least five or six authenticated genera, each of which includes as many species as are contained in the solitary Indo-European genus, besides twenty or thirty isolated languages, which have up to this time resisted every effort to classify them.

This remarkable difference between the Indo-European languages and those of the Scythian stock seems to have arisen partly from the higher mental gifts and higher capacity for civilisation, with which the Indo-European tribes appear to have been endowed from the beginning, and still more from the earlier literary culture of their languages, and the better preservation, in consequence, of their forms and roots. It seems also to have arisen in part from their settled habits, in comparison with the wandering, nomadic life led by most of the Scythian tribes. But, from whatever cause this difference may have arisen, it is obvious that in weighing evidences of relationship this circumstance must be taken into account; and that so minute an agreement of long-separated sister dialects of the Scythian stock is not to be expected as in parallel cases amongst the Indo-European dialects. Professor Max Müller, in his "Lectures on the Science of Language," adduces many instances of the rapidity and extent of the divergence which takes place between uncultivated dialects of the same language. Bishop Patteson also says, "In most cases the languages of two neighbouring islands may show their common derivation in their structure (the safest proof of all, I imagine), but nearly all the words will be different."—"Letter from Bishop Patteson to Professor Max Müller." Appendix to Life.

The relationship of the Dravidian languages to the languages of the Scythian group,—whether the relation of lineal descent, or the relation of sisterhood, or the wider relationship for which I plead,—has not been universally admitted by students of Dravidian

philology. From the brief remarks bearing on this question contained in Dr Pope's various publications, it is evident that that eminent Dravidian scholar considers the Dravidian languages in the main Indo-European. In the introduction to his "Tamil Hand-Book" (Madras, 1859), he says: "The more deeply they (the South Indian languages) are studied, the more close will their affinity to Sanskrit be seen to be, and the more evident it will appear that they possess a primitive and very near relationship to the languages of the Indo-European group. Yet they are certainly not mere Prakrits, or corruptions of Sanskrit. I have always supposed that their place was among the members of the last mentioned family, and that they were probably *disjecta membra* of a language coeval with Sanskrit, and having the same origin with it. They certainly contain many traces of a close connection with the Greek, the Gothic, the Persian, and the other languages of the same family, in points even where Sanskrit presents no parallel." In the introduction to his "Sermon on the Mount," in four Dravidian languages, with comparative vocabulary and inflexional tables (Madras, 1860), he says: "The writer would direct the attention of philologists to the deep-seated, radical affinities between these languages and the Celtic and Teutonic languages. Had leisure and space permitted, he was prepared to have exhibited in detail these analogies. In a next edition, or in some future work, he yet cherishes the hope of doing so. The subject of the affiliation of these languages is one which requires that further elucidation which nothing but a complete comparative lexicon could afford." The last reference he makes to the subject is in a prefatory notice to his "Outlines of the Grammar of the Tuda Language" (Bangalore, 1872), in which he says: "While agreeing in the main with Dr Caldwell, I yet think that the remarkable analogies between the Celtic and the Dravidian languages merit a more thorough investigation." I trust Dr Pope will ere long have time to favour philologers with the thorough investigation which this question undoubtedly merits. I may remark here, however, that in everything he says respecting the existence of 'analogies,' and 'affinities,' and 'traces of a close connection' between the Dravidian languages and various members of the Indo-European family, I not only perfectly coincide with him, but pointed out many of those particulars of agreement or resemblance myself (yet without deducing from them precisely the same conclusion) in every section of the first edition of this work. The theory I advocate, indeed takes account of both sets of relationships—the Scythian and the Indo-

European—though it regards the former as, on the whole, closer and more essential. With regard to Celtic affinities in particular, it is to be remembered that of all the members of the Indo-European family the Celtic is that which appears to have most in common with the Scythian group, and especially with the languages of the Finnish family—languages which may possibly have been widely spoken in Europe previously to the arrival of the Celts. It will be necessary, therefore, in each case to inquire whether the Celtic affinity may not also be a Scythian affinity.

At the very outset of my own inquiries, I thought I observed in the Dravidian languages the Indo-European analogies to which I have referred; and, rejecting affinities which are unreal and which disappear on investigation (such as the connection of the Tamil numerals *ondru* or *onnu,* one; *anju,* five; *eṭṭu,* eight; with *un-us, panch-an,* and *ashṭ-an,*—a connection which looks very plausible, but appears to me to be illusory (see section on "Numerals") —I think it highly probable that a small number of the grammatical forms of the Dravidian languages and a more considrable number of their roots, are to be regarded as of cognate origin with corresponding forms and roots in the Indo-European languages. Notwithstanding the existence of a few analogies of this character, the most essential features of the grammar of the Dravidian idioms seem to me to be undoubtedly Scythian, and therefore I think the propriety of placing those idioms in the Scythian group is indicated. Though many Hebrew roots have been shown to be allied to Sanskrit, yet the Hebrew language does not cease to be regarded as Semitic rather than Indo-European; so, notwithstanding many interesting analogies with Sanskrit, Greek, Gothic, Celtic, and Persian, which may be discovered on a careful examination of the Dravidian tongues and which will be pointed out in their order in each of the succeeding sections, the essential characteristics of those tongues are such as seem to me to require us to regard them as in the main Scythian. Dr Gustave Schlegel, in his "Sinico-Aryaca" (Batavia, 1872), a treatise on Chinese and Aryan affinities, endeavours to establish the existence of an ultimate relationship between the Chinese roots and those of the Aryan languages. Supposing this point established, it would not follow that Chinese is an Aryan tongue. It would only follow that it had succeeded in preserving certain exceedingly primitive forms of speech, which had also been preserved in the languages of the Aryan family. Not Chinese only, but Sanskrit and Hebrew, are now known to have been originally monosyllabic; and the monosyllabic character of

most Dravidian roots, if not of all, will appear in every section of this work. Dr Bleek (in a paper in the *Journal of the Anthropological Society* for 1871) has thrown out the idea that the Aryan family of languages may possibly have been exposed at an early period to Dravidian influences. He says: "The Aryan are distinguished from the other sex-denoting languages by the possession of a neuter gender. The Dravidian languages possess a neuter gender, which has as wide a range as in English, the most logically arranged of the Aryan languages. The distinctive marks of the neuter gender, in the Dravidian languages, even agree with those of our own languages to so great an extent that it does not appear probable that these two circles of languages (which are the only ones known to possess this threefold gender—*i.e.*, masculine, feminine, and neuter) should have developed the neuter gender quite independently of each other. The Dravidian languages have not as yet been proved to belong to our own sex-denoting family of languages; and although it is not impossible that they may be shown ultimately to be a member of this family, yet it may also be that at the time of the formation of the Aryan languages a Dravidian influence was exerted upon them, to which this, among other similarities, is due." The Dravidian languages had a neuter pronoun of the third person at the earliest period to which their forms can be traced; but I suspect it was at a later period of their history that gender made its appearance in the verb. When the Dravidians entered India their verb must, I think, have been without personal terminations, and therefore without gender. It will be seen hereafter that gender is more fully and systematically developed in the verb of the Dravidian literary dialects than in any other language in the world. This could not have been owing to the influence of Sanskrit, but must have been *ab intra*.

In stating that the Dravidian languages contain certain roots and forms allied to Sanskrit, and to the Indo-European languages generally, it is necessary to preclude misapprehension. During the long period of the residence of the Dravidian and Aryan races in the same country, the Dravidian vocabularies have borrowed largely from Sanskrit. It is necessary therefore to remind the reader that the analogies to which I refer are not founded on the existence in the Dravidian tongues of Sanskrit derivatives, but are such as are discoverable in the original structure and primitive vocabulary of those languages. Whilst the Dravidian languages have confessedly borrowed much from their more wealthy

neighbours, Sanskrit, in some instances, has not disdained to borrow from the Dravidian: but in general there is no difficulty in distinguishing what the one language has borrowed from the other; and the statement I have now made relates not to derivatives, or words which may be supposed to be derivatives, but to radical, deep-seated analogies which it is difficult to explain on any supposition but that of a partial or distant relationship. In most instances the words and forms in which analogies are discoverable are allied not to Sanskrit alone, but to the entire Indo-European family: in not a few instances analogies are discoverable in Greek and Latin, which are not found in Sanskrit; and in many of those instances in which Sanskrit appears to exhibit the closest analogy, it is not the euphonised systematised Sanskrit (Saṃskṛita) of written compositions, but the crude, original Sanskrit, which is discoverable by analysis and comparison—the Vor-Sanskrit of W. von Humboldt.

I subjoin here a few illustrations of what I mean by primitive underived Indo-Europeanisms discoverable in the Dravidian languages.

(1) The use of *n*, as in Greek, to prevent *hiatus*.

(2) The existence of gender in the pronouns of the third person and in verbs, and in particular the existence of a neuter gender.

(3) The use of *d* or *t* as the sign of the neuter singular of demonstrative pronouns or pronouns of the third person.

(4) The existence of a neuter plural, as in Latin, in short *a*.

(5) The formation of the remote demonstrative from a base in *a*, the proximate from the base in *i*.

(6) The formation of most preterites, as in Persian, by the addition of *d*.

(7) The formation of some preterites by the reduplication of a portion of the root.

(8) The formation of a considerable number of verbal nouns by lengthening the vowel of the verbal root. See also "Glossarial Affinities."

The illustrations given above form only a small portion of the analogous forms which will be adduced in the grammatical analysis and in the glossarial affinities: they will, however, suffice to render it probable that Indo-European analogies are really discoverable in the Dravidian languages. They also serve to illustrate the statement that, though Sanskrit has long been the nearest neighbour of the Dravidian tongues, there are not a few Dravidian roots which seem more nearly allied to the western Indo-European idioms than to the Sanskritic or eastern. If therefore the Dravidian languages

may be classified, as I am still inclined to classify them, as essentially and in the main Scythian, I must add that I consider them as of all Scythian tongues those which present the most numerous, ancient, and interesting analogies to the Indo-European languages. The position which this family occupies, if not midway between the two groups, seems to me to lie on that side of the Scythian group on which the Indo-Europan appears to have been severed from it, and on which the most distinct traces of the original identity of the families still remain. If this view be correct (as I think it will be shown to be), the Indo-Europeanisms discoverable in the Dravidian languages carry us back to a period beyond all history, beyond all mythology, not only prior to the separation of the western branches of the Indo-European race from the eastern, but prior also to the separation of the yet undivided Indo-European race from that portion of the common stock which was afterwards styled Scythian.

It is a curious circumstance that in the vocabulary of the Dravidian languages, especially in that of Tamil, a few Semitic analogies may also be discovered. In some instances the analogous roots are found in the Indo-European family, as well as in Hebrew, though the Hebrew form of the root is more closely analogous. For example, though we find in Latin *ave-o,* to desire, and in Sanskrit *av,* of which 'to desire' is a subordinate meaning; yet the corresponding Tamil words *avā,* desire, and *āval* (signifying also desire, a verbal noun from a lost verb *āv-u,* to desire) seem still more directly allied to the Hebrew *āvah,* to desire, and the verbal noun *avvāh,* desire. In addition, however, to such general analogies as pervade several families of tongues, including the Dravidian, there are a few roots discoverable, I think, both in the Dravidian languages and in Hebrew to which I am not aware of the existence of any resemblance in any language of the Indo-European family. Illustrations of these special analogies will be found under the head of "Glossarial Affinities: Semitic."

The Semitic analogies observable in Tamil are neither so numerous nor so important as the Indo-European, nor do they carry with them such convincing evidence; but taking them in connection with that more numerous and important class of analogous roots which are found in the Indo-European languages, as well as in Hebrew, but of which the Hebrew form is more closely allied to the Dravidian (see the "Glossarial Affinities"), these analogies, such as they are, constitute an additional element of interest in the problem of the origin and præ-historic connections

of the Dravidian race. I do not adduce these analogies for the purpose of endeavouring to prove the existence of any relationship between the Dravidian language and Hebrew. Aware of the danger of proving nothing by attempting to prove too much, I content myself with merely stating those analogies, without attempting to deduce any inference from them. The Indo-European analogies are so intimately connected with the individuality and vital essence of the Dravidian languages, that it seems difficult to suppose them to be merely the result of early association, however intimate. It is only on the supposition of the existence of a remote or partial relationship that they appear to be capable of being fully explained. In the case of the Semitic analogies, however, the supposition of a relationship between the two families of tongues does not appear to be necessary. The analogies that appear to exist may be only accidental, or they can be accounted for on the hypothesis—a very easy and natural one—that the primitive Dravidians were at some early period before their arrival in India associated with a people speaking a Semitic language.

It seems proper here to notice the remarkable general resemblance which exists between the Dravidian pronouns and those of the aboriginal tribes of southern and western Australia. In whatever way it may be explained, the existence of a general resemblance seems to be unquestionable; but it has not hitherto been observed that the Australian pronouns of the first person are more nearly allied to the Tibetan than to the Dravidian. This will appear from the following comparative view of the pronoun of the first person singular.

	Dravidian.	Australian.	Tibetan.	Chinese.
I,	*nān, yān, nā, en.*	*nga, ngaii, ngatsa, nganya.*	*nga, nge, nged.*	*ngo.*

Whilst the base of this pronoun seems to be closely allied to the corresponding pronoun in Tibetan, and in the Indo-Chinese family generally, the manner in which it is pluralised in the Australian dialects bears a marked resemblance to the Dravidian, and especially to Telugu. Telugu forms its plurals by suffixing *lu* to the singular; the Australian dialects by a similar addition of *lu, li, dlu, dli,* &c. In this particular some of the dialects of the north-eastern frontier of India exhibit also an agreement with Telugu—*e.g.,* compare Dhimal *nā,* thou, with *nyel,* you. In the Australian dialects I find the following plurals and duals of the pronoun of the first person—we, or we two, *ngalu, ngadlu, ngadli, ngalata,* &c,

Compare this with the manner in which the Telugu forms its plural—*e.g.*, *vāṇḍ'u*, he, *vāṇḍlu*, they; and even with the Tamil 'plural exclusive' of the pronoun of the first person—*e.g.*, *nān*, I, *nāṅgaḷ*, we.

The resemblance between the Australian pronouns of the second person, both sigular and plural, and those of the Dravidian languages is more distinct and special, and is apparent, not only in the suffixes, but in the pronominal base itself. The normal forms of these pronouns in the Dravidian languages are—singular, *nīn*, plural, *nīm*. The personality resides in the crude root *nī*, thou, which is the same in both numbers, with the addition of a singular formative *n* (*nīn*, thou), and a pluralising formative *m* (*nī-m*, thous, or you). In some cases the pluralising particle *m* has been displaced, and *r*, which I regard as properly the sign of the epicene plural of the third person, has been substituted for it—*e.g.*, *nīr*, you (in Telugu *mīr-u*). This abnormal form *nīr* is most used as a nominative, the older and more regular *nīm* retains its place in the compounds. Whilst *i* is the vowel which is almost invariably found in the singular of the pronoun of the second person, it is found that in the plural *i* often gives place to *u*, as in the classical Tamil *numa*, your, and the Brahui *num*, you. It is to be noticed also that the modern Canarese has softened *nīm* into *nīvu* or *nīwu*, in the nominative. It is singular, in whatever way it may be accounted for, that in each of the particulars now mentioned the Australian dialects resemble the Dravidian. See the following comparative view. Under the Australian head I class the dual together with the plural, as being substantially the same.

	DRAVIDIAN.	AUSTRALIAN.
thou,	*nīn*, *nin*.	*ninna*, *nginne*, *ngintoa*, *ningte*.
you,	*nīm*, *nim*, *nīr*, *num*, *nīvu*.	*nimedoo*, *nura*, *niwa*, *ngurle*.

Compare also the accusative of the person singular in Tamil, *ennei*, me with the Australian accusative *emmo*.

The grammatical structure of the Australian dialects exhibits a general agreement with the languages of the Scythian group. In the use of postpositions instead of prepositions; in the use of two forms of the first person plural, one inclusive of the partly addressed, the other exclusive; in the formation of inceptive, causative, and reflective verbs by the addition of certain particles to the root; and, generally, in the agglutinative structure of words and in the position of words in a sentence, the dialects of Australia resemble the Dravidian—as also the Turkish, the Mongolian, and other

Scythian languages; and in the same particulars, with one or two exceptions, they differ essentially from the dialects which are called Polynesian. The vocabularies of the Australian dialects which have been compiled do not appear to furnish additional confirmation to the resemblances pointed out above; but it is difficult to suppose these resemblances to be unreal or merely accidental, and it is obvious that the Australian dialects demand (and probably will reward) further examination.*

It is singular also, and still more difficult to be accounted for, that some resemblances may be traced between the Dravidian languages and the Bornu, or rather the Kanuri, one of the languages spoken in the Bornu country, in Central Africa. Most of the resemblances are, it is true, of a general nature—*e.g.*, the Kanuri is agglutinative in structure, it uses postpositions instead of prepositions, it adds to nouns and sentences syllables expressive of doubt, interrogation and emphasis, in a peculiarly Dravidian manner, and its verb has a negative voice. It has an objective verb, as well as a subjective, like the Hungarian. The most distinctive resemblance to the Dravidian languages I notice is in the pronoun of the second person, which is *ni*, as in each of the Dravidian dialects. Even this, however, as has been shown, is common to the Dravidian with Brahui, Chinese, the language of the second Behistun tablets, and the Australian dialects. The Kanuri language differs so remarkably from the rest of the African tongues, that it is very desirable that its relationship should be fully investigated. See Koelle's "Grammar of Bornu."

Which Language or Dialect best represents the Primitive Condition of the Dravidian Tongues?

Before entering upon the grammatical comparison of the Dravidian dialects, it seems desirable to ascertain where we should look for their earliest characteristics. Some persons have been of opinion that what is called Shen-Tamil (*Śen-Damiṛ*), or the classical dialect of the Tamil language, is to be regarded as the best representative of the primitive Dravidian speech. Without underestimating the great value of the Shen-Tamil, I am convinced that no one dialect can be implicitly accepted as a mirror of Dravidian antiquity. A comparison of all the dialects that exist will be found our best and safest guide to a knowledge of the primitive speech

* See a paper "On the position of the Australian languages," by W. H. J. Bleek, Esq., Ph.D., read at a meeting of the Anthropological Society. London, 1871.

from which the various existing dialects have diverged; and not only the Shen-Tamil, but every existing dialect, even the rudest, will be found to contribute its quota of help towards this end. The Tamil pronouns of the first and second persons cannot be understood without a knowledge of Ancient or Classical Canarese; and the Khōnd or Ku, one of the rudest dialects, the grammar of which was reduced to writing only a few years ago, is the only dialect which throws light on the masculine and feminine terminations of the Dravidian pronouns of the third person. Still it is unquestionable that the largest amount of assistance towards ascertaining the primitive condition of the Dravidian languages will be afforded by Tamil, and in particular by Shen-Tamil; and this naturally follows from the circumstance that of all the Dravidian idioms Tamil appears to have been the earliest cultivated.

(1) *Literary, classical dialects of the Dravidian Languages: To what extent may they be regarded as representing the primitive condition of those Languages?*

It is a remarkable peculiarity of the Indian languages that, as soon as they begin to be cultivated, the literary style evinces a tendency to become a literary dialect distinct from the dialect of common life, with a grammar and vocabulary of its own. This is equally characteristic of the speech of the Aryans of the north and of that of the Dravidians of the south. The relation in which Sanskrit stands to the Prākrits and the modern vernaculars is not identical with the relation in which the *dead* languages of Europe stand to the *living* languages descended from them. The so-called dead languages of Europe were at one time living tongues, spoken nearly as they were written, as *e.g.*, the speeches of Demosthenes and Cicero testify. When we call those languages dead, we merely mean to describe them as the speech of the dead past, not that of the living present. Sanskrit cannot properly be called a dead language in this sense. Probably it was never the actual, everyday speech of any portion of the Aryans of India at any period of their history, however remote. Its name *Samskṛita,* the elaborated or developed speech, illustrates its origin. It was the language not of any race or district, but of a class—the class of bards and priests, the literary men of the first ages; or rather it was the language of literature; and as literary culture made progress, the language of literature became ever more copious, euphonious, and refined. If life means growth, and if growth means change,

Sanskrit must be regarded as having for a long period been, not a dead, but a living tongue; though it must be admitted that it changed slowly, like everything else in India—more slowly, doubtless, than the colloquial dialects. The Sanskrit of the Purāṇas differed from the Sanskrit of the Vedas; and in the Vedas themselves the style of the later hymns differed from that of the earlier. The earliest Sanskrit extant is evidently the result of a process of refinement, originating in the literary activity of a still earlier period, of which no records survive. A composition is not necessarily ancient because written in Sanskrit; for all through the ages, down to very recent times, all the *literati* of Northern and Western India, with the exception of the Buddhists, together with a considerable proportion of the *literati* of the South, have been accustomed to regard Sanskrit as the most orthodox vehicle for the expression of every variety of orthodox thought.

"The great reformer Buddha, in the sixth century before Christ, adopted the popular speech as the vehicle of his teachings; his successors were infected with an unbounded *cacoethes scribendi* (evil habit of writing), and have left behind a literature of enormous extent. Here again, however, the fatal mistake common to all Indian writers was committed. No sooner had Prākrit become the language of the Buddhists' scriptures, than it was at once regarded as sacred, and carefully preserved from change or development. It took with regard to the popular speech the same position that Sanskrit had taken in the earlier centuries. This seems to be the fate of all Indian languages: when once committed to writing they assume a literary type, and have a tendency to draw away from the vulgar living tongue of the people. In the present day we see the same process going on in Bengal. Few Bengālī writers, save those whose minds have been to some extent moulded on English models of thought and feeling, are content to write as they speak. They must have something more elaborate and refined when they take pen in hand and fill their pages with pompous and artificial Sanskrit words, which they readily admit are not 'understanded of the people.'"

This state of things is not peculiar to Northern India. We find precisely the same tendencies, with the same results, in the South. Each of the four cultivated Drāvidian languages has split up into two dialects more or less distinct—a literary, classical dialect; and a popular, colloquial dialect. Classical Canarese is usually

called 'Old Canarese'; but it may more properly be regarded neither as new nor as old, but simply as the language of Canarese literature, seeing that it is the language in which literary compositions seem always to have been written, at least from the twelfth century, when Kēśava's grammar was composed, down to the present day. 'Old Malayāḷam' seems to have a better title than Old Canarese to be called 'old,' inasmuch as it contains a considerable number of obsolete forms. Moreover, whilst modern Malayāḷam literature is intensely Sanskritic, the older literature was pervaded with the characteristics of the older or classical Tamil. The language of Telugu poetry differs considerably from that of everyday life, but it is not regarded as a different dialect, or designated by any special name. It is regarded by native Telugu scholars as differing from ordinary Telugu only in being purer and more elevated. The most appropriate name for any of the literary dialects, as it appears to me, is that by which the higher dialect of Tamil is designated. It is called Shen-Tamil (*Śen-Damiṛ*)—that is, classical or correct Tamil, literally 'straight Tamil,' by which name it is meant to be distinguished not merely from the colloquial Tamil of the masses, but still more from certain rude local dialects, said to be twelve in number, mentioned by grammarians by name, and included under the generic designation of *Koḍun-Damiṛ*—that is, literally, 'crooked Tamil.' The name ordinarily given by Europeans to the literary dialect of Tamil is 'High Tamil'; and this appears to me to be a more accurate term, on the whole, than that ordinarily given to the literary dialect of the Canarese; for though there is a sense in which each of these literary dialects may be described as 'old,' their most essential characteristic is the extraordinary amount of polish and refinement they have received. Classical Tamil bears nearly the same relation to the actual speech of the people that Sanskrit (that is, classical Indo-Aryan) did to the ancient Prākrits, and now does to the modern Gaurian vernaculars. Even at the time the oldest extant High Tamil compositions were written, there was probably almost as wide a difference between the language of the vulgar and that affected by the *literati* as there is at present. It is inconceivable that so elaborately refined and euphonised a style of language as that of the classical poems and grammars, can ever have been the actual everyday speech of any class of the people. It contains, it is true, many ancient forms; but forms that had come to be regarded as vulgar by the time that literary culture had commenced (no matter how great their anti-

quity), seem to have been systematically rejected. The speech of the masses may therefore contain forms and words as old as, or even older than, the corresponding forms and words of the literature; and yet there is an important difference between the two to be borne in mind. No argument in favour of the antiquity of a word or form can be founded merely on the fact of its existence in the colloquial dialect; whereas the existence of a word or form in the classical dialect, especially in the grammars and vocabularies of that dialect, proves at least that it was in existence when that dialect was fixed, which certainly cannot have been less than a thousand years ago. There is an additional presumption in favour of its antiquity in the circumstance that all poets, even the earliest, have been accustomed to regard expressions that were considered more or less archaic in their own time, as peculiarly suitable to poetical compositions.

(2) *High antiquity of the literary cultivation of Tamil.*

The relatively high antiquity of the literary cultivation of Tamil being a matter of interest considered in itself, irrespective of its bearings on the question of Dravidian comparative grammar, I shall here adduce a few of the evidences on which this conclusion rests.

1. Classical Tamil, which not only contains all the refinements which the Tamil has received, but also exhibits to some extent the primitive condition of the language, differs more from the colloquial Tamil than the classical dialect of any other Dravidian idiom differs from its ordinary dialect. It differs from colloquial Tamil so considerably that it might almost be considered as a distinct language: for not only is classical Tamil poetry as unintelligible to the unlearned Tamilian as the Æneid of Virgil to a modern Italian peasant, but even prose compositions written in the classical dialect might be read for hours in the hearing of a person acquainted only with the colloquial idiom, without his understanding a single sentence. Notwithstanding this, classical Tamil contains less Sanskrit, not more, than the colloquial dialect. It affects purism and national independence; and its refinements are all *ab intra.* As the words and forms of classical Tamil cannot have been invented all at once by the poets, but must have come into use slowly and gradually, the degree in which colloquial Tamil has diverged from the poetical dialect, notwithstanding the slowness with which language, like everything else, changes in the East, seems to me a proof of the high antiquity of the literary cultivation of Tamil.

2. Another evidence consists in the extraordinary copiousness of the Tamil vocabulary, and the number and variety of the grammatical forms of Shen-Tamil. The Shen-Tamil grammar is a crowded museum of obsolete forms, cast-off inflexions, and curious anomalies. Many of these will be pointed out from time to time in the body of this work. I may here refer especially to the extreme and almost naked simplicity of some of the conjugational forms of the oldest Tamil, particularly to the existence of an uninflected form of the verb, and of another form in which only the first rudimentary traces of inflexion are seen. These particulars, as will be shown in the Part "on the Verb," seem to me to point to the arrest of the development of the Tamil verb at a very early period by the invention of writing, as in the still more remarkable instance of Chinese. The extraordinary copiousness of the Tamil vocabulary is shown by the fact that a school lexicon of the Tamil language, published by the American missionaries at Jaffna, contains no less than 58,500 words; notwithstanding which, it would be necessary to add several thousands of technical terms, besides provincialisms, and thousands upon thousands of authorised compounds, in order to render the list complete. Nothing strikes a Tamil scholar more, on examining the dictionaries of the other Dravidian dialects, than the paucity of their lists of synonyms in comparison with those of Tamil. The Tamil vocabulary contains not only those words which may be regarded as appropriate to the language, inasmuch as they are used by Tamil alone, but also those which may be considered as the property of Telugu, Canarese, &c. Thus, the word used for 'house' in ordinary Tamil is *vīḍu;* but the vocabulary contains also, and occasionally uses, the word appropriate to Telugu, *il* (Tel. *illu*), and the distinctive Canarese word, *manei* (Can. *mane*); besides another synonym, *kuḍi,* which it has in common with Sanskrit and the whole of the Finnish languages. The grammar and vocabulary of Tamil are thus to a considerable extent the common repository of Dravidian forms and roots. We may conclude, therefore, that the literary cultivation of Tamil dates from a period prior to that of the other idioms, and not long subsequent to the final breaking up of the language of the ancient Dravidians into dialects.

3. Another evidence of the antiquity and purity of Tamil consists in the agreement of the ancient Canarese, the ancient Malayāḷam, the Tuḷu, and also the Tuḍa, Gōṇḍ, and Ku, with Tamil, in many of the particulars in which modern Canarese and modern Telugu differ from it.

4. The fact that in many instances the forms of Telugu roots and inflexions have evidently been softened down from the forms of Tamil, is a strong confirmation of the higher antiquity of the Tamilian forms. Instances of this will be given in the section on the phonetic system of these languages. It will suffice now to adduce, as an illustration of what is meant, the transposition of vowels in the Telugu demonstrative pronouns. The true Dravidian demonstrative bases are *a*, remote, and *i*, proximate; to which are suffixed the formatives of the genders, with *v* euphonic, to prevent *hiatus*. The Tamil demonstratives are *avan*, ille, and *ivan*, hic. The Telugu masculine formative answering to the Tamil *an*, is *ḍu*, *uḍu*, or *aḍu;* and hence the demonstratives in Telugu, answering to the Tamil *avan*, *ivan*, might be expected to be *avaḍu*, and *ivaḍu*, instead of which we find *vāḍu*, ille, and *vīḍu*, hic. Here the demonstrative bases *a* and *i* have shifted from their natural position at the beginning of the word to the middle, whilst by coalescing with the vowel of the formative, or as a compensation for its loss, their quantity has been increased. The altered, abnormal form of the Telugu is evidently the later one; but as even the high dialect of the Telugu contains no other form, the period when the Telugu grammar was rendered permanent by written rules and the aid of written compositions, must have been subsequent to the origin of the corruption in question, and therefore subsequent to the literary cultivation of Tamil.

5. Another evidence of antiquity consists in the great corruption of many of the Sanskrit *tadbhavas* or derivatives found in Tamil.

The Sanskrit contained in Tamil may be divided into three portions of different dates.

(1.) The most recent portion was introduced by the three religious schools which divide amongst them the allegiance of the mass of the Tamil people. These are the school of the *Śaiva-Siddhānta*, or that of the philosophy of the Āgamas, the most popular system amongst the Tamil Śūdras, the school of Śaṅkara Āchārya, the apostle of Advaita, and the chief rival of both, the school of Śrī Vaishṇava, founded by Rāmānuja Āchārya. The period of the greatest activity and influence of those sects seems to have extended from about the eleventh century A.D. to the sixteenth; and the Sanskrit derivatives introduced by the adherents of these systems (with the exception of a few points wherein change was unavoidable) are pure, unchanged Sanskrit.

(2.) The school of writers, partly preceding the above and partly contemporaneous with them, by which the largest portion of the

Sanskrit derivatives found in Tamil were introduced, was that of the Jainas, which flourished from about the ninth or tenth century A.D. to the thirteenth.* The period of the predominance of the Jainas (a predominance in intellect and learning—rarely a predominance in political power) was the Augustan age of Tamil literature, the period when the Madura College, a celebrated literary association, appears to have flourished, and when the Kuṟaḷ, the Chintāmaṇi, and the classical vocabularies and grammars were written. The Sanskrit derivatives found in the writings of this period are very considerably altered, so as to accord with Tamil euphonic rules. Thus *lōka,* Sans. the world is changed into *ulagu ; rājā,* a king, into *araśu.*

Nearly the whole of the Sanskrit derivatives found in Telugu, Canarese and Malayāḷam belong to the periods now mentioned, or at least they accord on the whole with the derivatives found in the Tamil of those two periods, especially the former or more recent. They are divided, according to the degree of permutation or corruption to which they have been subjected, into the two classes of *tat-sama,* the same with it—i.e., words which are identical with Sanskrit—and *tad-bhava,* of the same nature with it = derived from it—*i.e.,* words which are derived from a Sanskrit origin, but have been more or less corrupted or changed by local influences. The former class, or *tatsama* words, are scarcely at all altered, and generally look like words which have been used only by Brāhmans, or which had been introduced into the vernaculars at a period when the Sanskrit alphabetical and phonetic systems had become naturalised, through the predominance of the later forms of Hindūism. Sanskrit derivatives of the second class which have been altered more considerably, or *tadbhava* words, do not appear to have been borrowed direct from Sanskrit, but are represented by Telugu and Canarese grammarians themselves as words that have been borrowed from the Prākrits, or colloquial dialects of the Sanskrit, spoken in ancient times in the contiguous Gaura provinces.

(3.) In addition to the Sanskrit *tatsama* and *tadbhava* derivatives of the two periods now mentioned—the modern Vedantic, Saiva, and Vaishnava periods, and the Jaina period—Tamil contains many derivatives belonging to the very earliest period of the literary culture of the language—derivatives which are probably of an earlier date than the introductioin of Sanskrit into the other

* Modern researches point to a much earlier date than that given here. —*Editors.*

dialects. The derivatives of this class were not borrowed from the northern Prākrits (though much more corrupted than even the derivatives borrowed from those Prākrits by Canarese and Telugu), but appear to have been derived from oral intercourse with the first Brāhmanical priests, scholars, and astrologers, and probably remained unwritten for a considerable time. The Sanskrit of this period is not only greatly more corrupted than that of the period of the Jainas, but its corruptions are of a different character. The Jainas altered the Sanskrit which they borrowed in order to bring it into accordance with Tamil euphonic rules; whereas in the Sanskrit of the period now under consideration—the earliest period—the changes that have been introduced seem to be in utter defiance of rule. The following are instances of derivatives of this class:

(a.) The Sans. *śrī*, sacred, was altered into *tiru*, whilst a more recent alteration of the Sanskrit word is into *sirī*, *sir̤ī*, and *sī*.

(b.) The Sans. *karman*, a work, is in the Tamil of the more modern periods altered into *karumam* and *kanmam*; but in the older Tamil it was corrupted into *kam*.

(c.) Several of the names of the Tamil months supply us with illustrations of early corruptions of Sanskrit. The Tamil months, though now solar-siderial, are named from the old lunar asterisms, the names of which asterisms, and still more the names of the months borrowed from them, are greatly corrupted. *E.g.*, the asterism *pūrva-āṣhāḍam* is changed into *pūrāḍam*: *aṣhāḍam*, also, is changed into *āḍam*, from which is formed *āḍi*, the Tamil name of the month July—August. The name of the asterism *aśvinī* has been corrupted into *eippaśi*, which is the Tamil name of the month October—November. The change of *pūrva bhadra-pada*, the Sanskrit name of one of the asterisms, into *puraṭṭāśi* is still more extraordinary. *Pūrva-bhadra-pada* was first changed into *pūraṭṭādi*, the name of the corresponding asterism in Tamil; and this, again, by the shortening of the first syllable and the change of *di* into *si*, became *puraṭṭāśi*, the Tamil month September—October. The corresponding names of the asterisms and months in Telugu, Canarese, &c., are pure, unchanged Sanskrit; and hence the greater antiquity of the introduction of those words into Tamil, or at least the greater antiquity of their use in Tamil written compositions, may safely be concluded.

6. The higher antiquity of the literary cultivation of Tamil may also be inferred from Tamil inscriptions. In Karṇāṭaka and Telingāna, every inscription of an early date and the majority even of

modern inscriptions are written in Sanskrit. Even when the characters employed are those of the ancient Canarese or Telugu (characters which have been arranged to express the peculiar sounds of Sanskrit), Sanskrit is the language in which the inscription is found to be written, if it is one of any antiquity. In the Tamil country, on the contrary, *all* inscriptions belonging to an early period are written in Tamil; and I have not met with, or heard of, a single Sanskrit inscription in the Tamil country which appears to be older than the fourteenth century A.D., though I have obtained facsimiles of all the inscriptions I could hear of in South Tinnevelly and South Travancore—integral portions of the ancient Pāṇḍyan kingdom. The number of inscriptions I have obtained is about a hundred and fifty. They were found on the walls and floors of temples, and on rocks and pillars. The latest are written in Grantha, or the character in which Sanskrit is written by the Drāviḍa Brāhmans; those of an earlier age either in an old form of the existing Tamil character, or in a still older character, which appears to have been common to the Tamil and the ancient Malayāḷam countries, and is the character in which the ancient *śāsanas* or documentary tablets in the possession of the Jews at Cochin and of the Syrian Christians in Travancore are written. This character is still used with some variations by the Muhammedan colonists in North Malayāḷam. It presents some points of resemblance to the modern Telugu-Canarese character, and also to the character in which some undeciphered inscriptions in Ceylon and the Eastern Islands are written.* The language of all the more ancient of these inscriptions is Tamil, and the style in which they are written is that of the classical dialect, without any of those double plurals (*e.g.*, *nīṅgal*, yous, instead of *nīr*, you), and other unauthorised novelties by which modern Tamil is disfigured, but it is free also from the affected brevity and involutions of the poetical style. As no inscription of any antiquity in Telingāna or Karṇāṭaka is found to be written in the Canarese or the Telugu *language*, whatever be the *character* employed, the priority of Tamil literary culture, as well as its national independence to a considerable extent, may fairly be concluded.

I may here remark that the Cochin and Travancore *śāsanas* or tablets which are referred to above, and which have been translated by Dr Gundert, prove amongst other things the substantial identity of ancient Malayāḷam with ancient Tamil. The date of these

* *Journal of the Madras Literary Society*, vol. xiii.

documents is probably not later than the ninth century A.D., nor earlier than the seventh; for the technical terms of solar-siderial chronology (derived from the Sūrya-Siddhānta of Ārya-bhaṭṭa) which are employed in these inscriptions were not introduced till the seventh century. The *śāsanas* were written at a time when the Kērala dynasty was still predominant on the Malabar coast; but though words and forms which are peculiar to Malayāḷam may be detected in them, the general style of the language in which they are written is Tamil, the inflexions of the nouns and verbs are Tamil, and the idiom is mostly Tamil; and we are therefore led to infer that at that period Tamil was the language at least of the court and of the educated classes in the Malayāḷam country, and that what is now called Malayāḷam, if it then existed at all, was probably nothing more than a patois current among the inhabitants of the hills and jungles in the interior. The fact that the *śāsanas* which were given by the ancient Malayāḷam kings to the Jews and Syrian Christians are in the Tamil language, instead of what is now called Malayāḷam, cannot be accounted for by the supposition of the subjection at that time of any part of the Malayāḷam country to the ancient kings of Madura; for the kings in question were Kērala, not Pāṇḍya kings, with Kērala names, titles, and insignia; and it is evident from the Greek geographers themselves, from whom alone we know anything of an ancient Pāṇḍya conquest, that it was only a few isolated places, on or near the Malabar coast, that were really under the rule of the Pāṇḍyas. The only part of the Malayāḷam country which at that period could have belonged *bonā fide* to the Pāṇḍyas, was the southern part of the country of the Aïi or Paralia, *i.e.*, South Travancore, a district which has always been inhabited chiefly by Pāṇḍis, and where to the present day the language of the entire people is Tamil, not Malayāḷam.

From the various particulars mentioned above, it appears clear that the Tamil language was of all the Dravidian idioms the earliest cultivated; it also appears highly probable that in the endeavour to ascertain the characteristics of the primitive Dravidian speech, from which the various existing dialects have divaricated, most assistance will be furnished by Tamil. The amount and value of this assistance will appear in almost every portion of the grammatical comparison on which we are about to enter. It must, however, be borne in mind, as has already been intimated, that neither Tamil nor any other single dialect, ancient or modern, can be *implicitly* adopted as a faithful representative of the primitive Dravidian tongue. A careful comparison of the peculiarities of all the dialects

will carry us up still further, probably up to the period of their mutual divergence, a peroid long anterior to that of grammars and vocabularies; and it is upon the result of such a comparison that most dependence is to be placed.

Earliest extant Written Relics of the Dravidian Languages.

The Dravidian words which are contained in the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahā-bhārata, and other Sanskrit poems of undoubted antiquity, are so few that they throw no light whatever upon the ancient condition of the Dravidian languages prior to the ninth or tenth centuries A.D., the earliest date to which any extant Tamil compositions can safely be attributed.*

The oldest Dravidian word found in any written record in the world appears to be the word for 'peacock' in the Hebrew text of the Books of Kings and Chronicles, in the list of the articles of merchandise brought from Tarshish or Ophir in Solomon's ships, about 1000 B.C. This word is *tuki* in Kings, *tūki* in Chronicles. The ordinary name at present for the peacock on the Malabar coast and in Tamil is *mayil* (Sans. *mayūra*); it is also sometimes called *śiki* (Sans. *śikhi*), a name given to it on account of its crest; but the ancient, poetical, purely Tamil-Malayāḷam name of the peacock is *tōkei*, the bird with the (splendid) tail. *Śikhi* = *avis cristata*; *tōkei* = *avis caudata.* The verbal root of the word *tōkei* is *tok'* or *tōk'*, *tuk* or *tūk'*, to hang; hence 'a scarf,' 'a skirt border,' is called *tōkkei.* The vowel of the root liberates between *u* and *o*: half the derivatives have the one vowel, half the other. Hence there is no reason to suppose the Phœnicians in error when they represented *tuk* as the radical part of the word. That the vowel is short in Kings and long in Chronicles is also quite in accordance with the fact that in Tamil-Malayāḷam the vowel is sometimes short, sometimes long.

Though *tōkei*, as a verbal noun, is a derivative from *tōk'* or *tūk'*, yet the ultimate root appears to have been *to* or *tu*. Judging from analogy the final *k'* or *ku* must have been a formative. A primary root with this addition becomes a verbal noun, and in the next stage of the language this verbal noun becomes in its turn a new, secondary verbal root. It is interesting to be able to trace the use of this Tamil-Malayāḷam formative *k'* or *ku* so early as the time of the Phœnician trade with India. Max Müller, speaking of this etymology (Lect. p. 209), remarks: "If this etymology be right, it would

* This statement must be modified. Later researches point to their having been in existence at a much earlier period.—*Editors.*

be an important confirmation of the antiquity of the Tamulic languages spoken in India before the advent of the Aryan tribes." I have no doubt that this etymology is right, and that the inference deduced from it is well founded. It may here be added that from the Dravidian *tōkei*, pronounced *tōgei*, would naturally be derived the Arabic *tawas*, the Greek ταῶς (*taōs*), and ultimately the Latin *pavo* and our own *pea*-fowl. Minayeff has discovered in the Buddhistical writings a reference to voyages made by ancient Indian merchants to Babylon (called '*Baverū*' = Old Cuneiform Persian 'Babiru'), in the second of which voyages they took thither the first *peacock* for sale. (See paper by Professor Weber in the *Indian Antiquary* for May 1873).

Of the names of the other articles of merchandise mentioned in Kings and Chronicles, *kōf*, an ape, has generally been identified with the Sanskrit *kapi*; and the Greek κῆπος (*kēpos*), and even the English *ape*, have been supposed to have the same origin. It seems more probable, however, that the word has been derived from the old Egyptian *kāf*, an ape, a word which Mr Le Page Renouf informs me is in very common use in Egyptian inscriptions, and which he says is to all appearance as ancient as the language itself. The origin of the word used for 'ivory' (*shen habbim*, the tooth of the *habb*) still seems to me somewhat doubtful. On the whole, the most probable derivation seems to be from the old Egyptian *ab*, ivory. *Algum* may perhaps be the Sanskrit *valguka*, sandal wood, another meaning of which is 'beautiful,' a word which seems to be identical with, or derived from, the Tamil-Malayāḷam *aṛagu* or *aḷagu*, beauty. If so, *algum* will be more correct than *almug*. The fragrant wood called 'aloes' in Proverbs vii. 17, &c., was the Aquilaria Agallocha, the Hebrew word for which, *ahalim* or *ahaloth*, is evidently derived rather from the Tamil-Malayāḷam form of the word, *aghil*, than from the Sanskrit *agaṛu*, though both are ultimately identical.

The Greek word ὄρυζα (*oruza*), rice, must be one of considerable antiquity. It dates from the period, whenever that was, when rice was first introduced from India into Europe; and it cannot be doubted that we have here the Tamil word *ariśi*, rice deprived of the husk, this being the condition in which rice was then, as now, brought up in India for exportation to Europe. The distinctly Malayāḷam form of the word, *ari*, seems a corruption.

The earliest Dravidian word in Greek of which we know the date is κάρπιον (*karpion*), Ctesias's name for cinnamon, Herodotus

describes cinnamon "as the κάρφεα (*karphea*), (dry sticks), which we, after the Phœnicians, call κιννάμωμον (*kinnamōmon*). Liddell and Scott say, *in loc.* κάρφος (*karphos*), plural καρφεα (*karphea*), "this word bears a curious resemblance to the Arabic words *kerfat, kirfah.*" This resemblance, however, must, I think, be accidental, seeing that Herodotus considered 'cinnamon' alone as a foreign word, and that κάρφος is naturally derived from κάρφω (*karphō*), to wither. The word mentioned by Ctesias seems, however, to have a real resemblance to the Arabic word, and also to a Dravidian one. Ctesias, the author of the earliest Greek treatise on India, describes an odorous oil produced from an Indian tree having flowers like the laurel, which the Greeks called μυρορόδα (*muroroda*), but which in India was called κάρπιον (*karpion*). From Ctesias's description (making allowance for its exaggerations) it is evident that cinnamon oil was meant, and in this opinion Wahl agrees. Uranius, a writer quoted by Stephen of Byzantium, mentions κἕρπαθον (*kerpathon*) as one of the productions of the Abasēni, the Arabian Abyssinians, by which we are doubtless to understand not so much the products of their country as the articles in which they traded. From the connection in which it is found, κἕρπαθον (*kerpathon*) would appear to be cinnamon, and we can scarcely err in identifying with it *kerfat*, or, more properly, *kirfah*, one of the names which cinnamon has received in Arabic. Some Arabic Scholars derive *kirfah* from *karafa*, 'decortavit'; but Mr Hassoun does not admit this derivation, and considers *kirfah* a foreign word. We are thus brought back to Ctesias's κἄρπιον (*karpion*), or the Indian word which κἄρπιον (*karpion*) represented. As this is a word of which we know the antiquity, the supposition that the Greeks or Indians borrowed it from the Arabs is quite inadmissible. What then is the Indian word Ctesias referred to? Not, as has been supposed, *kurundhu*, the Singhalese name for cinnamon, derived from the Sanskrit *karuṇṭa;* but the Tamil-Malayāḷam word *karuppu* or *kārppu*—*e.g.*, *karappa-(t) tailam*, Mal. oil of cinnamon. Other forms of this word are *karappu, karuva*, and *karuvā* the last of which is the most common form in modern Tamil. Rheede refers to this form of the word when he says that "in his time in Malabar oils in high medical estimation were made from both the root and the leaves of the *karua* or wild cinnamon of that coast."

There are two meanings of *karu* in Tamil-Malayāḷam, 'black' and 'pungent,' and the latter doubtless supplies us with the explanation of *karuppu*, 'cinnamon.' A word with a related meaning to this is *karukku*, 'a medicinal preparation.' This name may have

been given to cinnamon from what has been described as 'the sweet *burning* taste' of the bark, and especially of the oil. Wild cinnamon grows freely in Malabar, in the very region in which Ctesias's name for it, and the name adopted by the Arabians, is still in use. The cinnamon now grown in Ceylon is, it is true, of a much finer quality, but it is doubtful whether the cultivation of it had been introduced into Ceylon at that early period, and even if it had, it should be remembered that Ctesias, who derived all his information about India from Persian and Babylonian merchants, seems to have known nothing of Ceylon. I have little doubt that the Sanskrit *karpūra,* 'camphor,' is substantially the same as the Tamil-Malayāḷam *karuppu* and Ctesias's *κἄρπιον* (*karpion*), seeing that it does not seem to have any root in Sanskrit, and that camphor and cinnamon are nearly related. The camphor of commerce is from a cinnamon tree, the *camphora officinarum.* If the identity of Ctesias's word with the Tamil-Malayāḷam *karuppa* be admitted, it follows that we have here the earliest Dravidian word quoted by the Greeks, and that at that early time Tamil roots were sometimes converted into verbal nouns by the addition of the formative *pu,* as they are at present, just as we have seen in the Hebrew *tūki,* the alternative formative *ku* or *kei,* used, as at present, for the same purpose.

It is a remarkable circumstance that the largest stock of primitive Dravidian words contained in any written documents of ancient time—the earliest authentic extant traces of the existence of the Dravidian languages, as distinguished from Sanskrit—are those which are found in the notices of the Greek geographers Ptolemy and the author of the "Periplus Maris Erythræi"; including also the "Natural History" of Pliny. Many of the names of places and tribes recorded by those geographers, not long after the commencement of the Christian era, are identical, letter for letter, with the names now in use. Several of those names have become obsolete, or cannot now be identified; but the signification of the compound words of which they consist is generally apparent, and in several of them we can detect the operation of some interesting dialectic peculiarity or euphonic rule which is still characteristic of these languages. I subjoin a few examples of Dravidian words of this class recorded by the Greeks, beginning with the names of Dravidian peoples and princes.

(1.) *ὁ Πανδΐων* (*ho Pandiōn*)—*ἡ χὥρα* Πανδιόνων (*he chōra Pandionōn*), Κανδιόνων (*Kandionōn*) is evidently an error—the Pāṇḍya king and people. This name is, as we have seen, of Sanskrit

origin, and Pandæ, the form which Pliny, after Megasthenes, gives in his list of Indian nations, comes very near the Sanskrit. The more recent local information of Pliny himself, as well as the notices of Ptolemy and the Periplus, supply us with the Dravidian form of the word. The Tamil sign of the masculine singular is *an,* and Tamil inserts *i* euphonically after *ṇḍ*, consequently Πανδίων (*Pandiōn*), and still better, the plural form of the word Πανδιόνες (*Pandiones*) faithfully represents the Tamil masculine singular Pāṇḍiyan. Ptolemy is quite correct in giving the same name to the people and their prince. The people were Pāṇḍyas, the prince *the* Pāṇḍya, or the Pāṇḍya-déva. The form of the masculine singular in ancient Canarese, corresponding to the Tamil *an,* is *am;* in Telugu it is *uḍu,* so that Pāṇḍiyuḍu in Telugu answers to Pāṇḍiyan in Tamil. Consequently we learn, that as early as the Christian era, Tamil differed dialectically from the other Dravidian idioms, and in particular that its mode of forming the masculine singular was then the same as it is now. We also learn from the expression Μόδουρα βασίλειον Πανδιόνις (*Modoura Basileion Pandionis*) that the Pāṇḍyas had transferred their capital from Kolkei on the Tāmraparṇī to Madura on the Veigei before the Christian era. Μόδουρα itself (in Pliny Modura) is the Sanskrit Mathurā, pronounced in the Tamil manner. The corresponding city in Northern India, Muttra, is written by the Greeks Μέθορα (*Methora*).

(2.) ὁ Κηροβόθρος (*ho Kērobothros*). The prince called by this name by Ptolemy is called ὁ Κηπροβότρος (*ho Kēprobotros*) by the author of the Periplus. The insertion of π is clearly an error, but more likely to be an error of a copyist than that of the author, who himself had visited the territories of the prince in question. He is called Cælobothras in Pliny's text, but one of the MSS. gives it more correctly as Celobotras. The name in Sanskrit, and in full, is *Keralaputra,* but both *Kēra* and *Kēḷa* are Dravidian abbreviations of *Kērala.* They are Malayāḷam, however, not Tamil abbreviations; and the district over which Keralaputra ruled is that in which the Malayāḷam language is now spoken.

(3.) Σῶραι νομάδες (*Sōrai nomades*)—'Αρκάτου βασίλειον Σωραι (*Arkatou Basileion Sōrai*)—"Ορθουρα βασίλειον Σώρναγος (*Orthoura Basileion Sōrnagos*)—Παραλία Σωρητων (*Paralia Sōrētōn*) [or Σωριγων (*Sōrigōn*)]; also Παραλία Τωριγγων (*Paralia Tōringōn*) which should evidently have been Σωριγ γων (*Sōringōn*), seeing that it included the mouth of the river Χαβηρος (*Chabēros*)]. Without entering here on any minute topographical

discussions with regard to details, it seems evident to me that the word Σωρα (*Sōra*), which we meet alone and in various combinations in these notices, represents the name of the northern portion of the Tamilian nation. This name is *Chōla* in Sanskrit, *Chōḷa* in Telugu; but in Tamil *Sōṛa* or *Chōṛa*. Ptolemy's accuracy, or rather perhaps that of his informants, with regard to the name of this people is remarkable; for in Tamil they appear not only as *Sōṛas*, but also as *Sōṛagas* and *Sōṛiyas*, and even as *Sōṛiṅgas;* their country also is called *Sōṛagam*. The *ṛ* of the Tamil word *Sōṛa* is a peculiar sound, not contained in Telugu, in which it is generally represented by *ḍ*, nor in Sanskrit and Pali, in which it is represented by *ḍ* or *ḷ*. The transliteration of this letter by the Greeks as ρ seems to show that then, as now, the use of this peculiar *ṛ* was a dialectic peculiarity of Tamil. The Indian equivalent of the name of the king Sornax has not survived—as those of ό Πανδίων (*ho Pandiōn*) and ό Κηροβόθρος (*ho Kērobothros*) have—and it is fruitless to guess what it may have been; but as we know from native poems that the name of the ancient capital of the Sōṛas was Uṛeiyūr (pronounced Oreiyūr), we may safely identify this name with Ptolemy's Ὄρθουρα (*Orthoura*), the capital of the Παραλία Σωρητων (*Paralia Sōrētōn*).

(4.) Ἀρkατου βασίλειον Σωρα (*Arkatou Basileion Sōra*). Ἄρkατος (*Arkatos*) is here represented, not as a country, people, or city, but as the name of a prince. As General Cunningham has pointed out, Σωρα (*Sōra*) is represented as the name of a city, where a king called Ἄρkατος (*Arkatos*) reigned. Though this was evidently Ptolemy's meaning, yet one is strongly tempted to suppose that here the names given by the natives of the country to his informants had got transposed. The name Σωρα (*Sōra*) is identical with that of the people of the district, whom Ptolemy himself calls Σωραι νομάδες (*Sōrai nomades*), and Ἄρkατος (*Arkatos*) answers exceedingly well, in situation as well as in sound, to Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic in Muhammedan times. There is a distinct tradition that the inhabitants of that part of the Chōla or Sōṛa country which lies between Madras and the Ghauts, including Arcot as its centre, were Kurumbars or wandering shepherds—nomads—for several centuries after the Christian era. General Cunningham objects to this identification that Arcot is quite a modern name; but it must, as Colonel Yule has pointed out, be at least as old as 1340 A.D., for it is mentioned by Ibn Batuta. The name is properly *āṛ'-kāḍ*, Tam. the six forests, and the Hindūs of the place regard it as an ancient city, though not mentioned by name in the Puraṇas, and

point out the 'six forests' in which six of the *rishis* of the ancient period had their hermitages. If this identification be admitted, we have here another instance of the antiquity of the dialectic peculiarities of Tamil, for the oblique form of the word *kāḍ'* is *kāṭṭ'*, and the word ordinarily used in Telugu for forest is not *kāḍ'*, but *aḍavi* or *aṭavi*.

(5) Κάρουρα βασίλειον Κηροβόθρου (*Karoura Basileion Kērobothrou*). Karūr is mentioned in Tamil traditions as the ancient capital of the Chēra, Kēra, or Kērala kings, and is generally identified with Karūr, an important town in the Coimbatore district, originally included in the Chera kingdom. *Karūr* means the black town, and I consider it identical with *Kāṛagam* and *Kaḍāram*, names of places which I have frequently found in inscriptions in the Tamil country, and which are evidently the poetical equivalents of *Karūr*. The meaning of each of the names is the same. Ptolemy's word Κάρουρα (*Karoura*) represents the Tamil name of the place with perfect accuracy; *kar* means black, and *ūr* (sometimes pronounced *ūr-u*), a town. Neither of these words seems to have altered in the least in sound or signification for 1800 years.

(6.) *Modogalingam nomine*, Pliny. I have already, in p. 28, discussed the meaning of this name. I add here that if *modo* be regarded as a Telugu word, meaning three, we have here an interesting illustration of the antiquity of Dravidian dialect peculiarities; for three is in Telugu *mūḍu*, in Tamil *mūndru*, in Canarese *mūru*, in Tuḷu *mūji*.

(7.) *Damirice*, and also *Scytia Dymirice*, Peutinger Tables; *Dimirica*, in the Ravenna Cosmography, see p. 10. The Dymir or Dymirice was supposed by Dr Burnell to represent the word Tamir, and if so, the Damir of Damirice will come still nearer thereto. The portion of the Malabar coast immediately to the north of Dymirice is called, by Ptolemy and the author of the "Periplus," 'Αριακη (*Ariakē*), and it seems probable that this was the district to which the name of Āryaka was given by Varāha-mihira several centuries afterwards (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. v.). It appears probable, therefore, that the difference between the Aryans and the Dravidians can be traced in the names given by the Greeks to those portions of the Malabar coast which we know from other sources of information have always been inhabited by Aryans and Dravidians respectively.

(8.) I content myself with simply noting the following names of places on the Malabar coast. Μουζιρίς (*Mouziris*) appears to be the Muyiri of Muyiri-cotta; Τῦνδις (*Tyndis*) is Tuṇḍi; and the

Kynda of Nelkynda [or as Ptolemy has it Μελ-Κυνδα (*Mel-Kynda*), i.e., probably Western Kynda] seems to be Kannettri, the southern boundary of Kērala proper. One MS. of Pliny writes the second part of this word not cyndon, but canidon. The first of these places was identified by Dr Gundert; for the remaining two we are indebted to Dr Burnell.

(9.) Cottonara, Pliny; Κοττοναρικη (*Kottonarikē*), Perip.; the district where the best pepper was produced. It is singular that this district was not mentioned by Ptolemy. Cottonara was evidently the name of the district; *κοττονάρικον* (*kottonarikon*), the name of the pepper for which the district was famous. Dr Buchanan identifies Cottonara with Kaḍatta-nāḍu, the name of a district in the Calicut country celebrated for its pepper. Dr Burnell identifies it with Koḷatta-nāḍu, the district about Tellicherry, which he says is *the* pepper district. *kaḍatta,* in Malayāḷam, means transport, conveyance; *nāḍu,* Tam.-Mal., means a district.

(10.) Σάγγαρα (*Sangara*). The author of the "Periplus" calls by this name the canoes formed out of single trees, in which pepper was brought from Cottonara to Barace. The Malayāḷam name of these boats is *changāḍam,* Tuḷu *jangāla.* Compare Sanskrit *saṃghāḍam,* a raft. I have never been able to explain κολαν διόφωντα (*kolandiophōnta*), the name of the large vessels that sailed from the western coast to Ceylon and the Ganges.

(11.) Κοττιάρα (*Kottiara*). This is the name of a place in the country of the Ἄïοι (*Aïoi*) of Ptolemy, in the Παραλία (*Paralia*) of the author of the "Periplus," identical in part with South Travancore. Apparently it is the Cottora of Pliny, and I have no doubt that it is the Cottara of the Peutinger Tables. It is not to be confounded with Cottonara, the place mentioned above. It is called by Ptolemy Κοττιάρα Μητρόπολις (*Kottiara Mētropolis*), and must have been a place of considerable importance. The town referred to is probably *Kōttāṟ-u,* or as it is ordinarily written by Europeans, Kotaur, the principal town in South Travancore, and now, as in the time of the Greeks, distinguished for its commerce. The name of the place is derived from *kōḍ-u,* Tam.-Mal. a fort, and *āṟ-u,* a river. It is a rule both in Tamil and in Malayāḷam that when a word like *kōḍ'* is the first member of a compound, the final *ḍ* must be doubled for the purpose of giving the word the force of an adjective: it is another rule that sonants when doubled become surds. Consequently the compound *kōḍ-u-āṟ-u* becomes by rule *Kōtt-āṟ-u.* If the identification of the place be correct, as it appears to me to be, we find

here an interesting proof that in the time of the Greeks the same phonetic rules were in operation as now.

(12.) Κομάρια ἄκρον (*Komaria akron*), Ptol.; Κομάρ (*Komar*), Κομαρεῖ (*Komarei*), Perip. Cape Comorin* has derived its name from the Sanskrit *kumārī*, a virgin, one of the names of the goddess Durgā, the presiding divinity of the place; but the shape this word has taken, especially in Κομάρ (*Komar*), is distinctively Tamilian. In ordinary Tamil *kumārī* becomes *kumări;* and in the vulgar dialect of the people residing in the neighbourhood of the Cape, a virgin is neither *kumārī* nor *kūmări*, but *kūmăr*, pronounced *kŏmăr*. It is remarkable that this vulgar corruption of the Sanskrit is identical with the name given to the place by the author of the "Periplus." He says, "After this there is another place called Κομάρ (*Komar*), where there is a βριάριον (*briarion*)—probably Φρούριον (*Phrourion*), a fort; ἱερον (*hieron*) is less likely—and a harbour, where also people come to bathe and purify themselves, . . for it is related that a goddess was once accustomed to bathe there monthly." This monthly bathing in honour of the goddess Durgā is still continued at Cape Comorin, but is not practised to the same extent as in ancient times. Kumārī formerly ranked as one of the five renowned sacred bathing places, a representation which accords with the statement of the author of the "Periplus." Through the continued encroachments of the sea, the harbour the Greek mariners found at Cape Comorin, and the fort (if that were meant), have completely disappeared; but a fresh-water well remains in the centre of a rock a little way out at sea. It is singular that Cape Comorin does not appear in any shape in the Peutinger Tables.

(13.) Παραλία (*Paralia*). There are three Paralias mentioned by the Greeks, two by Ptolemy (the Paralia of the Soreti, and the Paralia properly so called, that of the Toringi), one by the author of the "Periplus." The Paralia mentioned by the latter corresponded to Ptolemy's country of the Ἄϊοι (*Aioi*) and that of the Καρεοι (*Kareoi*), that is, to South Travancore and South Tinnevelly. It commenced at the Red Cliffs, south of Quilon, and included not only Cape Comorin, but also Κόλχοι, (*Kolchoi*), where the pearl-fishing was carried on, and which belonged to King Pandion. Dr Burnell identifies Παραλία (*Paralia*) with Puraḷi, which he states is an

* Compare Cymri (Wales). "It is stated that the original home of the Cwmry, Cumri, or Cymry, was in Southern Hindustan, the southern extremity of which, Cape Comorin, takes its name from the same root."—From a Historical Souvenir issued on the occasion of the meeting of the British Medical Association at Swansea, 1903.—*Editors.*

old name for Travancore, but I am not quite able to adopt this view. It is true that, if the Greeks found any part of the Travancore coast called Puraḷi, they would naturally proceed to convert that name into a word of their own, bearing an intelligible and appropriate meaning; but, on the other hand, it is not clear that any part of the coast was ever called by that name. *Puraḷi* is stated by Dr Gundert ("Malayāḷam Dictionary" *in loc.*) to be the name of a fort belonging to the old kings of *Kōṭṭayagam* in the interior. Hence *Puraḷīśan,* lord of Puraḷi, was one of the titles of those kings. This title is now poetically applied to the kings of Travancore; but it seems probable that it was adopted by them at a comparatively late period, on their gaining possession of the territory to which the title belonged, in the same manner as they adopted the title of *Vanji-bhūpati,* lord of Vanji, a name of Karūr, the ancient Chera or Kerala capital. It is also to be remembered that the Paralia of the "Periplus" included not only the coast of South Travancore, but also the coast of Tinnevelly as far as Kolkei. It appears to me, therefore, that Παραλια (*Paralia*) is to be taken as a Greek word, though possibly it may have corresponded in meaning, if not in sound, to some native word meaning coast. This will appear probable from the next item.

(14.) οἱ Καρεοί (*hoi Kareoi*). The Careï of Ptolemy inhabited the southern portion of Tinnevelly, between Cape Comorin and Kolkei; consequently their country constituted the eastern portion of the Paralia of the "Periplus." *Karei* is the Tamil word for coast or shore from the verbal theme *karei,* to be melted down, to be washed away, and is obviously identical in meaning with the Greek Παραλία (*Paralia*). Up to the present time several portions of the Tinnevelly coast (including that part where I have myself lived and laboured for more than thirty years) are called *Karei,* the coast, or *Karei* (*ch*) *chuttru,* the coast circuit, and a caste of fishermen further north are called *Kareiyār,* coast-people. There cannot be any doubt that the last portion of two names of places mentioned by Ptolemy represents in Tamil *karei,* coast, viz., Καλαικαρίας (*Kalaikkarais*) and Περιγκαρε (*Perinkarei*). If the latter word had been written Περυγκαρεῖ it would have been perfectly accurate Tamil, letter for letter. The meaning is great shore; and *perum,* great, becomes *perung* before *k* by rule. *perum* itself, instead of *peru,* is a distinctively classical form.

(15.) ἡ Σωλῆν (*hē Sōlēn*). The Tāmraparṇī, the chief river in Tinnevelly, must be the river intended to be denoted by Ptolemy by

this name, for it is the only river mentioned by him between Cape Comorin and the Kāvērī, and it entered the sea south of Κόλχοι, (*Kolchoi*), the emporium of the pearl trade, which was certainly at the mouth of the Tāmraparṇī. It is difficult, however, to explain how it came to be called Σωλῆν (*Sōlēn*). This word means in Greek a shell-fish, a mussel; and it seems uncertain whether the Greeks called the river by this name, because the native name of it somewhat resembled this, or because of the fishing for chanks, as well as pearls, then as now carried on at its mouth. The name by which the river seems always to have been called in India is Tāmraparṇī, a name which bears no resemblance whatever to Solen. In Tamil poetry it is often called the Porunei, which is merely a Tamilisation of the second portion of its Sanskrit name. *Tāmraparṇī*, Sans., would naturally mean the tree with red or copper leaves; applied to a river, it would seem to mean the river which resembles a red leaf. It is called by this name in the Mahā-bhārata, though whether the passage in which it is mentioned is older than Ptolemy may be regarded as uncertain. The name Tāmra-parṇī being identical with the oldest name of Ceylon—Tāmbapaṇṇi in Pāli, Ταπροβανῆ (*Taprobanē*) in Greek—it might have been supposed, if the river had been called by this name in the time of the Greeks, that they would have called it the Taprobane, the name by which they called Ceylon. Solen cannot, have any connection with Sylaur, erroneously represented in Lassen as the name of the principal tributary of the Tāmraparṇī. This tributary is called the Chitranadī commonly the Chittār, which means in Tamil the small river, and it is physically impossible that it ever can have been, as Lassen conjectured, the principal stream, the mountain district it drains being very much smaller than that which the Tāmraparṇī drains.

(16.) Βηττιγῶ (*Bēttigō*). This, according to Ptolemy, was the name of the mountain range in which the Σωλῆν (*Sōlēn*)—the Tāmraparṇī— took its rise, in addition to two rivers on the western coast, the Βᾶρις (*Baris*) and ψευδόστομος (*Pseudostomos*). The mountain range meant is evidently that of the Southern Ghauts—that is, the range of mountains stretching from the Coimbatore gap to Cape Comorin. The Tāmraparṇī rises in a beautiful conical mountain included in this range, visible from the mouth of the river. and visible also from Κόλχοι (*Kolchoi*), the emporium frequented by the Greeks. When the Greeks asked where the river took its rise they would naturally be directed to this conspicuous mountain, and on learning its name would naturally give the same name to

the whole range. This mountain is commonly called by the English Agastier—that is, the *rishi* Agastya's hill—Agastya being supposed to have finally retired thither from the world after civilising the Dravidians; but the true Tamil name of the mountain is *Podigei*, pronounced *Pothigei* (the *Podiyam* of the poets) or *Peria* (the greater) *Podigei*, in contradistinction to a smaller mountain in the same neighbourhood. The root meaning of *podi* being 'to cover,' 'to conceal,' *podigei* may have meant 'a place of concealment'; but, whatever may have been its meaning, it seems to come as near the Greek Βηττιγῶ (*Bēttigō*) as could be expected.

(17.) Κόλχοι ἐμπόριον (*Kolchoi emporion*). This place is mentioned both by Ptolemy and by the author of the "Periplus," both of whom agree in representing it as the headquarters of the pearl-fishery and as belonging to King Pandion. It was the first place east of Cape Comorin frequented by the Greeks, and was situated to the north of the river Solen. It is one of the few places in India mentioned in the "Peutinger Tables," where it is called 'Colcis Indorum.' From the name of this place the Gulf of Manaar was called by the Greeks the Colchic Gulf. The Tamil name of the place is almost identical with the Greek. It is Kolkei; and though this is now euphonically pronounced *Koṛkei*, through the change of *l* before *k* into *ṛ* by rule, yet it is still pronounced *Kolka* in Malayāḷam, and I have found it written *Kolkei* in an old Tamil inscription in the temple at Trichendoor. Doubtless it was so pronounced in the time of the Greeks, when euphonic refinements could have advanced very far. Koṛkei is well known in Tamil traditions as the place where the germs of civil government made their first appearance amongst the Tamilians—the government set up in common by the three mythical-patriarchal brothers, *Sēran*, *Sōran*, and *Pāṇḍiyan*. Atī-Vira-Rāma, the poet-king, one of the later Pāṇḍyas, in a little poem called "Vettri-vēṛkei," styles himself *Koṛkei(y)āḷi*—that is, 'ruler of Koṛkei.' This place is now about three miles inland, but there are abundant traces of its having once stood on the coast, and I have found the tradition that it was once the seat of the pearl-fishery still surviving amongst its inhabitants. After the sea had retired from Κόλχοι (*Kolchoi*), in consequence of the silt deposited by the river, a new emporium arose on the coast which was much celebrated during the Middle Ages. This was Kāyal (meaning in Tamil 'the lagoon'), the Cael of Marco Polo. (See Colonel Yule's "Marco Polo," vol. ii.) Kāyal in turn became in time too far from the sea for the convenience of trade, and Tuticorin (*Tūttrukuḍi*)

was raised instead by the Portuguese from the position of a fishing village to that of the most important port on the southern Coromandel coast. The pearl-oyster has nearly disappeared now, I am sorry to say, from the coast, and the staple trade of Tuticorin has long been, not pearls, but cotton. The identification of Κόλχοι with Kolkei is one of much importance. Being perfectly certain, it helps forward other identifications. *Kol* in Tamil means 'to slay'; *kei*, is 'hand'. The meaning of *Kolkei*, therefore, is 'the hand of slaughter', which is an old poetical term in Tamil for 'an army,' 'a camp,' the first instrument of government in a rude age. In so far as the two words included in this name are concerned, the Tamil language does not seem to have altered in the slightest from that day to this. The junction of the words has been euphonised, but the words themselves remain the same.

(18.) Κῶρυ (*Kōru*). Ptolemy describes Κῶρυ (*Kōru*) as an island in the Argaric Gulf, or Palk's Straits. Elsewhere he describes it as a promontory, and correctly, for it was both—if it is to be identified, as I have no doubt it is, with Rāmēśvaram, a long narrow island terminating in a long spit of land. The bay between Point Calymere and the island of Rāmēśvaram is called 'Rama's bow,' and each end is called *Dhanu kōti*, 'the tip of the bow,' or simply *kōṭi* (in Tamil *kōḍi*), 'the tip,' 'end,' or 'corner.' The most celebrated of the two *kōḍis* was that at Rāmēśvaram, and this word *kōḍi* would naturally take the form of *kōri* or *kōru*. The ease with which this change might take place is shown by the fact that it is this very word *kōṭi* which is meant when we speak of the high number called by the English a *crore*. It is remarkable that the Portuguese, without knowing anything about the Κῶρυ (*Kōru*) of the Greeks, called the same spit of land Cape Ramana*coru*.

(19.) Καλλιγικόν (*Kalligikon*). According to Ptolemy, Κωρυ (*Kōru*), the Rāmēśvaram spit of land, was also called Καλλιγικόν (*Kalligikon*), but it seems probable that he was mistaken in this identification, and that we are to understand by Καλλιγικόν (*Kalligikon*) the promontory called Calingon by Pliny, by which it appears to me that Point Calymere was meant. The circumstance that there were two places called Κωρυ (*Kóru*)—that is, two ends of the bow—one of which was at Point Calymere, seems to show how Ptolemy's informants may have come to speak of Κωρυ (*Kōru*) as also called Καλλιγικόν (*Kalligikon*). The Tamil name of Point Calymere is *Kaḷḷi-mēḍu*—that is, 'the euphorbia eminence'—and it seems

probable that the Greek *καλλι* (*kalli*) and the Tamil *kaḷḷi* are identical.

(20.) Κωλις (*Kōlis*). In the various Greek and Roman geographers prior to the time of Ptolemy, the name Κωλις (*Kōlis*) occupies an important place. It appears first (in the shape of an appellative in Strabo, who speaks of Ceylon as seven days' sail from the southernmost part of India, the inhabitants of which he calls Κωλιακοι (*Kōliakoi*): but it is probable that Strabo herein follows Onesicritus, a writer three centuries older, who represented Ceylon (Taprobane) as twenty days' sail from the same place. Pomponius Mela calls it Colis. Pliny, who reduces the number of days' sail from Ceylon to four, calls the place Coliacum, and describes it as the promontory of India which was nearest Ceylon, between which and it there was a shallow coral sea. Dionysius Periegetes, who brings Κωλις (*Kōlis*) into greater prominence than any other writer, transfers to it (by a poetical licence) the description of Aornis near the Indus, given by the writers of Alexander's period, and gives to Ceylon itself a name which seems to be derived from Κωλις (*Kōlis*)—viz., Κωλιας (*Kōlias*). In Ptolemy Κωλις (*Kōlis*) disappears, and Κωϱυ (*Kōru*), a name previously unknown, comes up instead. I have no doubt that the words Κωλις (*Kōlis*) and Κωϱυ (*Kōru*) are identical, and that the places denoted by these names were one and the same—viz., the island-promontory of Rāmēśvaram, the point of land from which there was always the nearest access from Southern India to Ceylon. The geographical knowledge of the present time might naturally wish to identify Κωλις (*Kōlis*) with Cape Comorin, as the southernmost point of India; but in the times preceding Ptolemy (*e.g.*, in the "Peutinger Tables") what we now call Cape Comorin was not known to be a cape; and the Cape Comorin of the period (that is, what was supposed to be the southernmost point of the Indian continent) was *Kōṭi* or Rāmēśvaram, the point from which the passage to Ceylon (Rama's or Adam's bridge, the Ma'bar of the Arabians) was most easily made. I do not consider Κωλις (*Kōlis*) a corruption of Κωϱυ (*Kōru*). On the contrary, I regard both names as equally representing the same word. *Kōṭi*, 'the end of the bow,' 'the angle'—that is, the angle or corner of the bay (the Argaric Gulf) lying between Point Calymere and the Island of Rāmēśvaram. Pomponius Mela regarded it as an 'angulus' not of that bay merely, but of India, viewed as a whole. He supposed it to be the termination towards the east of the southern coast, which ex-

tended thus far in a straight line nearly due east and west from the Indus! Κωλι-ς (*Kōli-s*) seems to be somewhat nearer the Indian original *Kōṭi* or *Kōḍi*, than Κῶρυ (*Kōru*); and the change of the Sanskrit *ḍ* into the Tamilian *ṛ* or *ḷ*, we have already seen exemplified in the change of the *ḍ* of Draviḍ into the *ṛ* or *ḷ* of *Tamiṛ* or *Tamiḷ*.

(21.) *Malli, quorum Mons Maleus;* Pliny. This mountain seems to have been to the north of the country of the Calingas, and General Cunningham identifies it with Mahēndra Male in Ganjam. It is difficult to determine the situation of the places in India mentioned in Pliny; but it seems certain that, wherever the Mons Maleus may have been, its name embodied the well-known Dravidian word (which we see also in the Sanskrit *Malaya*) *malei*, 'a mountain.' The name of the people was probably derived from the same word, and signified, like the Tamil *maleiyar* and the *Rājmahāl Māler* or *Maler*, 'mountaineers.'

(22.) It may be noticed that the rendering of the Sanskrit *Buddha* by Clemens Alexandrinus as *Βούττα* (*Boutta*), and his rendering of the Sanskrit *śramaṇa* (Buddhistic ascetics) by Σεμνοί (*Semnoi*), accord better with the Tamil forms of these words (*Putta* and *Samaṇa*) than with the Sanskrit originals.

(23.) It is remarkable how many names of places in Southern India mentioned by Ptolemy end in ουρ (*our*) or ουρα (*oura*), 'town.' There are twenty-three such places in all. They *sound* wonderfully Tamil-like. The conjunctions of consonants (*nt, nd, mb, tt*) are exactly such as Tamil loves.

Some of the names of places mentioned by Ptolemy prove that the Brāhmans had by that time established themselves at various points in the Carnatic, and given names to some of the principal localities. Μόδουρα (*Modoura*), Madura, is a Sanskrit word; so also is Πανδίων (*Pandiōn*), the king's name. Χάβηρος (*Chabēros*), 'the yellow river,' the Kāvērī, is claimed by Sanskrit, though possibly Dravidian. There is no doubt that Κομαρια (*Komaria*), Cape Comorin, is Sanskrit; and probably Κωρυ (*Kōru*) is Sanskrit also. Ptolemy says that Brāhmans (Βραχμᾶναι Μᾶγοι) (*Brachmanai Magoi*) dwelt in the country under the mountain Βηττιγῶ (*Bēttigō*), and as far as the country of the Βᾶτοι (*Batoi*)—εν οἱς πόλῑς ἥδε *Βραχμη* (*en hois polis hēde, Brachmē*). Can this Βραχμη (*Brachmē*) be Brahmadēśam, an ancient town on the Tāmraparṇī, not far from the foot of the Podigei mountain, which I have found referred to in several ancient inscriptions?

At a later period than that of Ptolemy by several centuries,

when the Indian trade had passed from the hands of the Greeks to those of the Persians, Cosmas Indicopleustes, in his "Christian Topography," furnishes some interesting particulars respecting Ceylon and the Malabar coast included, in which he preserves for us a few Tamil words. I have already mentioned his name for the Malabar coast—Μαλε (*Male*), the mountain region. He gives also the names of five places on the Malabar coast from which pepper was exported, three of which end in πατανα (*patana*), 'town,' a word which, though found in Sanskrit, is I think, of Dravidian origin; and of these, one Πουδοπατανα (*Poudopatana*) gives us the distinctively Tamil word *pudu*, new. There is still on the same coast a town called by this name, which, like many other '*Newtons*,' must be a town of considerable antiquity, seeing that it has long been regarded by native authorities as the northern boundary of Kērala proper and of true Kērala usages. This πουδο (*poudo*) of Cosmas is slightly more correct than the ποδο (*podo*) of Ptolemy's ποδοπερουρα (*podoperoura*). Colonel Yule (*Bombay Antiquary* for August 1874) identifies the place with the 'Bodfattan' of Ibn Batuta, and the 'Peudefitania' of Nicolo Conti.

Though the Greek geographers have not given us any information respecting the languages of India, beyond what little is furnished by the names of places contained in their works, the information derived from those lists is exceedingly interesting. The earliest extant traces of the Dravidian languages which possess reliable authority are those with which we have been furnished by the ancient Greeks; and from an examination of the words which they have recorded, we seem to be justified in drawing the conclusion, not only that the Dravidian languages have remained almost unaltered for the last two thousand years, but probably also that the principal dialects that now prevail had a separate existence at the commencement of the Christian era, and prevailed at that period in the very same districts of country in which we now find them. The art of writing had probably been introduced, the grammar of the Dravidian languages had been fixed, and some progress made in the art of composition before the arrival of the Greek merchants; * and the extraordinary fixity with which those languages appear to

* The arrival in India of those Grecian merchants appears to have been contemporaneous with the conquest of Egypt by the Romans. The earliest Roman coins found in India are those of the reign of Augustus. A large number of Roman imperial *aurei* were found some years ago on the Malabar coast; upwards of thirty types of which, commencing with the earlier coins of Augustus, and including many of Nero, were described by me in a paper pub-

have been characterised ever since that period is in accordance with the history of all other Asiatic languages, from the date of the commencement of their literary cultivation.

If the Dravidian family of languages is allied, as I think it may be believed to be in the main, to the Scythian families, it may justly claim to be considered as one of the oldest congeners of the group. With the exception of the language of the Behistun tablets, no words belonging to any distinctively Scythian language can be traced up to the Christian era. Mr Norris says, "I know of nothing written in the Magyar language earlier than the fifteenth century, and of the other Ugrian languages we have nothing above fifty or sixty years old. The great Finnish heroic poem, the 'Kalevala,' may be of any age, but as it appears to have been brought down to us only by word of mouth, it has naturally varied, like all traditional poetry, with the varying forms of the language." The Uigurs or Oriental Turks acquired the art of writing from the Nestorian Christians, the Mongolians from the Uigurs; so that the literary cultivation of neither of those languages can be compared in point of antiquity with that of the Dravidian. Amongst the earliest records of the Scythian tongues that have been discovered, is a brief list of words recorded by the Chinese as peculiar to the old Turks of the Altaī; and of eight words contained in this list, all of which are found in the modern dialects of the Turkish, probably three, certainly two, are Dravidian. Those words as given by the Chinese are:—

Turkish of the Altaī.		Modern Turkish.	Tamil
black,	*koro,*	*quarā,*	*karu.*
old,	*kori,*	*gori,*	*kiṛa.*
chieftain,	*kān,*	*khān,*	*kōn,* or *kō.*

lished at Trivandrum in 1851 by the Rajah of Travancore, to whom the coins belonged.

It may be desirable to mention here the approximate dates of the Greek and Roman geographical writers referred to above.

B.C.—Herodotus 420; Ctesias 400; Onesicritus 325; Megasthenes 300.

A.D.—Strabo 20; Pomponius Mela 50; Pliny 77; Periplus Maris Erythræi 80; Dionysius Periegetes 86; Ptolemy 130; Arrian 150; Clemens Alexandrinus 200; Eusebius 320; Festus Avienus 380; Marcian 420; Cosmas Indicopleustes 535; Stephen of Byzantium 560; Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia, 7th century; Georgius Syncellus 800; Eustathius, the commentator on Dionysius Periegetes, 12th century; Uranius, a writer quoted by Stephen of Byzantium, date unknown. The date of the Peutinger Tables is unknown, but an examination of the Asian segment of those tables convinces me that the author could not have had any acquaintance with Ptolemy, and therefore probably lived at an earlier period.

I am strongly inclined to consider the last Tamil word, *kōn* or *kō*, to be identical with the *kān, khān,* or *khāgan* of the Turko-Mongolian languages. The Ostiak, an Ugrian dialect, has *khon.* In the old Tamil inscriptions I have invariably found *kō* or *kōn* instead of the Sanskrit *rājā*: but the word has become obsolete in modern Tamil, except in compounds, and in the honorific caste title *kōn,* assumed by shepherds. This conjunction of meanings (king and shepherd) is very interesting, and reminds one of the Homeric description of kings as ποιμένες λαῶν (*poimenes laōn*).

The Tamil literature now extant enables us to ascend, in studying the history of the language, at the latest to the second or third century A.D.: the Dravidian words handed down to us by the Greeks carry us up, as we have seen, to the Christian era. Beyond that period, the comparison of existing dialects is our only available guide to a knowledge of the primitive condition of the Dravidian language. The civilisation of the Tamil people, together with the literary cultivation of their language, may have commenced about the sixth or seventh century B.C., but the separation of the primitive Dravidian speech into dialects must have taken place shortly after the arrival of the Dravidians in the districts they at present inhabit—an event of unknown, but certainly of very great antiquity. The Irish and Welsh dialects of Celtic, the Old High and the Old Low dialects of Teutonic, and the Finnish and Magyar dialects of Ugrian, had probably become separate and distinct idioms before the tribes by which those dialects are spoken settled in their present habitations; but the various Dravidian dialects which are now spoken appear to have acquired a separate existence subsequently to the settlement of the Dravidians in the localities in which we now find them. Supposing their final settlement in their present abodes in Southern India to have taken place shortly after the Aryan irruption (though I think it probable that it took place before), every grammatical form and root which the various dialects possess in common, may be regarded as at least coeval with the century subsequent to the arrival of the Aryans. Every form and root which the Brahui possesses in common with the Dravidian tongues may be regarded as many centuries older still. The Brahui analogies enable us to ascend to a period anterior to the arrival in India of the Aryans (which cannot safely be placed later than 1600 B.C.); and they furnish us with the means of ascertaining, in some degree, the condition of the Dravidian languages before the Dravidians had finally abandoned their original abodes in the central tracts of Asia.

Political and Social Relation of the Primitive Dravidians to the Aryan and Præ-Aryan Inhabitants of Northern India.

The arrival of the Dravidians in India must have been anterior to the arrival of the Aryans, but there is some difficulty in determining whether the Dravidians were identical with the aborigines whom the Aryans found in possession of the northern provinces, and to whom the vernacular languages of Northern India are supposed to be indebted for the non-Sanskritic elements they contain, or whether they were a distinct and more ancient race. The question may be put thus:—Were the Dravidians identical with the Dasyus, by whom the progress of the Aryans was disputed, and who were finally subdued and incorporated with the Aryan race as their serfs and dependents? or were they a race unknown to the Aryans of the first age, which had already left, or been expelled from, Northern India, and migrated southwards towards the extremity of the peninsula before the Aryans arrived ? This question of the relation of the Dravidians to the Aryanised aborigines of Northern India is confessedly involved in obscurity, and can be settled only by a more thorough investigation than any that has yet been made of the relation of the Dravidian languages to Sanskrit, the Prākrits, and the northern vernaculars. We may, indeed, with tolerable safety regard the Dravidians as the earliest inhabitants of India, or at least as the earliest race that entered from the North-West; but it is not so easy to determine whether they were the people whom the Aryans found in possession and conquered, or whether they had already, before the arrival of the Aryans, moved on southwards out of the northern provinces, or been expelled from those provinces by the præ-historic irruption of another race. Some inquirers have held the identity of the Dravidians with the primitive Śūdras; and something may be said in support of this hypothesis. I am not competent to pronounce a decided opinion on a point which lies so far beyond my own province, but the differences which appear to exist, and which I have already pointed out, between the Dravidian languages and the non-Sanskritic under-stratum of the northern vernaculars induce me to incline to the supposition that the Dravidian idioms belong to an older period of speech. If this supposition is correct, it seems to follow that the progenitors of the Scythian or non-Aryan portion of the Śūdras and mixed classes now inhabiting the northern provinces must have made their way into India subsequently to the Dra-

vidians, and also that the Dravidians must have retired before them from the greater part of Northern India, ere they were in their turn subdued by a new race of invaders. By whomsover the Dravidians were expelled from Northern India—if they ever were really expelled—and through what causes soever they were induced to migrate southward, I feel persuaded that they were never expelled by the Aryans. Neither the subjugation of the Chōlas, Pāṇḍyas, and other Dravidians by the Aryans, nor the expulsion from Northern India by the Aryans of the races who afterwards became celebrated in the South, as Pāṇḍyas, Chōlas, Kēralas, Kalingas, Andhras, &c., is recognised by any Sanskrit authority, or any Dravidian tradition. Looking at the question from a purely Dravidian point of view, I feel convinced that the Dravidians never had any relations with the primitive Aryans but those of a peaceable and friendly character; and that if they were expelled from Northern India, and forced to take refuge in Gōṇḍvana and Daṇḍakāraṇya—the great Dravidian forest—prior to the dawn of their civilisation, the tribes that subdued and thrust them southwards must have been præ-Aryans.

Those præ-Aryan Scythians, by whom I have been supposing the Dravidians to have been expelled from the northern provinces, are not to be confounded with the Kōls, Santāls, Bhīls, Dōms, and other aboriginal tribes of the north. Possibly these tribes had fled into the forests from the Dravidians prior to the præ-Aryan invasion, just as the British had taken refuge in Wales before the Norman conquest. It is also possible that the tribes referred to had never crossed the Indus at all, or occupied Northern India, but had entered it, like the Bhūtān tribes, by the North-East and had passed from the jungles and swamps of lower Bengal to their present abodes—taking care always to keep on the outside of the boundary line of civilisation. At all events, we cannot suppose that it was through an irruption of those forest tribes that the Dravidians were driven southwards; nor does the non-Sanskritic elements supposed to be contained in the northern vernaculars appear to accord distinctively with the peculiar structure of the Kōlarian languages. The tribes of Northern India, whom the Aryans gradually incorporated in their community, as Śūdras, whoever they were, must have been an organised and formidable race. They may have been identical with the 'Æthiopians from the East,' who, according to Herodotus, were brigaded with other Indians in the army of Xerxes, and who differed from other Æthiopians in being 'straight haired.'

I admit that there is a difficulty in supposing that the Dravidians, who have proved themselves superior to the Aryanised Śūdras of Northern India in mental power, independence, and patriotic feeling, should have been expelled from their original possessions by an irruption of the ancestors of those very Śūdras. It is to be remembered, however, that the lapse of time may have effected a great change in the warlike, hungry, Scythian hordes that rushed down upon the first Dravidian settlements. It is also to be remembered that the dependent and almost servile position to which this secondary race of Scythians was early reduced by the Aryans, whilst the more distant Dravidians were enjoying freedom and independence, may have materially altered their original character. It is not therefore so improbable as it might at first sight appear, that after the Dravidians had been driven across the Vindhyas into the Dekhan by a newer race of Scythians, this new race, conquered in its turn by the Aryans, and reduced to a dependent position, soon sank beneath the level of the tribes which it had expelled ; whilst the Dravidians, retaining their independence in the southern forests into which they were driven, and submitting eventually to the Aryans, not as conquerors, but as colonists and instructors, gradually rose in the social scale, and formed communities and states in the extreme South, rivalling those of the Aryans in the North.

Mr Curzon (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xvi.) attempted to meet the difficulty I have stated by supposing that the Tamilians were never in possession of Āryā-varta, or Northern India, at all; but that they were connected with the Malay race, and came to Southern India by sea, from the opposite coast of the Bay of Bengal, or from Ceylon. This theory seems, however, perfectly gratuitous; for it has been proved that the languages of the Gōṇḍs and Kus are Dravidian equally with Tamil itself; that the Orāon and the Rājmahāl are also substantially Dravidian ; and that Brahui partakes so largely of the same character (not to speak of the language of the Scythic tablets of Behistun), as to establish a connection between the Dravidians and the ancient races west of the Indus. It has also been shown that in the time of Ptolemy, when every part of India had long ago been settled and civilised, the Dravidians were in quiet possession, not only of the south-eastern coast, but of the whole of the peninsula, up nearly to the mouths of the Ganges.

It is undeniable that immigrations from Ceylon to the southern districts of India have occasionally taken place. The Tiyars (prop-

erly *Tivārs,* islanders) and the Īṛavars, Singhalese (from *Īṛam,* Ceylon, a word which appears to have been corrupted from the Sanskrit *Siṃhalam,* or rather from the Pali *Sihalam,* by the omission of the initial *s*), both of them Tranvancore castes, are certainly immigrants from Ceylon; but these and similar immigrants are not to be considered as Singhalese, in the proper sense of the term, but as offshoots from the Tamilian population of the northern part of the island. They were the partial reflux of the tide which peopled the northern and western parts of Ceylon with Tamilians. Bands of marauding Tamilians (*Sōlis, Pāṇḍis,* and other *Damilos* —*i.e.,* Chōlas, Pāṇḍyas, and other Tamilians) frequently invaded Ceylon, as we are informed by the Maha-wanso, both before and subsequently to the Christian era. On several occasions they acquired supreme power, and at length permanently occupied the northern provinces of the island. There is no direct affinity, however, between the Singhalese language—the language of the Singhalese, properly so called, who appear to have been colonists from Magadha—and the language of the Tamilians; nor is there any reason for supposing that the natural course of migration (viz., from the mainland to the island) was ever inverted to such a degree as to justify the supposition that the whole mass of Dravidians entered India from Ceylon. Dr Gundert's suggestion, mentioned in p. 20, is better capable of being defended than Mr Curzon's, but is also, as it appears to me, encumbered with greater difficulties than the ordinary theory.

ORIGINAL USE AND PROGRESSIVE EXTENSION OF THE TERM 'ŚŪDRA.'

The term 'Śūdra,' which is now the common appellation of the mass of the inhabitants of India, whether Gaurians or Dravidians, has been supposed to have been originally the name of a tribe dwelling near the Indus. Lassen recognises their name in that of the town Συδρος (*Sudros*) on the lower Indus; and especially in that of the nations of the Συδροι (*Sudroi*) in Northern Arachosia. He supposes them to have been, with the Abhīras and Nishādas, a black, long-haired race of aborigines, not originally a component part of the Aryan race, but brought under its influence by conquest; and that it was in consequence of the Śūdras having been the first tribe that was reduced by the Aryans to a dependent condition, that the name 'Śūdra' was afterwards, on the conquest of the aborigines in the interior part of the country, extended to all

the servile classes. Whatever may have been the origin of the name 'Śūdra,' it cannot be doubted that it was extended in course of time to all who occupied or were reduced to a dependent condition; whilst the name 'Dasyu' or 'Mlēchcha' continued to be the appellation of the unsubdued, non-Aryanised tribes.

Most writers on this subject seem to suppose that the whole of the Śūdras, or primitive, servile classes of Northern India, to whom this name was progressively applied, belonged to a different race from their Aryan conquerors. Whilst I assent to every other part of the supposition, I am unable to assent to the universality of this. It seems to me to be probable that a considerable proportion of the servants, dependents, or followers of the Aryans belonged from the first to the Aryan race. As the Slavonian serfs are Slavonians, and the Magyar serfs Magyars, there is no improbability in the supposition that a large number of the Aryan serfs or Śūdras (perhaps at the outset the majority) were Aryans; and I cannot on any other supposition account for the fact that so large a proportion of the component materials of the Prākrits and northern vernaculars is Sanskrit.

The introduction of the Dravidians within the pale of Hindūism appears to have originated, not in conquest, but in the peaceable process of colonisation and progressive civilisation. There is no tradition extant of a warlike irruption of the Aryans into Southern India, or of the forcible subjugation of the Dravidians; though, if such an event ever took place, some remembrance of it would probably have survived. All existing traditions, and the names by which the Brāhmanical race is distinguished in Tamil—viz., *Eiyar*, fathers, instructors, and *Pārppār* seers (probably the επίσκοποι (*episcopoi*) of Arrian)—tend to show that the Brāhmans acquired their ascendancy by their intelligence and their administrative skill.

The most adventurous immigrations from Northern India to the Dekhan were those of the offshoots of the Lunar dynasty, a dynasty which originated from the Solar, and whose chief city Ayōdhyā, Oude, was the traditional starting point of most of their migrations. The Pāṇḍya kings of Madura were feigned to have sprung from the Lunar line. The title 'Pāṇḍya' is derived, as has already been mentioned, p. 12, from the name of the Pāṇḍavas of Northern India, the celebrated combatants in the great war of the Mahā-bhārata, to whom every Cyclopean work of unknown antiquity is traditionally ascribed. This derivation of the *name* of

Pāṇḍyas is doubtless correct; but there is very little reason to suppose that the kings of Madura, by whom this name was assumed, sprang from any of the royal dynasties of Northern India. The marriage of Arjuna to a daughter of the second king of the Pāṇḍyan dynasty, whilst on his travels in the South, according to the Mahābhārata, falls far short of proving (what it is sometimes supposed to prove) that the Pāṇḍya kings were Kshatriyas. Besides, what are we to conclude from Arjuna's abandonment of his Pāṇḍyan bride shortly afterwards, according to the same story? The Aryan immigrants to the South appear to have been generally Brāhmanical priests and instructors, rather than Kshatriya soldiers; and the kings of the Pāṇḍyas, Chōlas, Kalingas, and other Dravidians, appear to have been simply Dravidian chieftains, whom their Brāhmanical preceptors and spiritual directors dignified with Aryan titles, and taught to imitate and emulate the grandeur and cultivated tastes of the Solar, Lunar, and Agni-kula races of kings.* In later times we may see the progress of a similar process in Gōṇḍvana, where we find that Gōṇḍ chieftains have learned from their Brāhman preceptors not only to style themselves Rājāhs, but even to assume the sacred thread of the 'twice-born' Kshatriyas.

* A similar opinion respecting the relation that subsisted between the Aryans and the early Dravidians was expressed by Professor Max Müller ("Report of British Association for 1847"). "Wholly different from the manner in which the Brāhmanical people overcame the north of India, was the way they adopted of taking possession of and settling in the country south of the Vidhya. They did not enter there in crushing masses with the destroying force of arms, but in the more peaceful way of extensive colonisation, under the protection and countenance of the powerful empires in the north. Though sometimes engaged in wars with their neighbouring tribes, these colonies generally have not taken an offensive but only a defensive part; and it appears that, after having introduced Brāhmanical institutions, laws, and religion, especially along the two coasts of the sea, they did not pretend to impose their language upon the much more numerous inhabitants of the Dekhan, but that they followed the wiser policy of adopting themselves the language of the aboriginal people, and of conveying through its medium their knowledge and instruction to the minds of the uncivilised tribes. In this way they refined the rude language of the earlier inhabitants, and brought it to a perfection which rivals even the Sanskrit. By these mutual concessions, a much more favourable assimilation took place between the Aryan and aboriginal race; and the south of India became afterwards the last refuge of Brāhmanical science, when it was banished from the north by the intolerant Mahommedans. It is interesting and important to observe how the beneficial influence of a higher civilisation may be effectually exercised, without forcing the people to give up their own language and to adopt that of their foreign conquerors, a result by which, if successful, every vital principle of an independent and natural development is necessarily destroyed."

The gradual transformation of these semi-barbarous chieftains into Kshatriya princes shows how the Pāṇḍya and Chōla chieftains of the South may originally have been Dravidian Poligars (*Pāḷeiyak-kāran*, the holder of a *pāḷeiyam*, a feudal estate), like those of Ramnad and Puducottah in later times, and may in process of time have risen in rank as in power, assuming as they did so the Kshatriya titles of Deva, Varmā, &c., and finally, in some instances at least, succeeding in getting themselves recognised as Kshatriyas by the original Kshatriyas of the North.

Whilst it is evident that the entire mass of the Dravidians were regarded by Manu and the authors of the Mahā-bhārata and the Purāṇas as Kshatriyas by birth, it is remarkable that the Brāhmans who, settled amongst the Dravidians and formed them into castes, in imitation of the castes of the North, seem never at any time to have given the Dravidians—with the exception perhaps of the royal houses—a higher title than that of Śūdra. They might have styled the agricultural classes Vaiśyas, and reserved the name of Śūdra for the village servants and the unenslaved low castes; but acting apparently on the principle that none ought to be called either Kshatriyas or Vaiśyas but Aryans, and that the Dravidians were not Aryans, they seem always to have called them Śūdras, however respectable their position.

In consequence of this title Śūdra conveys a higher meaning in Southern than in Northern India. The primitive Śūdras of Northern India seem to have been slaves to the Aryans, or in a condition but little superior to that of slaves. They seem to have had no property of their own, and can scarcely be said to have had any civil rights. In Southern India, on the contrary, it was upon the middle and higher classes of the Dravidians that the title of 'Śūdra' was conferred; and the classes that appeared to be analogous to the servile Śūdras of Northern India, were not called 'Śūdras, but 'Paḷḷas,' 'Pareiyas,' &c., names which they still retain. The application of the term 'Śūdra' to the ancient Dravidian chieftains, soldiers, and cultivators does not prove that they had ever been reduced by the Brāhmans to a dependent position, or that they ever were slaves—as the northern Śūdras appear to have been—to any class of Aryans. The Brāhmans, who came in 'peaceably, and obtained the kingdom by flatteries,' may probably have persuaded the Dravidians that in calling them Śūdras they were conferring upon them a title of honour. If so, their policy was perfectly successful; for the title of 'Śūdra' has never been resented by the Dravidian castes; and

hence, whilst in Northern India the Śūdra is supposed to be a low-caste man, in Southern India he generally ranks next to the Brāhman. The term Śūdra, however, is really, as we have seen, as inappropriate to any class of Dravidians as the term Kshatriya or Vaiśya. It is better to designate each Dravidian caste simply by its own name, as Veḷḷāḷas, Nāyakkas, &c., in accordance with the usage prevailing amongst the people themselves in each locality, without attempting to classify the various castes according to Manu's principles of classification, which in reality are quite inapplicable to them, if not, indeed, equally inapplicable to the castes now existing in the north.

Præ-Aryan Civilisation of the Dravidians

The primitive Dravidians do not appear to have been by any means a barbarous and degraded people. Whatever may have been the condition of the forest tribes, it cannot be doubted that the Dravidians, properly so called, had acquired at least the elements of civilisation, prior to the arrival amongst them of the Brāhmans.

If we eliminate from the Tamil language the whole of its Sanskrit derivatives, the primitive Dravidian words that remain will furnish us with a faithful picture of the simple life of the non-Aryanised Dravidians. At present I will merely adduce those records of the primitive Tamil mind, manners, and religion which the ancient vocabularies of the language, when freed from the admixture of Sanskrit, will be found to furnish.

From the evidence of the words in use amongst the early Tamilians, we learn the following items of information. They had 'kings,' who dwelt in 'strong houses,' and ruled over small 'districts of country.' They had 'minstrels,' who recited 'songs' at 'festivals,' and they seem to have had alphabetical 'characters' written with a style on palmyra leaves. A bundle of those leaves was called 'a book'; they acknowledged the existence of God, whom they styled *kō*, or king—a realistic title little known to orthodox Hindūism. They erected to his honour a 'temple,' which they called *Kō-il*, God's-house. They had 'laws' and 'customs,' but no lawyers or judges. Marriage existed among them. They were acquainted with the ordinary metals, with the exception of 'tin,' 'lead,' and 'zinc'; with the planets which were ordinarily known to the ancients, with the exception of 'Mercury' and 'Saturn.' They had 'medicines,' 'hamlets' and 'towns,' 'canoes,' 'boats,' and even 'ships' (small 'decked' coasting vessels), no acquaintance with any people beyond sea, except in Ceylon, which was then, perhaps, accessible on foot

at low water; and no word expressive of the geographical idea of 'island' or 'continent.' They were well acquainted with 'agriculture,' and delighted in 'war.' They were armed with 'bows' and 'arrows,' with 'spears' and 'swords.' All the ordinary or necessary arts of life, including 'spinning,' 'weaving,' and 'dyeing,' existed amongst them. They excelled in 'pottery,' as their places of sepulture show.

This brief illustration, from the primitive Tamil vocabulary, of the social condition of the Dravidians, prior to the arrival of the Brāhmans, will suffice to prove that the elements of civilisation already existed amongst them.

Probable Date of Aryan Civilisation of the Dravidians

It would appear from the unanimous voice of ancient legends that the earliest Dravidian civilisation was that of the Tamilians of the Pāṇḍya kingdom, and that the first place where they erected a city and established a state was Kolkei, on the Tāmraparṇī river (see p. 99), near the southern extremity of the peninsula. This civilisation was probably indigenous in its origin, but it seems to have been indebted for its rapid development at so early a period to the influence of a succession of small colonies of Aryans, chiefly Brāhmans, from Upper India, who were probably attracted to the South by the report of the fertility of the rich alluvial plains watered by the Kāvērī, the Tāmraparṇī, and other peninsular rivers; or as the legends relate, by the fame of Rāma's exploits, and the celebrity of the emblem of Śiva, which Rāma discovered and worshipped at Ramisseram, or Rāmēśvaram, a holy place on an island between the mainland and Ceylon. The leader of the first or most influential Brāhmanical colony is traditionally said to have been Agastya, a personage who is celebrated in Northern India as one of the authors of the Vedic hymns, then as the holiest of hermits, performing sacrifices and austerities in the remotest forests, and evermore penetrating farther and farther into the hitherto unknown South. In the South he is venerated as the earliest teacher of science and literature to the primitive Dravidian tribes. It is very doubtful whether Agastya (if there ever were such a person) was really the leader of the Brāhman immigration; more probably he is to be considered as its mythological embodiment. He is called by way of eminence the *Tamiṛ muni*, or Tamilian sage, and is celebrated for the influence he acquired at the court of Kulaśēkhara, according to tradition the first Pāṇḍyan king, and for the numerous elementary

treatises he composed for the enlightenment of his royal disciple; amongst which his arrangement of the grammatical principles of the language has naturally acquired most renown. He is mythologically represented as identical with the star Canopus, the brightest star in the extreme southern sky in India, and is worshipped near Cape Comorin as Agastēśvara. By the majority of orthodox Hindūs he is believed to be still alive, though invisible to ordinary eyes, and to reside somewhere on the fine conical mountain, commonly called 'Agastya's hill,' from which the Porunei or Tāmraparṇī the sacred river of Tinnevelly, takes its rise. (See p. 98).

The age of Agastya and the date of the commencement of the Brāhmanical civilisation of the Tamilians cannot now be determined with certainty; but data exist for making an approximate estimate. It was certainly prior to the era of the Greek traders, for then the greater part of the country appears to have been already Brāhmanised, the principal places had received Sanskrit names, and the Pāṇḍya dynasty of kings had become known even in Europe. It seems as certainly subsequent to the era described in the Rāmāyaṇa. The age of Agastya is apparently to be placed between those two eras. If we could be sure that the references to the civilised Chōlas, Draviḍas, &c., which are contained in the present text of the Mahā-bhārata, formed originally part of that poem, the era of the commencement of Tamilian civilisation, and the date of the Agastyan colony from which it proceeded, might be brought within a still narrower compass, and placed between the age of the Rāmāyaṇa and that of the Mahā-bhārata. The genuineness of those references, and their age, if genuine, being as yet doubtful, and the era of Manu (in which there is an allusion to the Chinese, under the name of Chīnas, which, like a similar allusion to the Chīnas in the Mahā-bhārata, looks very modern) being generally now placed lower than ever, it is hard to say where we are to look for trustworthy means of arriving at an approximate date. At first sight Ceylon seems to furnish us with the information required. The immigration into Ceylon of the colony of Aryans from Magadha, headed by Vijaya, is placed by the Mahā-wanso about B.C. 550, or at least some time in the course of that century; and if this were regarded as certain, it might be argued that the Aryans must have become acquainted with, and formed establishment in, the Dekhan and the Coromandel coast, and must have taken some steps towards clearing and civilising the Daṇḍakāranya, or primitive forest of the peninsula, before they thought of founding a colony in Ceylon. We

have no documentary evidence, however, for any of these particulars earlier than the date of the composition of the Mahā-wanso, which is placed between 459 and 477 A.D. Though the date of the arrival in Ceylon of the colony from Magadha is uncertain, it is quite certain that some such colony must have arrived in Ceylon several centuries before the Christian era. This appears from the evidence of language. Tāmraparṇī (in Pāli Tāmbapaṇṇi) was the name given by the Magadha colonists to the place where they landed in Ceylon (said to have been near Putlam), and afterwards to the whole island. This name, in the shape of Ταπροβάνη (*Taprobanē*), became known to the Greeks as early as the time of Alexander the Great, and it is singular that this is also the name of the principal river in Tinnevelly on the opposite coast of India. (See p. 98). This river Tāmraparṇi is mentioned by name in the Mahā-bhārata as a river in which the gods had once bathed, and it is evident from this reference to it in the Mahā-bhārata that it must have been known by that name from a very early period, and that there must have been some special reason for its celebrity. We are led, therefore, to infer that the Magadha colony which settled in Ceylon may previously have formed a settlement in Tinnevelly, at the mouth of the Tāmraparṇī river—perhaps at Kolkei, which appears, as we have already seen, to have been the earliest residence of the Pāṇḍya kings. Vijaya, the leader of the expedition into Ceylon, is related in the Mahā-wanso to have married the daughter of the king of Pāṇḍi; and though it may be doubtful enough whether he really did so (for on the same authority we might believe that he married also the queen of the Singhalese demons), this at least is certain, that it was the persuasion of the earliest Singhalese writers, who were, on the whole, the most truthful and accurate of oriental annalists, that the Pāṇḍyan kingdom on the coast of India opposite to Ceylon (the first kingdom established on Aryan principles in the peninsula) existed prior to the establishment of the Magadha rule in the neighbouring island.

Dr Burnell, in an article in the *Indian Antiquary* for October 1872, attributes the introduction of Brāhmanical civilisation to a much later period. He thinks it not too much to infer that about 700 A.D. (the date of Kumārila-bhaṭṭa, who speaks of the language of the Telugu and Tamil people as a language of Mlechchas), Brāhmanical civilisation had but little penetrated the south of India. *

* Compare the following from the latest Madras Archæological Report:—"The discovery of Brahmin records in Southern India will now be recognized

"Brāhmans had, no doubt, begun to find the South a promising field of labour, but there could have been very few settlers." . . . "I do not mean," he says, " to deny for a moment that a few Sanskrit names are found some centuries earlier in South India, such as are preserved to us by classical writers, but they occur only in the fertile deltas or important seaports of the South, and were probably introduced by Buddhist missionaries." A distinction may perhaps be drawn between the elementary Brāhmanical civilisation of the era of the introduction of which I have been treating and the development of Dravidian *literature*. Its earliest cultivators appear to have been Jainas; but in so far as that species of civilisation which falls short of a national literature is concerned, the Dravidians may have been civilised, as I have supposed, and perhaps even to a certain degree Brāhmanised, some centuries before the Christian era. Doubtless the Jainas themselves used Sanskrit in Southern as in Northern India at the commencement of their work as teachers (probably for a century or two), before they set themselves to the task of developing amongst each of the Dravidan races a popular literature independent of the language of their rivals the Brāhmans. The early Sanskrit names of places in Southern India, with two exceptions, are neither Buddhistical nor Brāhmanical, but simply descriptive. One of those exceptions, however, *Kumārī*, Cape Comorin, is clearly Brāhmanical, not Buddhistical, as appears from the statement of the author of the "Periplus" himself; and the other, *Mathurā*, Madura, is evidently a reminiscence of Mathurā, the capital of the Yādavas—and therefore of Brāhmanical origin.

It seems probable that Aryan merchants from the mouth of the Indus must have accompanied the Phœnicians and Solomon's servants in their voyages down the Malabar coast towards Ophir (wherever Ophir may have been),* or at least have taken part in the trade. If Mr Edward Thomas's supposition (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1871) that the basis of the Lāt character of Northern India was a previously existing Dravidian character, and

by students of history as a proof of the Aryan influence in this part of the peninsula in, at least, the third century B.C., in spite of the belief entertained by some 'that Southern India was entirely swayed by Dravidian thought and civilisation from pre-historic times.'"

* Note the following by Sir M. E. Grant Duff in his life of Ernest Renan, Professor of Semitic Languages of the College de France: "I recollect his (Renan) telling me that he was persuaded that Ophir was on the west coast of India, and not, as many thought, in Africa."

Dr Burnell's (see "Dravidian Alphabets"), that the earliest character used in India was one which was borrowed by the Dravidians from traders who brought it from the Red Sea, and which was then borrowed by the Aryans from the Dravidians, be accepted, this early intercourse of the Dravidians with Phœnicians on the one hand, and with Aryans on the other, may account in some degree both for what they borrowed and for what they lent. Both those suppositions, however, await confirmation. It appears certain from notices contained in the Vedas that the Aryans of the age of Solomon practised foreign trade in ocean-going vessels, but it remains uncertain to what ports their ships sailed.

COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR

NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION.

ALL foreign words, to whatever family of languages they may belong, are represented in this work in Roman characters, for the double purpose of preventing unnecessary expense and trouble, and of facilitating comparison.

Long vowels are invariably marked thus—ā: when no such accent is placed over a vowel, it is intended that it should be pronounced short. *E* and *o*, being invariably long in Sanskrit, are left unaccented in the transliteration of Sanskrit words in works treating of Sanskrit. The Dravidian languages having short *e* and *o*, as well as long, it is to be understood that they are to be pronounced short when unaccented.

All vowels are pronounced in the Continental manner, *ei* as will be explained, corresponds to the Sanskrit *ai*.

The "lingual" or "cerebral" consonants are denoted by a subscribed dot—*e.g.*, *ṭ, ḍ, ṇ*: the peculiar vocalic *ṛ*, and the surd *l*, of the South Indian languages are denoted in a similar manner —*e.g.*, *ṛ, ḷ*: the obscure, inorganic nasal *n* or *m* is represented by *n* with a superscribed line—*e.g.*, *n̄*: the nasal of the guttural row of consonants, ordinarily represented by *ng*, is written *ṅ*; the nasal of the palatal row, ordinarily written *nj* or *ny*, is written *ñ*; and the hard rough *r* is represented by a subscribed line *ṟ*.

The dental *d* in Tamil, and the corresponding *t* or *d* in Malayāḷam, are pronounced in the middle of a word, or between two vowels, like the English *th* in than; and in Telugu, *j* and *ch*, when followed by certain vowels, are pronounced like *dz* and *ts*: but as these are merely peculiarities of *pronunciation*, and one consonant is not exchanged for another, no change has been made in the characters by which those sounds are represented.

I have found it very difficult to determine how the third consonant in Tamil, answering to the Sanskrit *ch*, should be represented. The difficulty is owing to the circumstance that its pronunciation, when doubled, differs considerably from its pronunciation when single. When single, its pronunciation closely resembles that of the Sanskrit *ś*; when doubled, it is identical with that of the San-

skrit *chch*. I have thought it best, therefore, to represent it by these letters. This is the way in which I have dealt with the other Tamil letters, the pronunciation of which, when single, differs from their pronunciation when double;—*e.g.*, *d*, which when doubled, I have represented, as the pronunciation requires, as *tt*; and *ḍ*, which, when doubled, becomes in like manner *ṭṭ*.

There is a tendency in all the Dravidian languages to pronounce *e* as if it were *ye*, and *o* as if it were *wo*. In colloquial Tamil, this pronunciation, though often heard, is seldom represented in writing; but in modern Canarese and Telugu, *y* before *e*, and *v* or *w* before *o*, are often written as well as pronounced. In Canarese and Tuḷu grammars, it has become customary, in rendering words in the Roman character, to write *ye* for *e*, and *wo* for *o*, even where the native characters employed are *e* and *o* alone—*e.g.*, Can., *wondu*, one, and *yeradu*, two, instead of *ondu* and *eradu*. As this euphonic change seems to be a corruption, not a primitive dialectic peculiarity, and as it tends to hinder comparison with the other dialects, all such words will be written in this work without the *y* or *v*, and it will be left to the reader who is acquainted with the native usage to pronounce those words as usage requires. This usage prevails also, it seems, in Marāthi and Koṅkaṇi; and Dr Pope, in his "Outlines of the Grammar of the Tuda Language," points out the existence of traces of this usage even in English—*e.g.*, "ewe" is pronounced "yew" and "one" "won". This he attributes to Celtic influences. As regards the Dravidian languages, it does not seem necessary to suppose this peculiarity to be one of any great antiquity, seeing that the spelling of Dravidian words has always been phonetic; and hence *y* and *v* would have been written as well as pronounced, if this pronunciation had been prevalent at the time the languages were first committed to writing. The people in the neighbourhood of Madura, where the purest Tamil is supposed to be spoken, pride themselves on pronouncing initial *e* and *o* pure.

DRAVIDIAN GRAMMAR

PART I.

SOUNDS.

It will be my endeavour in this section to elucidate the laws of sound by which the Dravidian languages are characterised. Special notice will be taken of those regular interchanges of sound in the different dialects which enable us to identify words under the various shapes they assume, and to which it will frequently be necessary to allude in the subsequent sections of this work.

Dravidian Alphabets.—Before entering on the examination of the Dravidian sounds, it is desirable to make some preliminary observations on the alphabets of the Dravidian languages.

There are three different Dravidian alphabets at present in use, viz., the Tamil, the Malayālam, and the Telugu-Canarese. I class the Telugu and the Canarese characters together, as constituting but one alphabet; for though there are differences between them, those differences are few and very unimportant. Tuḷu has ordinarily been written hitherto in the Malayālam character, but Canarese characters are now used in the books printed at the German Mission Press at Mangalore. It is this character which is used in Brigel's Tuḷu Grammar. The Ku grammar of which I have made use is written in the characters of the Oriya—characters which are less appropriate than those of the Telugu would have been for expressing the Ku sounds. The other uncultivated dialects of this family have hitherto been content to have their sounds expressed in the Roman character.

The three Dravidian alphabets which have been mentioned above, viz., the Tamil, the Malayālam, and the Telugu-Canarese, together with their older but now obsolete shapes, and the *Grantha,* or character in which Sanskrit is written in the Tamil country, have all been derived, it is supposed, from the early Deva-nāgarī, or rather from the still earlier characters contained in Aśoka's

inscriptions—characters which have been altered and disguised by natural and local influences, and especially by the custom, universal in the Dekhan, of writing on the leaf of the palmyra palm with an iron stylus.

The following remarks of Mr Beames ("Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India," Introduction, pp. 62-66) show clearly how these alterations have taken place :— " The Oriya characters, in their present form, present a marked similarity to those employed by the neighbouring non-Aryan nations, whose alphabets have been borrowed from the Sanskrit; I mean, the Telugu, Malayālam, Tamil, Singhalese, and Burmese. The chief peculiarity in the type of all these alphabets consists in their spreading out the ancient Indian letters into the elaborate maze of circular and curving forms. This roundness is the prevailing mark of them all, though it is more remarkable in the Burmese than in any other; Burmese letters being entirely globular, and having hardly such a thing as a straight line among them. The straight, angular letters which Aśoka used are exhibited in the inscriptions found at Seoni on the Narmadā (Nerbudda) in more than their pristine angularity, but adorned with a great number of additional lines and squares, which render them almost as complicated as the glagolitic alphabet of St Cyril. The next modification of these letters occurs in the inscriptions found at Amrāvatī on the Kistna, where the square boxes have been in many instances rounded off into semicircles. From this alphabet follow all the Dravidian and the Singhalese; probably also we may refer to this type the Burmese and even the Siamese, and the beautiful character in use in Java, which is evidently of Aryan origin, as its system of Pasangans, or separate forms for the second letter of a nexus, and Sandangans, or vowel and diacritical signs, sufficiently testify.

" Whether the Oriyas received the art of writing from Bengal or from Central India is a question still under dispute .... Assuming that they got their alphabet from Central, rather than from Northern, India, the reason of its being so round and curling has now to be explained. In all probability, in the case of Oriya, as in that of the other languages which I have mentioned above, the cause is to be found in the material used for writing. The Oriyas and all the populations living on the coasts of the Bay of Bengal write on the Tālpatra, or leaf of the fan-palm, or palmyra (*Borassus flabelliformis*). The leaf of this tree is like a gigantic fan, and

is split up into strips about two inches in breadth or less, according to the size of the leaf, each strip being one naturally-formed fold of the fan. On these leaves, when dried and cut into proper lengths, they write with an iron style or Lekhani, having a very fine sharp point. Now, it is evident that if the long, straight, horizontal mātrā, or top line of the Deva-nāgarī alphabet, were used, the style in forming it would split the leaf, because, being a palm, it has a longitudinal fibre, going from the stalk to the point. Moreover, the style being held in the right hand, and the leaf in the left, the thumb of the left hand serves as a fulcrum on which the style moves, and thus naturally imparts a circular form to the letters. Perhaps the above explanation may not seem very convincing to European readers; but no one who has ever seen an Oriya working away with both hands at his Lekhani and Tālpatra will question the accuracy of the assertion; and though the fact may not be of much value, I may add, that the native explanation of the origin of their alphabet agrees with this. . . . The Oriya letters, however, have departed less from the early type than those of their neighbours the Telingas. . . . Without going through the whole alphabet letter by letter, it may suffice to say in general terms that the Oriya characters show signs of having arisen from a form of the Kuṭila character prevalent in Central India, and that its love of circular forms, common to it and the neighbouring nations, is due to the habit of writing on the Tālpatra, Talipot, or palm-leaf, with an iron style."

It was supposed by Mr Ellis, and the supposition has gained currency, that before the immigration of the Brahmans into the Tamil country, the ancient Tamilians were acquainted with the art of writing; that the Brahmans recombined the Tamil characters which they found in use, adding a few which were necessary for the expression of sounds peculiar to Sanskrit; and that from this amalgamation, which they called *Grantha*, or the book (*grantha lipi*, or "the book character"), the existing Tamil characters have been derived. There can be little doubt of the derivation of the Tamil character in ordinary use from the Grantha; for some characters are identical with Grantha letters which are still in use, and others with more ancient forms of the Grantha; but the other part of the hypothesis, viz., the existence of a Præ-Sanskrit Tamil character, out of which the Grantha itself was developed, is more doubtful; and though it is true that there is a native Tamil word which signifies "a letter," and another which signifies "a

book," yet there is no direct proof of the existence of Tamil characters older than the time of the arrival of the first Brahman immigrants. The character called *Haḷa Kannaḍa,* or old Canarese, and the various characters in which Tamil is found to be written in old inscriptions, seem to me to be founded on the basis of an alphabetical system which was originally intended for the use of Sanskrit.

Mr Edward Thomas, in an article on "Recent Pehlvi Decipherments," in the *Jour. R. A. S.* for 1871, has put forth a theory allied to, but not identical with, Mr Ellis's. He supposes the earliest characters in which Sanskrit or the Prakrits were expressed —that is, the characters used in Aśoka's edicts—to have had a Dravidian origin; that they were originally invented to meet the requirements of Turanian (Dravidian) dialects; and that the principal change effected when the "normal Dravidian alphabet" was converted into the "Prakrit or Lat alphabet," consisted in the system of means adopted for the expression of the aspirates. Mr Thomas considers that the Lat alphabet made a difference between short and long *e*, though the form used for the latter is made to do duty for *ai*. On the other hand, "the oldest known Dravidian alphabet," published by Dr Burnell, which is to be described presently, makes no difference between long *e* and short, which is one of the arguments that may be adduced in favour of the theory of the derivation of that alphabet from the Sanskritic alphabet of Aśoka.

The characters used in certain early Tamil inscriptions, such as the *śāsanas,* or royal grants, in the possession of the Jews of Cochin and the Syrian Christians on the Malabar coast, deserve special consideration. The inscriptions themselves were published and interpreted many years ago in the *Journal of the Madras Literary Society*. They are written in the Tamil language, though in an idiom which is slightly tinged with the peculiarities of Malayālam. The alphabet of these inscriptions has been printed by Dr Burnell, of the Madras Civil Service, in the *Indian Antiquary* for August 1872 (Bombay). The characters have been taken from a facsimile of the copper *śāsanas* in the possession of the Jews and Syrians in Cochin, one of which has been ascertained, from the astronomical data contained in it, to be dated in A.D. 774. Dr Burnell says of these *śāsanas,* "Palæographically they are of the greatest value, for they are the oldest inscriptions in Southern India that have yet been discovered, and give the oldest form of the ancient Tamil alphabet. It appears to have fallen into disuse

in the Tamil country about the tenth century, but was generally in use in Malabar up to the end of the seventeenth. It is still occasionally used for deeds in Malabar; but in a more modern form, and still more changed, it is the character used by the Māpillas of North Malabar and the islands off the coast." I formed for myself an alphabhet of these characters many years ago, and have found it used in inscriptions in Tinnevelly as late as the twelfth century, if not later; but an old variety of the existing Tamil character was also in use at the same time. The latter character seems to have been introduced into Tinnevelly and the extreme south of Travancore during the supremacy of the Chola kings. I am therefore inclined to call it the Chola character. Rajendra Chola's inscriptions (in the eleventh century A.D.) are in this character. I have found inscriptions of the time of Sundara Pāndiya (called also Chola-Pāndiya) in both characters; and though unable at present to determine with accuracy the date of Sundara's reign, I have no hesitation in placing it several generations later than that of Rajendra Chola. Dr Burnell considers the Tamil-Malayālam character of the Jewish and Syrian inscriptions the origin of the character used in the Aśoka edicts, and thinks that "the only possible theory of the origin of the character of the Southern inscriptions is that it is an importation brought by traders from the Red Sea, and thence from Phœnicia, and is therefore of Egyptian origin eventually. In many respects the old Tamil alphabet resembles that of the Himyaritic inscriptions found in Yemen. In one respect it differs remarkably from that (the Himyaritic) alphabet, but agrees with the Ethiopic—in that the consonants are modified by the addition of the vowels." These suggestions are well worthy of further consideration; but for the present they seem to me to be hardly in accordance with the facts with which we are acquainted respecting the history of Indian culture. That the character of the Aśoka inscriptions (in the third century B.C.) was gradually modified into the Tamil-Malayālam character (the earliest dated specimen of which belongs, as we have seen, to A.D. 774), in the lapse of centuries, and in the progress of literature from the original seats of the Aryans to the extreme south, may surely be regarded as more probable in itself than that the Aśoka character was nothing more than an adoption or imitation of the Tamil-Malayālam character, even though we should grant that the latter may originally have presented some differences of form—of which, however, there is now no proof.

The fact that the "oldest known South Indian aphabet" makes no distinction between long and short *e*, or long and short *o*, but has only one character for each vowel, like the Sanskrit alphabets and the modern Malayālam, whilst it has different characters for the long and short forms of the other vowels, *a*, *i*, *u*, tends to show that it was framed originally for the expression of Sanskrit sounds, not for those of the Dravidian languages. On the other hand, may it not be said that the fact that different characters are provided in Aśoka's alphabet for the expression of the dental and the lingual sounds respectively, points to the origination of that alphabet amongst a people in whose system of sounds that difference was of more essential importance than it is in Sanskrit ? It will be seen, in the section on the Origin of the Lingual or Cerebral Sounds, that whilst the difference in question seems to have been in Sanskrit the result of gradual development, it enters into the very essence of the means whereby the simplest and most necessary ideas are differentiated in Tamil and other Dravidian languages. On the whole the question of the origination of the Indian written characters—that is, the question whether Aśoka's characters were derived from the Dravidian or the Dravidian from Aśoka's—does not yet appear to me to be conclusively settled. For the present, I am inclined, with Mr Beames to prefer the latter solution.

Since the above was written, I have seen some of the inscriptions referred to by Dr Eggeling in his paper on the Chera Dynasty, read before the International Congress of Orientalists in London, 1874; and in these inscriptions, which are considerably older than the Syrian and Jewish ones (the oldest is dated in A.D. 247), I find that the characters used do not resemble those referred to by Dr Burnell, but agree substantially with those in which Sanskrit was written at that period in North India. The characters may best be described as an archaic form of the Haḷa Kannaḍa.

Much information on the subject of Indian characters is contained in Mr Edward Thomas's edition of "Prinsep's Essays on Indian Antiquities." The question of the origin of the South Indian characters is one which requires, and which will probably reward, further research. It is much to be wished that all the Southern alphabets, ancient and modern, were compared with one another and with the characters used in Northern and Central India and Burma, and especially with those found in inscriptions in Ceylon. The characters which Jambulus professes to have found in use in Ceylon do not perfectly suit any characters which are known to

have existed. The impression left on my mind is, that they were mainly "developed out of his inner consciousness."

The modern Telugu-Canarese differs considerably from the modern Tamil, and departs more widely than the Tamil from the Deva-nāgarī type ; but there is a marked resemblance between some of the Telugu-Canarese characters and the corresponding characters found in the *śāsanas* of Cochin. The modern Malayāḷam character is manifestly derived from the Tamilian Grantha.

On the whole there seems to be reason to conclude that all the alphabetical characters which are used or known in Southern India have a common origin, whether or no their origin is the same as that of the existing alphabets of Northern India, namely, the system of characters in which Sanskrit was first written. The greatness of the difference between the Southern and the modern Northern alphabets arises probably from the greater antiquity of the literary cultivation of the Southern vernaculars, as compared with the Northern. The Southern vernaculars appear to have begun to be cultivated in that early period when the "cave character" was used: the Northern vernaculars were not cultivated, and can scarcely be said to have existed till after the "cave character" had become obsolete, and had been superseded by the later Deva-nāgarī. The Telugu and the Canarese alphabets have been arranged on the model of the Deva-nāgarī, or at least they correspond thereto in power and arrangement. The only difference is, that a short *e* and *o*, and a hard *ṟ*, which is unknown to Sanskrit, are contained in those alphabets, together with a surd *ḷ*, which is not used in modern Sanskrit, but is found in the Sanskrit of the Vedas, as well as in the Dravidian languages. Old Canarese possesses also the vocalic *ṛ* of Tamil and Malayālam. In other respects the characters of those alphabets are convertible equivalents of the Deva-nāgarī. The Malayālam alphabet generally agrees with the Telugu and the modern Canarese: it differs from them in having the vocalic *ṛ* of the Tamil, in addition to the other characters mentioned above; and in having only one character for long and short *e*, and another for long and short *o*. The aspirated letters and sibilants which all those alphabets have borrowed from Sanskrit are seldom used except in pronouncing and writing Sanskrit derivatives. Those letters are not really required for native Dravidian purposes; though, through the prevalence of Sanskrit influences, they have acquired a place in the pronunciation of a few words which are not derived from Sanskrit. The letters *ch* and *j*

are pronounced in Telugu in certain situations *ts* and *dj*; but no additional characters are employed to represent those sounds.

The Tamil alphabet differs more widely than the Malayālam or the Telugu-Canarese from the arrangement of the Deva-nāgarī. The grammar of the Tamil language having, to a considerable degree, been systamatised and refined independently of Sanskrit influences, and Sanskrit modes of pronunciation being almost unknown to Tamilians, the phonetic system of Tamil demanded, and has secured for itself, a faithful expression in the Tamil alphabet. The materials of that alphabet appear to be wholly, or in the main, Sanskrit; but the use which is made of those materials is Tamilian.

The following are the principal peculiarities of the Tamil alphabet.

In common with the Telugu and Canarese alphabets, the Tamil alphabet possesses separate characters for long and short *e*, and for long and short *o*. Formerly it had but one character for the long and short sounds of these vowels; and it is believed that the marks by which the long are now distinguished from the short were first introduced by the celebrated missionary Beschi. The Tamil has no characters corresponding to the liquid semi-vowels *ṛi* and *lṛi*, which are classed amongst vowels by Sanskrit grammarians; and it has not adopted the *anusvāra*, or obscure nasal, of Sanskrit. Much use is made of nasals in Tamil; but those nasals are firm, decided sounds, not "echoes," and are classed amongst consonants by native grammarians. *m* is the natural sound of the Tamil nasal, and this sound is uniformly retained at the end of words and before labials. When followed by a guttural, *m* is changed into *ṅ*, the nasal of the guttural row of consonants; and it is changed into a similar manner into *ñ*, *ṇ* or *n*, according as it is followed by a palatal, a cerebral, or a dental. The Tamil alphabet has nothing to correspond with the *half anusvāra* of the Telugu—a character and sound peculiar to that language. Nevertheless, the tendency to euphonise hard consonants by prefixing and combining nasals, from which the *half anusvāra* has arisen, is in full operation in Tamil.

Tamil makes no use whatever of aspirates, and has not borrowed any of the aspirated consonants of Sanskrit, nor even the isolated aspirate *h*. It professes to possess a letter, half vowel, half consonant, corresponding in some respects to the Sanskrit *visarga*, and called *āydam* (that which is subtle, minute). It is pronounced like a guttural *h*, but is only found in the poets, and is generally considered a pedantical invention of the grammarians.

In arranging the consonants, the Tamil alphabet follows the Devanāgarī in respect of the *vargas,* or rows, in which Sanskrit consonants are classified and arranged. It adopts, however, only the first and the last consonants of each row, omitting altogether the intermediate letters. In the first or guttural row, the Tamil alphabet adopts *k,* and its corresponding nasal *ṅ,* omitting *kh, g,* and *gh* : in the second or palatal row, it adopts *ch,* and its corresponding nasal *ñ,* omitting *chh, j,* and *jh* : in the third or cerebral row, it adopts *ṭ,* and its nasal *ṇ,* omitting *ṭh, ḍ,* and *ḍh* : in the fourth or dental row, it adopts *t,* and its nasal *n,* omitting *th, d,* and *dh* : in the fifth or labial row, it adopts *p,* and its nasal *m,* omitting *ph, b,* and *bh.*

Thus the Tamil alphabet omits not only all the aspirated consonants of the Deva-nāgarī, but also all its soft or sonant letters. The sounds which are represented by the sonants of the Deva-nāgarī are as commonly used in Tamil as in Sanskrit ; but in accordance with a peculiar law of sound (*to be explained hereafter*), which requires the same letter to be pronounced as a surd in one position, and as a sonant in another, Tamil uses one and the same *character* for representing both sounds ; and the character which had been adopted for this purpose by the Tamil alphabet is that which corresponds to the first consonant—viz., the tenuis or surd in each of the Deva-nāgarī *vargas.*

In the varga of the semi-vowels, Tamil follows the Deva-nāgarī ; but it subjoins to that *varga* a row of four letters which are not contained in the Deva-nāgarī. These letters are a deep liquid *r,* which will always be represented in this work as *ṛ* ; a harsh, rough *r,* which will be represented as *ṟ ; ḷ,* a peculiar surd *l,* with a mixture or *r ;* and *n,* a letter to which it is unnecessary to affix any distinctive mark, the difference between it and the *n* of the dental *varga* being one of form rather than of sound. This *n* is that which is invariably used as a final, and it is also much used, in combination with *ṟ,* to represent the peculiar Tamil sound of *ndr.*

The Tamil alphabet is destitute of the Sanskrit sibilants *ś, sh,* and *s.* The second and third of these sibilants are occasionally used in pronouncing and writing Sanskrit derivatives ; but these letters are never found in the ancient grammars of Tamil, or in the classics, nor have they a place in the Tamil alphabet : when used, they are borrowed from the Grantha, from which a few other letters also are occasionally borrowed to express Sanskrit sounds. The first of the three Sanskrit characters referred to above, namely, the *ś* of *Śiva,* is never used at all in pure Tamil : the Tamil palatal or semi-sibilant

which corresponds to the Sanskrit *ch*, and which is pronounced as a soft *ś* or *sh* when single, and as *chch* or *ćć* when doubled, is the letter which is used instead.

The following comparative view of the Deva-nāgarī and the Tamil alphabets exhibits the relations which the one bears to the other.

VOWELS

Sanskrit	*a, ā* :	*i, ī* :	*u, ū* :	*ṛi, ṛī* :	*ḷṛī* :—	*ē* :	*aī* :—	*ō* :	*aū* : *ṅ* : *ah*
Tamil	*a, ā* :	*i, ī* :	*u, ū* :	— — :	— :	*e, ē* :	*eī* :	*o, ō* :	*aū* : — : — *h*

CONSONANTS

Gutturals,	Sans.	*k, kh* : *g, gh* : *ṅ*
Ditto,	Tamil	*k*, — : — — : *ṅ*
Palatals,	Sans.	*ch, chh* : *j, jh* : *ñ*
Ditto,	Tamil	*ch*, — : — — : *ñ*
Linguals,	Sans.	*ṭ, ṭh* : *ḍ, ḍh* : *ṇ*
Ditto,	Tamil	*ṭ*, — : — — : *ṇ*
Dentals,	Sans.	*t, th* : *d, dh* : *n*
Ditto,	Tamil	*t*, — : — — : *n*
Labials,	Sans.	*p, ph* : *b, bh* : *m*
Ditto,	Tamil	*p*, — : — — : *m*
Semi-vowels,	Sans.	*y, r, l, v*
Ditto,	Tamil	*y, r, l, v* ; *ṛ, ḷ, ṛ*
Sibilants and aspirate,	Sans.	*ś, sh, s, h*
Ditto,	Tamil	— — — —

DRAVIDIAN SYSTEM OF SOUNDS.—We now proceed to inquire into the sounds of the Dravidian letters, and the laws of sound or phonetic system of this family of languages; and in doing so, it will be found advantageous to adhere to the order and arrangement of the Devanāgarī alphabet. It is not my object to explain in detail the pronunciation of each letter, but such observations will be made on each vowel and consonant in succession as seem likely to throw light on the principles and distinctive character of the Dravidian system of sounds. Tamil grammarians designate vowels by a beautiful metaphor, as *uyir* or the *life* of a word; consonants as *mey*, or the *body*; and the junction of a vowel and consonant as *uyir mey*, or an *animated body*.

I. VOWELS.—(1.) *ă* and *ā*. The sound of these vowels in the Dravidian languages corresponds to their sounds in Sanskrit, as pronounced everywhere in India except in Bengal, where *ă* is pro-

nounced as ŏ. In Tamil ă is the heaviest of all the simple vowels, and therefore the most liable to change. It evinces a tendency to be weakened into *e*—(comp. Sanskrit *balan*, strength, with Tamil *belan*; Sanskrit *japa*, prayer, with Tamil *śebam*. See also the pronoun of the first person.) In the other dialects it maintains its place more firmly; but even in them it is ordinarily strengthened at the end of words by the addition of the euphonic syllable *vu*, consisting of the enunciative vowel *u*, and the *v* euphonically used to prevent hiatus. ă has almost entirely disappeared from the end of nouns in Tamil, and has been succeeded by *u* or *ei*. Where final *a* changes into *ei* in Tamil, it generally changes into *e* in Canarese, or else it is propped up by the addition of *vu*. In Telugu, and especially in Malayālam, this vowel is less subject to change. Neuter plurals of appellatives and pronouns, which originally ended in *a* in all the dialects, and which still end in *a* in Malayālam, now end in most instances in *ei* in colloquial Tamil, in *i* in Telugu, and in *u* in Canarese. Thus, *ava*, those (things), has become *avei* in Tamil, *avi* in Telugu, *avu* in Canarese: in Malayālam alone it is still *ava*.

The long *ā*, which is formed in Tamil by the coalescence of two short *a*'s becomes poetically *ō*. *Viṇṇ-a-var*, heavenly ones, becomes *viṇṇōr*. In old Canarese, even short *a* becomes sometimes *o*. The long final *ā* of Sanskrit feminine abstracts becomes in Tamil *ei*—*e.g.*, *āśā*, Sans., *desire*, Tam. *āśei*; *Chitrā*, Sans., April—May, Tam., *Śittirei*. The same *ā* becomes *e* in Canarese—*e.g.*, *Gangā*, the Ganges, is in Canarese *Gange* or *Gange-yu*.

The diphthong into which final *a* and *ā* are weakened in Tamil is represented more properly as *ei* than as *ai*. The origination of the Tamil *ei* from *a*, and the analogy of the Sanskrit diphthong *ai*, which is equivalent to *āī*, might lead us to regard the Tamil diphthong as *ai* rather than *ei*. It is curious, however, that though it originated from *a*, every trace of the sound of *a* has disappeared. It is represented in Grantha and Malayālam by a double *e*, and in Telugu-Canarese by a character which is compounded of *e* and *i*; it accords in sound also very nearly with the sound of *ē* or *ey* in *Turkey*. It is also to be observed that the Tamil *ei* is the equivalent of the *e* of the Malayālam accusative, and is the ordinary representative of the final *e* of Canarese substantives and verbal nouns. It is worthy of notice also that Kumārila-bhaṭṭa, in transliterating the Tamil *naḍei* into Sanskrit characters, writes it, not as *naḍai*, but as *naḍe*. He evidently considered the Dravidian *ei* nearer *e* than *ai*. I conclude, therefore, that this

sound is best represented by the diphthong *ei*, which corresponds to the εί of the Greeks.

(2.) *i* and *ī*. These vowels call for no remark.

(3.) *u* and *ū*. In the Indo-European languages, and also in the Semitic, the vowels *ū* and *ŭ* are very decided, inflexible sounds, which admit of little or no interchange with other vowels, or euphonic softening. In the Dravidian languages, long *ū* is sufficiently persistent; but short *u* is of all vowels the weakest and lightest, and is largely used, especially at the end of words, for euphonic purposes, or as a help to enunciation.

In grammatical written Telugu, every word without exception must end in a vowel; and if it has not naturally a vowel ending of its own, *u* is to be suffixed to the last consonant. This rule applies even to Sanskrit derivatives; and the neuter abstracts ending in *m*, which have been borrowed from Sanskrit, must end in *m-u* in Telugu. Though this *u* is always written, it is often dropped in pronunciation. In modern Canarese a similar rule holds, with this additional development, that *u* (or with the euphonic copula *v, vu*) is suffixed even to words that end in *a—e.g*,. compare the Tamil *sila*, few (things), and *pala*, many (things), with the corresponding Canarese *kela-vu* and *pala-vu*. The Tamil rule, with regard to the addition of *u* to words which end in a consonant, accords with the rule of the ancient Canarese. That rule is, that in words which end in any hard or surd consonant, viz., in *k, ch, ṭ, t*, or *p* (each of which is the leading consonant of a *varga*), or in the hard, rough *ṟ*, which is peculiar to these languages, the hard consonant shall be followed by *u* (as *q* by *sh'vā* in Hebrew), in consequence of its being impossible for Tamilian organs of speech to pronounce those letters without the help of a succeeding vowel. In most instances this enunciative *u* is not merely short, but so very short that its quantity is determined by grammarians to be equal only to a fourth of the quantity of a long vowel. In Malayālam a short *a* sometimes replaces the short *u* of the Tamil. Dr Gundert considers this a peculiarity of the Malayālam of Cochin and of the Syrian Christians. Foreigners, who are led more by the written sign than by the spoken sound, have often, he says, been led to regard this letter as *a*. The short *u* of Tamil is still further shortened in Northern Malayālam, so that in the northern districts it is not written at all, but a small circle, or dot merely, over the letter is used to express the sound. This may be represented by our apostrophe—*e.g., kiṟakk'=kiṟakk-u*. The same usage prevails still more

extensively in Tulu, in which the pronunciation of this final *u* is still more like the Hebrew *sh'vā*. After all vowels except ō and ū it is hardly possible to catch the sound. In so far as it is enunciated at all, it resembles a very short German *ü*. The change of the Tamil *iladu* (there is not) into the Telugu *lēdu*, and many changes of the like nature, seem to be the result of a similar contraction of initial vowels.

It often happens (though it is not an invariable rule) that the final surd, to which enunciative *u* or *a* has been appended, is doubled, apparently for the purpose of furnishing a fulcrum for the support of the appended vowel. Thus, the Sanskrit *vāk*, speech becomes in Tamil *vāk(k)-u*; *ap*, water, becomes *ap(p)-u*; and so in all similar cases. The rule is further extended in Tamil so as to apply to the final consonants of syllables, as well as to those of words. If a syllable, though in the middle of a word, terminates in one of the hard consonants above mentioned, and if the initial consonant of the succeeding syllable is one which cannot be assimilated to it, the final consonant is doubled, and *u* is affixed. Thus, *advaita*, Sans., in duality, becomes in Tamil *attuveida*. The rule by which *d*, when thus doubled, becomes *t*, will be explained hereafter. In modern colloquial Tamil, *u* is suffixed to almost every final consonant—to the semi-vowels and nasals, as well as the surds; and even in the ancient or classical Tamil it is sometimes suffixed to final *l*—*e.g.*, *śol(l)-u*, speak, instead of simply *śol*. The employment of *u* in the manner and for the purposes now mentioned is obviously quite foreign to Indo-European usages. It is not derived from Sanskrit, and is opposed to Sanskrit laws of sound. It will be termed the *enunciative u*, and will generally be separated off by a hyphen.

(4.) *e*, *ē* : *o*, *ō*. The Dravidian languages possess and largely employ the short sounds of the vowels *e* and *o* (epsilon and omicron), and most of them have different characters for those sounds, for the purpose of distinguishing them from the corresponding long vowels. Sanskrit is destitute of short *e* and *o*. The entire absence of those sounds from a language which attends so nicely as Sanskrit to the minutest gradations of sound, cannot be the result of accident; and the importance of the place which they occupy in the Dravidian system of sounds, contributes to show that the Dravidian languages are independent of Sanskrit. In a few cases, in all the dialects, particularly in the instance of the demonstrative bases, as *a* and *i*, and the interrogative base *e*, the short vowel has sometimes been converted into a long one

by becoming the seat of emphasis; but such cases are rare and exceptional, and in general the difference between short *e* and *o* and the corresponding long vowels is a difference which pertains not to euphony or the inflexional form, but to the bases or roots of words, and is essential to the difference in the signification—*e.g.*, in Tamil, *tĕḷ* means *clear*, and *tēḷ* scorpion; *kăl*, stone and *kāl*, foot.

(5.) *ei*. This, unlike the Sanskrit diphthong *ai*, represents *e* and *i*, not *a* and *i*. The primitive Dravidian *a* changes into *e*, and this again into *ei*. Thus, the head is *tala* in Telugu and Malayālam, *tale* in Canarese, and *talei* in Tamil. This Malayālam *a* is not pure, but, according to Dr Gundert, is a modification of *ei*. Hence *e*, not *a*, appears in the dative. When *ei* is succeeded in Tamil by another *ei*, with only a single consonant between them, the first *ei*, though naturally long, is considered short by position, and is pronounced short accordingly—*e.g.*, *uḍeimei*, property, is regarded in prosody as *udeimei*. In such cases, *ei* is seen to be equivalent to its original *ă* or *ĕ*.

(6.) *au*. This diphthong has a place in the Tamil alphabet; but it is not really a part of any of the Dravidian languages, and it has been placed in the alphabets solely in imitation of Sanskrit. It is used only in the pronunciation of Sanskrit derivatives; and when such derivatives are used in Tamil, they are more commonly pronounced without the aid of this diphthong. Ordinarily the diphthong is separated into its component elements; that is, the simple vowels *a* and *u*, from which it is derived, and pronounced separately, with the usual euphonic *v* of the Tamil between them to prevent hiatus—*e.g.*, the Sanskrit noun *saukhyam*, health, is ordinarily pronounced and written in Tamil *savukkiyam*.

It is a peculiarity of the Tamil system of sounds, as distinguished from that of the other languages of the family, that the vowels *i*, *ī*, *e*, *ē*, and *u*, acquire before certain consonants followed by *a* and its cognate *ei*, a compound, diphthongal sound, which is different from the sound which they have as simple vowels. Thus, *i* before *ṭ*, *ṇ*, *r*, *ṛ*, *ṟ*, *l*, and *ḷ*, followed by *a* or *ei*, acquires something of the sound of *e* : *ī*, before the same consonants, with the exception of the first *r* and the first *l*, and followed by *a* or *ei*, takes a sound resembling *ū* : *ū* remains always unchanged; but *ŭ*, not only before the above-mentioned seven consonants, but before all single consonants, when it is not succeeded by *i*, *u*, or *e*, is pronounced nearly like *o*; and in Telugu, *o* is generally used in writing those words.

e, before the consonants above mentioned, with the exception of the semi-vowels, loses its peculiarly slender sound, and is pronounced nearly as it would be if the succeeding consonant were doubled. *ē*, with the same exceptions, acquires a sound similar to *ō*. This change of *e* into *o* especially distinguishes Tuḷu. Thus, the Tamil *vēṇḍum*, must, is in Tuḷu *bōḍ*; *veḷḷi*, silver, is *boḷḷi*. These changes in the sounds of the Dravidian vowels under certain circumstances are not owing exclusively to the influence of the following consonants. They illustrate more especially the power of one Dravidian vowel to bring another vowel into harmony with itself. In all the changes now referred to, we see the power of the vowel *a* and its cognate *ei* penetrating into the preceding syllable. The circumstance most worthy of notice, in connection with these changes, is that each of the short vowels *i*, *u*, and *e*, retains its natural sound, if it is succeeded by another *i*, *u*, or *e*. Thus *uṟa*, Tamil, infinitive, to have, to be, is pronounced *oṟa*, but the imperative *uṟu* is pronounced as it is written. This rule discloses a law of sound which is unlike anything that is discoverable in Sanskrit. So far as it goes, it corresponds to the Scythian law of harmonic sequences, which will be referred to hereafter.

The vowel *ă*, occurring in the last syllable of a word ending in *n*, *ṇ*, *r*, *ṟ*, *l*, or *ḷ*, acquires a slender sound resembling that of *e*—*e.g.*, *avar*, Tamil, they (honorifically, he), is pronounced *aver*. This change corresponds to the weakening of the sound of heavy vowels in the ultimate or penultimate syllables of words, which is sometimes observed in the Sanskrit family of tongues.

II. Consonants.—Tamil grammarians divide all consonants into three classes—(1.) Surds, which they call *vallinam*, or the hard class, viz., *k*, *ch* or *ś*, *ṭ*, *t*, *p*, *ṟ*; (2.) Nasals, which they call *mellinam*, or the soft class, viz., *ṅ*, *ñ*, *ṇ*, *n*, *m*, with final *n*; and (3.) Semi-vowels, which they call *iḍeiyinam*, or the medial class, viz., *y*, *r*, *l*, *v*, *ṟ*, *ḷ*.

In this enumeration, as I have already observed, the sonant equivalents of the surd consonants (viz., *g*, the sonant of *k*; *j*, the sonant of *ch* or *ś*; *ḍ*, the sonant of *ṭ*; *d*, the sonant of *t*; and *b*, the sonant of *p*) are omitted. In the Northern Dravidian dialects the difference between surds and sonants is generally expressed by the use of different characters for each sound, in imitation of the system of the Devanāgarī; but in Tamil and in Malayālam, in accordance with the peculiar Dravidian law of the convertibility of surds and sonants, one set of consonants serves for both purposes,

and the difference between them is expressed in the pronunciation alone.

It is desirable, before proceeding further, to inquire into this law, viz. :—

The Convertibility of Surds and Sonants.—We have seen that the Tamil alphabet adopts the first and last of each of the Devanāgarī *vargas,* or rows of consonants, viz., the unaspirated surd and the nasal of each *varga ;* we have also seen that the Tamil has not separate characters for surds and sonants, but uses one and the same character—that which, properly speaking, represents the surd only—to express both. This rule does not apply merely to the written characters of the language, but is the expression of a law of sound which is inherent in the language itself.

There are distinct traces of the existence of this law in all the Dravidian dialects; but it is found most systematically and most fully developed in Tamil and Malayālam. The law, as apparent in the Tamil-Malayālam system of sounds, is as follows :—*k, ṭ, t, p,* the first unaspirated consonants of the first, third, fourth, and fifth *vargas,* are always pronounced as tenues or surds (*i.e.,* as *k, ṭ, t, p*) at the beginning of words, and whenever they are doubled. The same consonants are always pronounced as medials or sonants (*i.e.,* as *g, ḍ, d, b*) when single in the middle of words. A sonant cannot commence a word, neither is a surd admissible in the middle, except when doubled ; and so imperative is this law, and so strictly is it adhered to, that when words are borrowed from languages in which a different principle prevails, as Sanskrit or English, the consonants of those words change from sonants to surds, or *vice versā,* according to their position—*e.g., danta,* Sans. a tooth, becomes in Tamil, *tandam ; bhāgya,* Sans. happiness, becomes *pākkiyam.* This rule applies also to the case of compounds. The first consonant of the second word, though it was a surd when it stood independent, is regarded as a sonant when it becomes a medial letter in a compounded word. This difference is marked in Telugu by a difference in the character which is employed—*e.g., anna-dammulu* (for *anna-tammulu*), elder and younger brothers ; *koṭṭa-baḍu* (for *koṭṭa-paḍu*), to be beaten ; but in Tamil, and generally in Malayālam, the difference appears in the pronunciation alone. This rule applies to all compounds in Telugu ; but in Tamil, when the words stand in a case relation to one another, or when the first is governed by the second, the initial surd of the second word is not softened, but doubled and hardened, in token of its activity—*e.g.,* instead of *Koṭṭa-baḍu,*

to be beaten, it prefers to say *koṭṭa-(p)paḍu.* In *dvandva* compounds Tamil agrees with Telugu.

A similar rule applies to the pronunciation of *ch* or *ć* (the (Tamil *ś*), the first consonant of the second *varga.* When single, it is pronounced as a soft, weak sibilant, with a sound midway between *ś, sh,* and *ch.* This pronunciation is unchanged in the middle of words, and in all cases in which the letter is single; but when it is doubled, it is pronounced exactly like *chch* or *ćć.* The principle involved in this instance is the same as in the case previously mentioned, but the operation of the rule is in some degree different. The difference consists in the pronunciation of this consonant in the beginning of a word, as well as in the middle, as a sonant—*i.e.,* as *ś.* By theory it should be pronounced as *ch* at the beginning of a word—and it is worthy of notice that it always receives this pronunciation at the beginning of a word in vulgar colloquial Tamil; and in Malayālam and Telugu it is written as well as pronounced *ch.* A somewhat similar rule prevails with respect to the rough *ṟ* of the Tamil, whch is pronounced as *ṟ* when single, and like *ttr* when doubled.

The Tamilian rule which requires the same consonant to be pronounced as *k* in one position and as *g* in another—as *ṭ, t, p,* in one position, and as *ḍ, d, b,* in another—is not a mere dialectic peculiarity, the gradual result of circumstances, or a modern refinement invented by grammarians, but is essentially inherent in the language, and has been a characteristic principle of it from the beginning.

The Tamil characters were borrowed, I conceive, from the earlier Sanskrit, and the language of the Tamilians was committed to writing on or soon after the arrival of the first colony of Brahmans, probably several centuries before the Christian era. Yet even at that early period the Tamil alphabet was arranged in such a manner as to embody the peculiar Dravidian law of the convertibility of surds and sonants. The Tamil alphabet systematically passed by the sonants of the Sanskrit, and adopted the surds alone, considering one character as sufficient for the expression of both classes of sounds. This circumstance clearly proves that *ab initio* the Dravidian phonetic system, as represented in Tamil, its most ancient exponent, differed essentially from that of Sanskrit.

In none of the Indo-European languages do we find surds and sonants convertible; though Hebrew scholars will remember the existence in Hebrew of a rule which is somewhat similar to the Tamilian respecting *k, t, p,* and their equivalents. The Hebrew

consonants composing the memorial words *begad kephath,* are pronounced in two different ways, according to their position. When any of those consonants begins a word, or in certain cases a syllable, it is to be pronounced hard—that is, as a surd or tenuis; and if it be an aspirated letter, it is then deprived of the aspirate which it naturally possesses. To denote this, such consonants have a point, called a *dagesh,* inscribed in them. When those consonants are found in any other position, they are pronounced as sonants, and two of them, *ph* and *th,* as aspirates. This rule resembles the Tamilian in some particulars; but the resemblance which will be found to exist between the Tamilian rule and the law of sounds which prevails in some of the languages of the Scythian family, amounts to identity. In the Finnish and Lappish there is a clearly marked distinction between surds and sonants: a sonant never commences a word or syllable in either tongue. But in the oldest specimen of any Scythian language which is extant—the Scythic version of the inscription at Behistun—Mr Norris ascertained (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1853) the existence of a law of convertibility of sonants and surds which is absolutely identical with the Tamilian. He ascertained that in that language, in the middle of a word, the same consonant was pronounced as a sonant when single and as a surd when doubled.

We now enter upon an examination of the Dravidian *consonants* in detail.

(1.) *The guttural varga*: *k*, *g*, and their nasal *ṅ* or *ng*. These consonants are pronounced in the Dravidian languages precisely as in Sanskrit. *g*, the sonant of *k*, which is expressed by the same character in Tamil, is pronounced in Tamil-Malayāḷam in a peculiarly soft manner. Its sound resembles that of an Irish *gh*, and is commonly used to express the *h* of other languages. Thus, the Sanskrit adjective *mahā*, great, is written in Tamil *magā*; but so soft is the *g*, that it may be considered as an equivalent to *h*, pronounced with less roughness than is usual with that aspirate.

(2.) *The palatal varga*: *ch* or *ś*, *j*, and *ñ*. It has been observed that the Tamil rejects the Sanskrit sibilants *ś*, *ṣh*, and *s*. The consonant which it adopts instead is *ch*, which is pronounced in Tamil in a manner somewhat similar to the soft aspirated *ś* of *Śiva*, or as a very soft *sh*, with as little sibilation or aspiration as possible. In fact, it may be regarded as a palatal, not as a sibilant; and when it is doubled, it takes precisely the sound of the Sanskrit palatal *ch* or *ć*, or its English equivalent in *which*. In Telugu, the sound *ç̣h* is that with which this consonant is pronounced, not only when

doubled, but also when single; and a similar pronunciation prevails in the lowest colloquial dialect of the Tamil, in which *śey*, to do, is pronounced *chey*, as in Telugu. It is probably the ancient pronunciation of this letter which is retained by the lower classes. The very soft sound of it as *ś* is probably a refinement originating with the higher classes. When the Tamil alphabet was arranged, and *ś* was made the equivalent of *ch*, and even after the arrival of the Europeans in India, when the Portuguese wrote Śōṛamandalam as Choramandel, and the missionary Ziegenbalg wrote Sūdra as Tshuddira, the harder palatal sound seems to have been the one in general use. This letter should perhaps be represented as *ch* in the Roman character, like the corresponding Telugu letter, but the sound of *ś* is the sound so generally heard at present, when the letter is single, that the use of *ch* or *ć* would be puzzling to the student of Tamil I have, therefore, resolved to adhere to *ś* as in the former edition.

j, the second unaspirated consonant of this row, is not used in correct Tamil; but in Telugu it is both written and pronounced: in vulgar Tamil also *ch* is sometimes pronounced like *j*. The same sound of *j* is sometimes admitted in the use of those Sanskrit derivatives in which the letter *j* is found in Sanskrit; but ordinarily the Tamil sound of *ch* or *ś* is used instead.

ñ, the nasal of this row of consonants, is pronounced as in Sanskrit in all the Dravidian languages. *ñ*, *nj*, or *ñy*, as this letter is commonly transliterated in English, being a double letter, and liable to mislead, I think it better to represent this sound by *ñ*. The *n* of the lingual series will be represented as before by *ṇ*; the dental *n*, as before, by *n*, without any diacritical mark. We frequently find *ñ* (*nj*) used in Malayāḷam, as an initial, where the Tamil uses *n*—*e.g.*, *ñān*, I, instead of the Tamil *nān*. Possibly both the Tamil *n* and the Malayāḷam *ñ* are representatives of an ancient *y*, as will appear in the examination of the personal pronouns, *nān*, *ñān* = *yān*. Tamil *naṇḍu*, a crab, is *ñaṇḍu* in Malayāḷam, and *yaṇḍri* in Canarese.

It is necessary here to notice the existence in Telugu of a peculiarly soft pronunciation of *ch* and *j*, with their aspirates, which is unknown in Sanskrit and the Northern vernaculars, and is found only in Telugu and in Marāṭhi. *Ch* is pronounced as *ts*, and *j* as *dz*, before all vowels except *i*, *ī*, *e*, *ē*, and *ei*. Before these excepted vowels, the ordinary sounds of *ch* and *j* are retained. Whether the Telugu borrowed these sounds from the Marāṭhi, or the Marāṭhi from the Telugu, I can scarcely venture to express an opinion; but this is not the only particular in which those lan-

guages are found to agree. A sound represented as *zh* is much used in the Tuda dialects, especially in connection with *r* and *l*.

(3.) *The lingual or so-called cerebral varga* : *ṭ, ḍ, ṇ*. The pronunciation of the consonants of the cerebral *varga* in the Dravidian languages does not essentially differ from their pronunciation in Sanskrit. In expressing these consonants, with their aspirates, in Roman characters in this work, a dot will be placed under each, to distinguish them from the *t, d,* and *n,* of the dental row. Though *ṭ* is the surd consonant of the linguals, it is not pronounced at the beginning of any word in Tamil like the other surds. Its sound is too hard and rough to admit of its use as an initial; and, therefore, in those few Sanskrit derivatives which commence with this letter, *ṭ* is preceded in Tamil by the vowel *i*, as a help to enunciation. When *ṭ* is thus preceded by a vowel, it is no longer an initial, and therefore no longer a surd; and hence it becomes *ḍ* by rule; so that the sound of *ṭ* is never heard in Tamil, except when *ḍ* is doubled. In the other Dravidian dialects, *ṭ* is sometimes pronounced singly, as in Sanskrit. Tamil differs from the other dialects in refusing to combine *ṭ* with *ṇ*, and changing it into *ḍ* when *ṇ* is combined with it. This peculiarity is founded upon a general Tamilian law of sound, which is that nasals will not combine with surds, but coalesce with sonants alone. In consequence of this peculiar law, such combinations as *ṇṭ, nt,* and *mp,* which are admissible in Telugu and Canarese, are inadmissible in Tamil, in which *ṇḍ, nd,* and *mb* must be used instead. This rule applies also to *k* and *ch,* which, when combined with the nasals corresponding to them, become *g* and *j*. Thus, *maṇṭapa,* Sans. a porch, becomes in Tamil *maṇḍabam; anta,* Sans. end, becomes *andam.* Probably the difference between Tamil and the other Dravidian languages in this point arises from the circumstance that Tamil has remained so much freer than its sister idioms from Sanskrit influences. A similar rule respecting the conjunction of nasals with sonants alone is found in Finnish, and is possibly owing to that delicacy of ear which both Finns and Tamilians appear to possess.

(4.) *The dental varga: t, d, n.* The letters of the dental *varga* have generally the same sound in the Dravidian languages as in Sanskrit. The principal exception consists in the peculiarly soft pronunciation of *t* in Tamil and Malayālam between two vowels: it is then pronounced, not as *d*, but with the sound of the soft English *th* in *that.* It is only when it is combined with a nasal (as in the word which was cited above, *andam,* end) that the sonant of *t* is pronounced in Tamil as *d;* the sound of *d* being, in such a conjunc-

tion, more natural and easy than that of *th*. As this peculiar sound of *th* is found only in Tamil and in Malayālam, a daughter of Tamil, it is doubtful whether *th* is to be considered as the original sound of the sonant equivalent of *t*, or whether it is to be regarded as a corruption or further softening of *d*. On the whole, the latter supposition seems the more probable; and as the *th* of Tamil corresponds to the *d* of Telugu and of the other dialects in position and power, I shall always write it as *d*, even when quoting Tamil words, except where it is used as an initial, and it is therefore a surd, when it will be written as *t*.

Another exception to the rule that the dental letters have the same pronunciation in the Dravidian languages as in Sanskrit consists in the pronunciation of the Sanskrit *t* in certain connections in Malayālam as *l*—*e.g.*, *āltmāv'* soul for *āttmāv'* (Tam. *āttumā*) from the Sans. *ātmā; Kēraḷōlpatti*, for *Kēralōtpatti*, the title of the History of Malabar.

One of the sounds peculiar to the Tuda is the hard sound of *th*, as in the English word *thin*. This is the pronunciation to be given to the *th* in *atham*, he, she, it, they.

(5.) *The labial varga: p, b, m.* The pronunciation of *p*, and its sonant *b*, requires no remark. One of the peculiarities of Tuda is the existence in it of the sound of *f*—*e.g.*, *pūf*, an insect. In the other Dravidian dialects *f* is unknown, and *p* is used instead in words containing *f* borrowed from English. With regard to the use of *m* in combination, I have only to observe, that though it changes into *ṅ*, *ñ*, *ṇ* or *n*, when immediately succeeded by a guttural, a palatal, a lingual, or a dental, it is not to be confounded with the *anusvāra* of the Sanskrit alphabet. The true *anusvāra*—*i.e.*, the sound which *m* takes in Sanskrit before the semi-vowels, the sibilants, and the letter *h*—is unknown to the Dravidian languages. A character called by the name of *anusvāra*, but of a different power from the *anusvāra* of the Sanskrit, is in use in Telugu and Canarese; but it is used merely as the equivalent of the consonantal *m* in euphonic combinations, and even as a final. The Telugu has also a vocalic nasal, the half *anusvāra*, which, though it is used merely for euphony, bears a close resemblance to the true *anusvāra* of the Sanskrit.

The euphonic use of *m* or *n*, and its modifications, and its use to prevent *hiatus*, will be considered at the close of this section.

(6.) *The varga of the liquid consonants or semi-vowels: y, r, l, v: ṟ, ḷ, ṛ.* In classical Tamil neither *r* nor *l* can commence a word; each of them requires to be preceded by a euphonic auxiliary vowel; *r* by *i* or *a*, and *l* by *u*. This appears most distinctly in words borrow-

ed from Sanskrit, as in these instances we are certain of the original form of the word. Thus *rājā*, Sans., becomes in Tamil *irāśan* or *irāyan*, and also *araśan* or *arayan; rēvati*, Sans. the *nakshatra* of that name, becomes *iravati; rakta*, Sans. blood, becomes *irattam* or *arattam; rava*, Sans. sound, becomes *aravam*. The last word never becomes *iravam*. So also *lōka*, Sans. the world, becomes in Tamil *ulōgam*, and by a further change, through the preference of the Tamil for short vowels, *ulagam*, and still more elegantly *ulagu*. The same rule applies to the second set of semi-vowels, *ṛ, ḷ, ṟ*, which are the exclusive property of the Dravidian languages, and none of which can be pronounced without the help of preceding vowels.

Of these distinctively Dravidian semi-vowels, *ṛ* is used most largely by Tamil. It is used also in Malayālam, and its use is one of the distinguishing features of old, as distinguished from modern, Canarese. Its sound resembles that of the English *r* (not the Irish or Scotch) after a long vowel, as in the word *farm;* but it is pronounced farther back in the mouth, and in a still more liquid manner. It is sometimes expressed in English books as *zh* or *rzh;* but this is merely a local pronunciation of the letter which is peculiar to the northern districts of the Tamil country; it is at variance with its affinities and its interchanges, and is likely to mislead the learner. *ṛ* is the only Dravidian consonant which is pronounced differently in different districts. In the southern districts of the Tamil country, it is pronounced by the mass of the people exactly in the same manner as *ḷ*, which is the letter generally used instead of *ṛ* in modern Canarese. Between Tanjore and Pondicherry, it is softened into *ṛzh* or *zh;* and in Madras and the neighbourhood, this softening process has been carried to such a length that in the speech of the vulgar, *ṛ* has become *y*, or a silent letter. Even in correct written Tamil *ṛ* sometimes disappears—*e.g.*, *poṛudu*, time, becomes *pōdu*. It sometimes changes into *y* in Malayālam. Telugu, which commences to be spoken about two days' journey north of Madras, has lost this letter altogether. Generally it uses *ḍ* instead, as the Canarese uses *ḷ;* but sometimes it uses no substitute, after the manner of the vulgar Tamil of Madras. Looking at such Telugu words as *kinda*, below, answering to the Tamil *Kīṛnda*, and *mingu*, to swallow, answering to the Tamil *viṛungu*, we cannot but suppose that Telugu had this letter originally, like Tamil, and that it lost it gradually through the operation of that softening process which, in the colloquial Tamil of Madras, converts *kīṛē*, below, to *kīē*. Though *ṛ* is generally changed into *ḷ* in Canarese, it appears to have become *r* in some words—*e.g.*, *ardu*, having wept, instead of *aṛadu*, Tamil.

It is sometimes also assimilated—*e.g.*, *poṛudu*, Tamil, time, became *pottu* (*poṛudu*, *poṛdu*, *poddu*, *pottu*) in old Canarese, in modern Canarese *hottu*. The change of *ṛ* into *r* is common in Tuḷu.

ḷ is a peculiar heavy *l*, with a mixture of *ṛ*, which is found in all the Dravidian languages. It may be styled the cerebral *l*; and it is probably derived from the same source, whatever that source may be, from which the cerebral consonants *ṭ*, *ḍ*, and *ṇ*, have proceeded. A similar *ḷ* is found in Vedic Sanskrit, and an *ḷ* identical with it is common in several of the North Indian vernaculars.

The hard rough *r* of the Dravidian languages is not found in Sanskrit, and is not employed in pronouncing Sanskrit derivatives. It is found in Telugu poetry and elegant prose, and the grammarians insist upon using it; but in the modern dialect of the Telugu it is seldom used. In Canarese the use of this letter is confined to the poets and the ancient dialect. It is evident that it was originally contained in all the dialects; though, possibly through the influence of the Sanskrit, it is now seldom used except in Tamil and Malayālam, in which it holds as firm a footing as ever. In some of the older Tamil alphabets I have found this letter appropriately expressed by a double *r*; and, to distinguish it from the softer letter, it will be represented in this work by a Clarendon *ṛ*, emblematical of its greater strength.

In the use of this hard *ṛ* in Tamil, there are two peculiarities which are worthy of notice.

(i.) *ṛ* when doubled, is pronounced as *ttr*, though written *ṛṛ*. The *t* of this compound sound differs both from the soft dental *t* of the fourth *varga*, and from the cerebral *ṭ*, and corresponds very nearly to the emphatic final *t* of our English interrogative *what?* This sound of *t* is not expressed in writing, but in pronunciation it is never omitted; and it is one of those peculiar Dravidian sounds which are not derived from Sanskrit, and are not found in it. The double *ttr* or *tt* of the Tamil (*ṛṛ*) is sometimes softened in Telugu to a single *ṭ*, and in Canarese still further into *t*—*e.g.*, *māṛṛu* (*māttru*), Tam., of which one of the meanings is an answer, a word, is in Tel. *māṭa*, in Can. *mātu*. The *ṭ* is also sometimes doubled in Telugu—*e.g.*, Tam., *paṛṛu* (*pattru*), a laying hold; Tel., *paṭṭu*; Can., both *paṭṭu* and *pattu* (*hattu*). Even in old Canarese a similar change often takes place.

(ii.) The letter *n* (not the dental *n*, but the final *n* of Tamil), a letter which is not found in Telugu, is often prefixed in Tamil to the rough *ṛ* for the sake of euphony, when the compound *nṛ* acquires the sound of *ndr*—a sound of which the Tamil, like the language of

Madagascar, is exceedingly fond. In Tuḷu this sound is further softened to *ñj*—*e.g.*, *kanṟu*, Tamil, a calf, is in Tuḷu, *kañji*. In another class of words, the *n* which is prefixed to *ṟ* is radical, and should be followed by *d*, according to rule (*e.g.*, in the preterites of verbs whose root ends in *n*); but *ṟ* is suffixed to *n* instead of *d*, in consequence of which the sound of *ndr* is substituted for that of *nd*.

I consider the *ṟ* radical, and the *n* euphonically prefixed, in *mūnṟu* (*mūndru*), Tam., three (for *mūru*, Can., the more ancient form of the word), and in *onṟu* (*ondru*), Tamil, one (for *oru*). The *n* I consider radical (or an euphonised form of the radical), and the *ṟ* used euphonically instead of *d*, in the following examples:—*enṟu* (*endru*), having spoken, instead of *endu; śenṟu* (*śendru*), having gone, for *śendu* (which is instead of the less euphonic *śeldu*). In the speech of the vulgar in the Tamil country, and in Malayālam, this compound *ndr* is further altered into *nn* or *ṉṉ*. In Telugu and Canarese *nd* seems always to be found instead of *ndr*. See Numerals I. and III.

(7.) The *sibilants and the aspirate*: *ś*, *ṣh*, *s*, *h*. It has already been mentioned that Tamil is destitute of sibilants. The other Dravidian idioms freely use the sibilants and aspirates of Sanskrit, in writing and pronouncing Sanskrit derivatives, and to some extent, through the prevalence of Sanskrit influences, in the pronunciation even of pure Dravidian words. In Tamil, the *ś* of Śiva, occurring in Sanskrit derivatives, is represented by the peculiar palatal which answers to the *ch* of the Sanskrit, and the sound of which, when single, closely resembles that of *ś*. The other sibilants, *ṣh* and *s*, are altogether excluded from pure classical Tamil. In later Tamil books, and in the speech and letters of the better-educated Tamilians of the present age, those sibilants are freely employed in writing and pronouncing words which have been borrowed from Sanskrit; and in such cases, the characters which are used to express them are taken from the Grantha. By the mass of the people, however, those letters are rarely pronounced aright; and in the remoter districts the vulgar substitute for them, in accordance with the genius of the language those letters, which the ancient grammars enjoin, and the use of which is exemplified in the Sanskrit derivatives employed in the Tamil classics. The substitutions are as follows:—*ṣh*, the lingual sibilant of the Sanskrit, is represented in general by the lingual *ḍ*; sometimes by the liquid *ṟ*; sometimes even by the dental *t* or *d*. *s* the sharp sibilant of the Sanskrit, is sometimes represented by *t* or *d*; sometimes it is omitted altogether; sometimes it is changed into the Tamil *ch*, the equivalent of *ś*. When this sibilant stands at

the beginning of a Sanskrit derivative, and when it is desired, in accordance with modern usage, to pronounce it with the unmodified Sanskrit sound, it is preceded (at least in pronunciation) by the vowel *i*, without which it cannot be enunciated, in that connection, by Tamil organs. Thus, *strī*, Sans. a woman, is always pronounced and generally written *istiri.*

Tamil and Malayālam are destitute of the sound of *h*. I believe, indeed, that this sound was orignally foreign to the Dravidian languages, and that it crept into Telugu and Canarese through the influence of Sanskrit. Tamil upholds its claim to a sterner independence, if not to a higher antiquity, than the other tongues, by not only refusing to use the letter *h*, but by refusing to pronounce or write the aspirated consonants included in the Sanskrit words which it borrows. Dr Trumpp ("Sindhi Grammar," p. xxvi.) mentions the aversion of the Prakrit to aspirates, and remarks, that "this aversion seems to point to a Tartar underground current in the mouth of the common people the Dravidian languages of the South being destitute of aspirates." In modern Canarese *h* is regularly used as a substitute for *p*, as is sometimes the case in Marāṭhi; but ancient Canarese agrees in this particular with Tamil.

Origin of the Lingual or "Cerebral" Sounds.—In all the languages and dialects of India, whether they belong to the Aryan or to the Dravidian families, much use is made of a series of consonants—*ṭ*, *ḍ*, with their aspirates, and *ṇ*—which are called by Hindu grammarians "cerebrals" because they are pronounced far back in the mouth, with a hard, ringing sound. I have reserved to this place some observations on the existence of this peculiar class of sounds in two families of tongues which are so widely different from one another as the Dravidian and the Sanskrit.

It seems natural to suppose that one of those families must have borrowed the sounds in question from the other; but it remains to be determined which was the borrower, and which was the original proprietor. Hindi, Bengali, and the other vernaculars of Northern India have doubtless inherited the lingual consonants from Sanskrit, from the decomposition of which those languages have mainly arisen; but it is very difficult to suppose that they have been borrowed in this manner from Sanskrit by the Dravidian languages. On the contrary, I have long been persuaded that they were borrowed from the Dravidian languages by Sanskrit, after the arrival of the Sanskrit-speaking race in India. The reasons which lead me to adopt this view are these:—

(1.) The lingual consonants are essential component elements of a large number of primitive Dravidian roots, and are often necessary, especially in Tamil for the discrimination of one root from another; whereas in most cases in Sanskrit, the use of cerebral consonants instead of dentals, and especially the use of the cerebral *ṇ*, instead of the dental *n*, is merely euphonic.

(2.) None of the lingual consonants has ever been discovered in any of the primitive languages which are related to Sanskrit. They are not found in Greek or Latin, in Gothic or Celtic, in Lithuanian, Slavonian, or modern Persian: they are not found in cuneiform Persian or Zend—those sister dialects, with which the Sanskrit finally shook hands on crossing the Indus and settling in Āryā-varta. On the other hand, the Dravidian languages, which claim to have had an origin independent of Sanskrit, and which appear to have been spoken throughout India prior to the arrival of the Aryans, possess the lingual sounds in question, and, for aught that appears, were in possession of them always. They are found even in the Brahui. There is no trace of these sounds in the Aryan family of tongues west of the Indus ; but no sooner does a member of that family cross the Indus, and obtain a lodgment in the ancient seats of the Dravidians and other allied tribes in India, than the lingual sounds make their appearance in their language. It is worthy of notice also, that the Prakrits, the earliest vernacular dialects of the Sanskrit, make a larger use of the linguals than Sanskrit itself.

(3.) Those consonants which Tamil has borrowed from Sanskrit within the period of the existence of Dravidian literature have been greatly modified to accord with the Tamilian laws of sound and delicacy of ear. Thus Tamil omits the aspirates even of Sanskrit derivatives, and omits or changes all the sibilants. It systematically softens down all harsh sounds. Even the Sanskrit lingual-sibilant *ṣh* cannot be pronounced by Tamil organs. Hence it seems improbable that a series of harsh ringing sounds, like the cerebral *ṭ*, *ḍ*, and *ṇ*, should have been borrowed by Tamil from Sanskrit without change, and used in the pronunciation, not only of Sanskrit derivatives, but also of a large number of the most essential Dravidian roots.

(4.) Though Telugu has been more exposed to Sanskrit influences than Tamil, yet larger use is made of those sounds in Tamil than in Telugu—a circumstance which seems incompatible with the supposition of the derivation of those sounds from Sanskrit.

Putting all these considerations together, it appears to me probable that instead of the Dravidian languages having borrowed the lingual consonants from Sanskrit, Sanskrit has borrowed them from the Dravidian languages; and it will, I think, be shown in the "Glossarial Affinities," that Sanskrit has not disdained to borrow from the Dravidian languages words as well as sounds.

After the foregoing observations were written, I met with Mr Norris's paper on the language of the "Scythic tablets" of Behistun, and found a similar opinion expressed therein respecting the Dravidian origin of the Sanskrit cerebrals. Mr Norris says, "I will here express my conviction that the sounds called cerebral are peculiar to the Tartar or Finnish class of languages; that the really Indian languages are all of Tartar origin, or at least that their phonetic and grammatical affinities are Tartar; and that the writers of Sanskrit adopted the sound from their Indian neighbours, in the same way that the Scandinavians appear to have adopted a similar sound from their neighbours the Lapps, who are undoubtedly Tartars; the Icelanders, who retain the old Scandinavian language, pronouncing the words *falla* and *fullr* as though written *fadla* and *fudlr*."

Large numbers of the oldest verbal roots in the Tamil language representing the most primitive and necessary ideas, are differentiated from other roots solely by the difference between the two classes of consonants. The following Tamil instances will suffice:—

kudi,	to leap.	*en,*	to say.
kuḍi,	to drink.	*eṇ,*	to count.
pudei,	to hide.	*manei,*	a house.
puḍei,	to sift.	*maṇei,*	a stool.
kattu,	to make a noise.	*aru,*	to be scarce.
kaṭṭu,	to tie.	*aṟu,*	to cut off.
kottu,	to dig.	*aṛu,*	to weep.
koṭṭu,	to drum.	*kol,*	to kill.
ari,	to gnaw.	*koḷ,*	to take.
aṟi,	to know.	*tulei,*	to end.
aṛi,	to destroy.	*tuḷei,*	to bore.

When these instances of the use of the lingual consonants in Tamil, which is richest in linguals, and which may be accepted in this particular as the best representative of the Dravidian family, are compared with the uses to which the linguals are put in Sanskrit, it will be apparent at once that the position occupied by the

linguals in the Dravidian dialects differs essentially from that occupied by them in Sanskrit and the dialects derived from it. They evidently pertain, not to the phonetic development or euphonic refinement of the Tamil, but to its system of roots, meanings, and laws of specialisation. They take us back to a point in the history of the language beyond which we cannot hope to be able to ascend. If Sanskrit were to be deprived of its linguals, there is hardly an idea or shade of thought it expresses now which it would not then be equally able to express; but if Tamil were deprived of its linguals, it would cease to be able to express some of the most rudimentary, necessary ideas, and would scarcely be worthy to be called a language.

The position occupied by the lingual consonants in Sanskrit and in the Dravidian languages respectively being now fully before us, we come back to the question at issue: How did these sounds first make their appearance in Sanskrit? The question, it appears to me, is mainly one of probabilities. Speaking generally, these sounds are peculiar to India. We find them in both the varieties of highly-organised human speech, the Sanskritic and the Dravidian, which have existed in India side by side for three thousand years; and there is reason to believe that for an unknown period before that the Sanskrit-speaking race came into still closer contact with the Dravidians (or with some people speaking a language analogous in structure to that of the Dravidian tongues), not only after they arrived in India and occupied the seats of the Dravidians, but possibly even before they crossed the Indus, whilst on their way through the country of the Brahuis. Which, then, is the more probable supposition?—that these peculiarly Indian lingual sounds developed themselves spontaneously and quite independently in each of those varieties of speech, the Sanskritic and the Dravidian? or that they had a common origin, having developed themselves first in one family, and then spread from that to the other? The balance of probabilities seems to me to be in favour of the latter supposition; and if this supposition of a common origin be adopted, we seem then to be warranted in concluding that it was in the speech of the primitive Dravidians that these sounds originated, and that it was through Dravidian influences that a predilection for these sounds developed itself in the speech of the Indo-Aryan race. It is freely admitted by Dr Bühler that "the linguals of the Dravidian dialects are not derived from the Sanskrit." On the supposition, therefore, that they have a

common origin, would it not follow that Sanskrit must have derived them from the Dravidian dialects ?

DIALECTIC INTERCHANGE OF CONSONANTS.—Under this head I intend to consider, not the euphonic refinements which have been tabulated, and perhaps in part invented, by grammarians, but those natural, unintentional mutations and interchanges which are brought to view by a comparison of the various Dravidian dialects. These dialectic interchanges will be found to throw much light on the Dravidian laws of sound, whilst they enable us to identify many words and inflexional forms contained in the various dialects, which appear at first sight to be unconnected, but which are in reality the same.

Following, as before, as far as possible, the order of the Deva-nāgarī alphabet, I proceed to point out the dialectic changes to which each Dravidian consonant appears to be liable. I omit the aspirated consonants as not really Dravidian.

1. *The gutturals* : *k, g, ṅ.*

g being merely the sonant of *k*, in the changes now to be inquired into, *k* and *g* will be regarded as identical.

(i) *k*, when used as a sonant—that is, as *g*—changes into *v*. Where we have *g* in Tamil, we sometimes find *v* in Telugu—*e.g.*, *āgu*, Tam. to become ; *avu*, Tel. In *kā*, the infinitive of this verb in Telugu, which corresponds to the Tamil *āga*, *k* (or *g*) reappears. It is in the middle of words, where it is a sonant, that this consonant evinces a tendency to be changed into *v*. This tendency constantly appears in the spoken language of the lower classes of the Tamil people in the Southern provinces ; and has found a place even in the poets—*e.g.*, *nōva*, to be pained, instead of the more common *nōga*. *g* in the middle of word is sometimes lost altogether, not merely softened into *v*—*e.g.*, *pagudi*, Tam. a share, has become *pādi*, half ; *śagaḍu*, a cart, *śāḍu*.

In Telugu, *v* is often not only pronounced, but written, instead of *g*—*e.g.*, *pagaḍamu*, coral, corrupted into *pavaḍamu*. Compare with this the change of the Sanskrit *laghu*, light, into the Latin *levis*. It will be seen that, *per contra*, *v* sometimes becomes *g* in Telugu. This change sometimes takes place in Malayālam also—*e.g.*, *chuvanna*, red, is often *chuganna* (*śivanda*, Tam.).

(ii.) *k* changes into *ch* or *ś*. As the Tamil *ś* becomes *ch* when doubled, and is represented in the alphabet by the equivalent of the Deva-nāgarī *ch*, the change of *k* into *ch* is identical with that of *k* into *ś*. The former change appears in Telugu, the latter in

Tamil. Compare the change of the Greek and Latin *k* into the Sanskrit *ś*—*e.g.*, *δέκα* and *decem*, softened into *daśan*, ten.

Canarese generally retains *k*, the older pronunciation of this consonant; and where *k* is found in Canarese, we generally find *ch* in Telugu and *ś* in Tamil—*e.g.*, *kinna*, Can. small; *chinna*, Tel.; *śinna*, Tam.: *kivi*, Can. the ear; *chevi*, Tel.; *śevi*, Tam.: *gey*, Can. to do; *chēy*, Tel.; *śey*, Tamil. Sometimes the older *k* is retained by Tamil as well as by Canarese, and the softening appears in Telugu only—*e.g.*, *keḍu*, Tam. and Can. to spoil; Tel. *cheḍu* or *cheṟu*. The word for *hand* is in Tamil *kei*, in Canarese *keiyi*, in Telugu *kei* (also *kēlu*); but there is another word in Telugu, *chē* (*cheyyi*), the hand, which is the ordinary instrumental affix (*cheta*), and this is evidently a softened form of *kei* or *kē*.

A similar change of *k* into *ch* appears in Sanskrit—e.g., compare *vāch-as*, of speech, with the nominative *vāk*, speech.

(iii.) *kk* change systematically into *ch* or *chch*. This change may be regarded as the rule of the pronunciation of the lower classes of the Tamil people in the southern districts. Farther north, and in grammatical Tamil, it is rarely met with, but in the Telugu country the rule reappears; and in a large class of words, especially in the formatives of verbs, the double *k* of the Tamil is replaced regularly by *ch* in Telugu. The following instances of this change are contained even in grammatical Tamil:—*kāychchu*, to boil, for the more regular *kāykku*, and *pāychchu*, to irrigate, for *pāykku*. A single illustration will suffice to illustrate the perfect conformity in this point between the vulgar pronunciation of Tamil in the extreme south and the regular grammatical use of *ch* for *kk* in Telugu. *Veikka*, Tam. to place (infinitive), is pronounced *veichcha* by the illiterate in the southern Tamil districts; and in grammatical Telugu the same word is both written and pronounced *veicha*.

(iv.) *k* appears sometimes to have changed into *t*. I cannot adduce a good instance of this change in the Dravidian languages; but I suspect that the *t* of some inflexional terminations in Gōnd (*e.g.*, the nominative plural of the personal pronouns) has been derived from thee Tamil *k*. Compare also *vākili*, a doorway, Telugu, with the Malayālam form of the same word, *vātil* or *vādil*. I am doubtful, however, whether this illustration can be depended upon, because the Tamil form of the same word is *vāśal*, classically *vāyil*, from *vāy-il*, literally mouth-house. In other families of languages the interchange between *k* and *t* is not uncommon—*e.g.*, Doric *τῆνος* (*tanos*), he, instead of *ἐ-κεῖνος* (*e-keinos*).

2. *The palatals*: *ch* or *ś*, *j*, *ñj*.

I class the changes of *ch*, *ś*, and *j* together, those letters being in reality but one in the Dravidian languages. The only change to which this letter *ś* or *j* is liable, is that of being softened into *y*. In words borrowed by Tamil from Sanskrit, *y* is optionally used instead of *ś*, and very commonly instead of *j*. Thus *rājā*, Sans., a king (in Tamil *rāśā*, and with the masculine formative, *rāś-an*), becomes *rāy-an*. In the southern provinces of the Tamil country this change of *ś* into *y* has become a characteristic of the pronunciation of the lower classes. In those provinces, in all words in which this letter occurs, whether Sanskrit or Tamil, the *ś* is changed into *y*—*e.g.*, they say *ariyi*, rice, instead of *ariśi*. In Malayālam this becomes *ari*. Dr Gundert thinks the *d* of the Tuḷu *pudar*, name, derived from the *ś* of the corresponding Canarese *peśar*. If so, we have here a change of *ś* into *d*.

On comparing Canarese with Tamil, we often find *ś* where we should have expected *y*—*e.g.*, *heśar* (for *peśar*), Can. a name, instead of *peyar*, Tam. It seems unsafe, however, to assume that in these cases *y* was the original and *ś* the corruption. It may as well be that *ś* was the original and *y* the corruption. The Tamil *peyar* may therefore be a softened form of the Canarese *hesar* (Tuḷu, *pudar*), and what renders this more likely is that the Tamil *peyar* itself is still further softened into *pēr*. In high Tamil, as in Malayālam, the softened form is often preferred by the poets as more elegant. It may possibly therefore be more ancient—*e.g.*, *peim*, green, is in both languages more poetical than *paśum*. All that is certain with regard to such cases is, that *y* and *ś* often change places. The existence, however, of a dialectic change from *ś* to *y*, as apparent especially in the southern districts, is clearly proved by the change Sanskrit derivatives have undergone.

3. *The linguals or cerebrals*: *ṭ*, *ḍ*, *ṇ*.

(i.) The lingual *ṭ*, when used as a sonant and pronounced as *ḍ*, is sometimes changed into the vocalic *ṛ* in Tamil—*e.g.*, *nāḍi*, Sans. a measure, is commonly written and pronounced in Tamil *nāṛi*; and this is colloquially pronounced *nāḷi* in the southern districts by a further change of *ṛ* into *ḷ*. In old Canarese this Sanskrit *ḍ* often becomes *ṛ*, as in Tamil. These letters are considered cognate, like *r* and *ṛ*, *l* and *ḷ*. In Tuda, *ḍ* becomes *r*—*e.g.*, *nāḍ-u*, a district, becomes *nār*. The counterpart of this change—viz., the change of *ṛ* into *ḍ*—is still more common in the Dravidian languages. (See *ṛ*.) In Telugu there are some instances of the change

or *ḍ* into the hard, rough *ṟ*—*e.g.*, *cheḍu*, to spoil (Tam. and Can. *keḍu*), should have for its transitive form *cheḍuchu*, answering to the Tamil *keḍukku*; whereas *cheṟuchu* is used instead.

(ii.) *ṇ*. This lingual nasal is frequently softened in Telugu into *n*, the nasal of the dental row. Tamil, perhaps the most authentic representative of the ancient speech of the Dravidians, makes much use of *ṇ* as well as of the other cerebrals; and the colloquial Tamil goes beyond the grammatical Tamil in preferring *ṇ* to *n*. Telugu, on the other hand, whilst it uses the other cerebrals freely enough, often prefers *n* to *ṇ*. Thus it softens the Tamil (and old Dravidian) words *kaṇ*, eye, *viṇ*, heaven, *maṇ*, earth, into *kannu*, *vinnu* and *mannu*. It softens even some Sanskrit words in a similar manner—*e.g.*, in addition to *guṇamu*, quality, *a tatsama* word, it uses also the *tadbhava*, *gonamu*. Malayālam sometimes uses *ṇ* instead of *n*—*e.g.*, *niṇakku*, to thee, instead of, but also in addition to, *ninakku*. On the other hand, it sometimes softens *ṇ* into *n*, like Telugu—*e.g.*, *tuniyu*, daring instead of the the Tamil *tuṇivu*. So also *eṇbadu*, eighty, in Tamil, becomes *embadu* in Malayālam. Tamil in general leaves *ṇ* unassimilated to succeeding consonants—thus, *peṇ*, Tam. a female, has become *peṇḍu*, without change; but this *ṇ* is hardened by assimilation into *ṭ* in *peṭṭei*, female. So *eṇṭu*, Can. eight, which must have been the original form of the word in Tamil (*eṇ*, eight, *ṭu*, properly *du*, the neuter formative), has become in Tamil *eṭṭu*. The *ṇ* has disappeared altogether in *peḍei*, for *peṭṭei*, Tam. female.

4. *The dentals*: *t*, *d*, *n*.

(i.) *t*, or its sonant equivalent , changes into *r* in Tamil, especially between two vowels. In the interchange of the cerebral *ḍ* and *ṟ*, *ṟ* sometimes appears to have been the original sound, and *ḍ* the corruption; but in the change which is now referred to, it is *d* that appears to be the original sound, which is changed into *r*. This change may arise from the circumstance that the *r* into which *d* is altered is pronounced very like a dental, and bears a considerable resemblance to *d*. In the southern districts of the Tamil country, the change of *d* (when preceded and followed by a vowel) into *r* or *ṟ* is exceedingly common in the pronunciation of the lower classes; but the same change has in some instances found its way into the written language—*e.g.*, *virei*, seed, or to sow, instead of the more correct *videi*. In Canarese *ad*, the inflexional increment, or basis of most of the oblique cases of certain singular nouns, changes in some instances into *ar*—*e.g.*, compare *id-ar-a*, of this, from *id-u*, this, with *mar-ad-a*, of a tree, from *mara*, a tree. In this

instance the change from *d* to *r*, or some equivalent change, was obviously required by euphony: *id-ad-a* would have been intolerably monotonous, and *mar-ar-a* not less so. The *ar* of the Canarese *idara* is supposed by Dr Gundert to be the equivalent of the Tamil *an* in *idan*, of this. Even if this should be so, the change of *d* into *r* in Tamil, especially in the south, is indubitable. This change (of *d* into *r*) is not unknown to the North Indian languages; and in that family it is often followed up by a further change of *r* into *l*. Some instances occur in Hindustani and Bengali—*e.g.*, *des*, ten, becomes *reh* in the compound numbers, as *bā-reh*, twelve. An instance of the change of *r* into *l* is furnished by another compound numeral, sixteen, which is not *sō-reh*, but *sō-leh*. The Prakrit also changed *d* into *r*, as is seen in the instance of the word *raha*, ten, which has superseded *daha*, a softened form of the Sanskrit *daśa*, and which is used instead of *daha* at the end of compound numerals. It seems to me possible, but not very probable, that in these cases, and also in the use in Bengali and Marāṭhi of *l* instead of *d* or *t*, as a sign of the preterite and passive participles, we see an evidence of the ancient prevalence of Dravidian influences in Northern India. It may be noticed here that the Umbrian also regularly changed *d* into *r*—*e.g.*, *sedes* was written *seres*. As in Tamil, however, this change took place only when *d* came between two vowels.

(ii.) *t* or *d* sometimes changes in Malayālam into *l*. This peculiarity is apparent chiefly in words borrowed from Sanskrit—*e.g.*, *paltman*, a lotus, from Sans. *padma*; *Paltmanābha*, also vulgarly *Palpanāba*, from *Padmanābha*, the Travancore name of Vishnu, he who has a lotus navel; *tālparyam*, from Sans. *tātparya*, purpose. The Dravidian *taṟ*, pronounced *tat*, euphonised from *tan*, its own, the inflexion of *tān*, self, is also sometimes pronounced *tal*.

(iii.) *t* or *d* sometimes changes into *ś*.

This change appears in Tamil in the optional use of *ś* in the formatives of nouns, instead of *d*. Thus, *periśu*, large, or that which is large, is commonly used instead of *peridu*, the more correct form. The vulgar Tamil *vayaśu*, age, is derived, not directly from the Sanskrit *vayas*, as might be supposed, but from *vayadu*, the regular Tamil equivalent of *vayas*. In Telugu, also, *d* is frequently subject to this change. In Malayālam *t* and *ś* interchange, especially in the speech of the vulgar. Dr Gundert mentions a curious instance of this interchange. The lower classes, he says, sometimes say *śeivatte tēvikka*, to serve God, instead of *teivatte śēvikka*. We appear to have a remarkabe instance of the softening

of *d* into *ś*, of *ś* into *y*, and finally of the obliteration of the *y* itself, in the Dravidian word already mentioned, signifying a name. This in Tuḷu is *pudar*, in ancient Canarese *peśar*, in classical Tamil *peyar*, and finally in modern Tamil *pēr*. In Tuda *d* sometimes becomes *tsh* (or *ch*)—*e.g.*, *eid-u*, Can. five, becomes *ütsh.*

(iv.) *nd* changes in Tamil into *ñj*. In this change *j* must be considered as identical with *ś*, being the sound which *ś* takes when preceded by a nasal; and it is always expressed by *ś* in Tamil. In this conjunction the dental *n* changes into *ñ*, which is the nasal of the palatal row. The change of *nd* into *ñj* especially takes place after the vowels *i* or *ei*. In general it is heard in the pronunciation of the lower classes only; but in a few instances it has found its way into grammatical compositions—*e.g.*, *eindu*, five, has changed into *eiñju*, and this again, I believe, into *añju*, a form which is found even in the Tamil classics. The change of *nd* into *ñj* is classical in Malayālam. (See the numeral *five*).

(v.) *tt* change into *chch* in Tamil after the vowels *i* and *ei*. The change to which I refer appears to be one of *dd* into *śś*, if the form of the Tamil letters is regarded; but it has already been explained that sonants become surds when doubled; and hence *dd* must be expressed as *tt*, and *śś* as *chch*, this being their pronunciation when in juxtaposition. The corruption of the double, soft dentals *tt* into the palatals *śś*, which are represented by *chch*, is peculiarly easy and natural. This *chch* which arises out of *tt*, though almost universally characteristic of the pronunciation of the mass of the Tamil people, as distinguished from the literati, is rarely found in grammatical compositions, except in the formatives of derivative nouns, especially after the semi-vowels *r* and *ṛ*—*e.g.*, *uṇar-chchi*, sensation, knowledge, instead of *uṇar-tti* which is more in accordance with analogy. In Malayālam this change from *tt* to *ch* not only appears in the pronunciation of the vulgar, but is the rule of the language after the vowels *i* and *e;* and *ch* is written as well as pronounced—*e.g.*, compare *chirichcha*, that laughed, with the corresponding Tamil *śiritta.*

(vi.) *n* also changes, though still more rarely, into *m*—*e.g.*, *mīru*, you, in Telugu, appears to have been altered from *nīru*, the form which answers to the Tamil *nīr*, and which Telugu analogies would lead us to expect. (See the section on the "Pronoun").

5. *The labials*: *p*, *b*, *m*.

(i.) *p* changes in Canarese into *h*. This remarkable rule applies to the initial *p* of nearly all words in modern Canarese, whether

they are pure Dravidian words or Sanskrit derivatives—*e.g.*, *pattu*, Tam. ten (*padi*, Tel.); is in Canarese *hattu*. In like manner, *paṇa*, money, a Sanskrit derivative, is in modern Canarese *haṇa*. This change of *p* into *h* seems to have taken place in comparatively recent times; for in old Canarese, and in the dialect of the Badagas of the Nilgherries, *p* almost invariably maintains its ground. A change similar to this is occasionally apparent in the Marāṭhi, the neighbour of the Canarese on the north; the Sanskrit participle *bhūta-s*, one who has been, being altered in Marāṭhi to *hōtō*—*e.g.*, *hōtō-n*, I was. Compare also the Prakrit *hō-mi*, I was, from *bhūta-smi*. A similar change of *p* into *h* appears in Armenian—*e.g.*, foot is in Armenian *het* (for *pet*), and father, *hayr* (for *payr*).

It is curious to notice the same change in the far East. What is *p* in Chinese became in Japanese first *f* then *h*.

(ii.) *b*, the sonant of *p*, sometimes changes into *m*—*e.g.*, *padi*, Tel. ten, becomes *midi* in *tom-midi*, nine, a compound which the analogy of both Tamil and Telugu would require to be *tom-badi*; *enbar*, they will say, is often in poetical Tamil *enmar*; *uṇ-bān*, Tam. being about to eat, the future verbal participle of *uṇ* in classical Tamil, becomes *uṇ-mān* in Malayālam. *b* is also euphonically added to *m* in vulgar Tamil. I do not refer to such words as *pāmbu*, Tam. a snake, as compared with *Pāmu*, Tel.; for in those instances the *m* itself is euphonic, and *bu* (in Can. *vu*) is the real formative; compare Can. *hāvu* (*pāru*), a snake. Cases in which the *m* is radical and the *b* euphonic occur plentifully in colloquial Tamil—*e.g.*, *kodu-mei*, wheat, commonly pronounced *kōdumbei*, from Sans. *gōdhūma*.

(iii.) *b* is often softened into *v* in Tamil. Most transitive verbs in Tamil form their future tense by means of *p* or *pp*; and in the corresponding intransitives we should expect to find the future formed by *b*, the sonant of *p*. Where the root ends in a nasal consonant, this *b* appears; but where it ends in a vowel, *b* is ordinarily changed into *v*. (See the section on "The Verb.") In some instances in the Tamil poets this *b* of the future is changed, not into *v*, but into *m*, according to the previous rule.

(iv.) *m* changes into *n*. This change is often apparent in the nominatives of neuter nouns in Tamil, the ordinary termination of many of which is *m*, but which optionally terminate in *n*—*e.g.*, *palan*, profit, a derivative from *phala*, Sans., is more commonly used than *pala-m*. In Telugu, *kola-nu*, a tank, answers to the Tamil *kuḷa-m*.

(v.) *m* changes into *v*. *māman*, father-in-law, and *māmi*, mother-in-law, in Tamil, are softened in Coorg into *māvu* and *māvi*;

nām, we, and *nīm*, you, in ancient Canarese, are softened in the modern colloquial dialect to *nāvu* and *nīvu*.

6. *The liquid consonants or semi-vowels*: *y, r, l, v, ṟ, ḷ, ṛ*.

(i) *y* changes into *ñ* and *n*. In some cases, though it is certain that *y* and *n* interchange, it is uncertain which is the more ancient. Thus the Dravidian pronoun of the first person is *nān, ñān, yān, ān;* and it might be argued either that *yān* was derived from *nān*, through the middle point *ñān*, or that, through the same middle point, *nān* was derived from *yān*. On examining, however, words borrowed from Sanskrit, there can be no doubt that in some instances at least *y* was the original and *n* the corruption. Thus *yuga*, Sans. a yoke, is in Tamil *nugam*, and *Yama*, the god of death, is sometimes *Yaman*, sometimes *Naman*. It is curious to trace the different forms this word assumes in Tamil. We find Yaman, Eman, Ñaman, and Naman. The European word "anchor" has become in Tamil *nangkuram* and *nangkūram*. The change of *y* into *n* in *yuga* and *Yama* is mentioned by Tamil grammarians themselves. We have probably an instance of the same tendency in the change of the formative of the Tamil relative participle *ya* (y + a) into *na*—*e.g.*, *śolliya*, that said, becomes *śollina*, and this *śonna*.

(ii.) *y* sometimes changes into *d* in Canarese and Tuḷu—*e.g.*, *dāva*, Can. who, which, what, alternates with *yāva; dāvadu*, what thing, with *yāvadu*. The latter word is *dādavu* in Tuḷu.

(iii.) *y* changes into *ś*. It has been shown that *ch, ś,* and *j* are softened into *y* in Tamil. Notwithstanding this, and in direct opposition to it, we find in colloquial Tamil, especially in that of the southern districts, a tendency also to harden *y* into *ś*. Where *ś* ought to be, it is pronounced as *y*, and where *y* ought to be, it is pronounced as *ś*—*e.g.*, *paśi*, hunger, is mispronounced by the vulgar *payi;* whilst *vayaṟu*, the belly, is transformed into *vaśaṟu*. This change of *y* into *ś* is not confined to the south, though it is more frequently met with there. Even in Madras, *payangaḷ*, boys, is pronounced *paśangaḷ*, and *ayal*, near, is not only pronounced but written *aśal*. The change of *y* into *ś* and again conversely of *ś* into *y*, might seem to be owing to some peculiar perversity, but doubtless there is a cause for the change in each case, and hence it is not always easy to determine which is the original and which the corruption. Where *y* is used euphonically to prevent hiatus, it does not change into *ś*.

"*y* is regularly changed to *j* in Hindi, Panjabi, Bengali, and Oriya; less frequently in Marāṭhi, Gujarathi, and Sindhi. In these three languages *y* retains its liquid sound of *y*. This change is by

Vararuchi confined to initial *y*. The stress laid on an initial consonant being greater than that on one in the middle of a word, it is natural that *y* should be more often changed to *j* in the former position than in the latter."—*Beames*, p. 249.

(iv.) *r* changes to *ṟ*. This, as might be expected, is a very common change. What is *r* in one dialect is often *ṟ* in another, or *vice-versā*. The following is an example of both sounds interchanging in one and the same dialect:—In Tamil there are two words for black, *karu* and *kaṟu*. They are now independent, with meanings that somewhat divaricate, but there can be no doubt that they were originally identical.

(v.) *r* changes into *l*. *r* and *l* are found to be interchangeable in many families of languages. Dr Bleek, speaking of the Setshuana dialects, remarks, " One is justified in considering *r* in these dialects as a sort of floating letter, and rather intermediate between *l* and *r* than a decided *r* in sound." In the Dravidian family, this interchange of *r* and *l* is one of very common occurrence. Sometimes *l* is corrupted into *r;* but in a larger number of cases *r* appears to be the original, and *l* the corruption. In the case of the distinctively Dravidian *ṟ* and *ḷ*, the change is uniformly of the latter nature; and the change of the ordinary semi-vowel *r* into the corresponding *l*, though not uniform, is an exceedingly common one, and one which may be regarded as a characteristic of colloquial Tamil. It is common in Malayālam also. It is especially at the beginning of words in Tamil that this change occurs, and it takes place as frequently in the case of derivatives from Sanskrit as in the case of Dravidian roots—*e.g., rakṣhi,* to save (*raksh,* Sans.), is pronounced by the vulgar *lakṣhi* or *laṭchi.* In the middle of words *r* is less frequently changed into *l;* nevertheless where Tamil uses *r* we sometimes find *l* in Telugu—*e.g., teri,* to appear, in Tamil, becomes *teli-yu* in Telugu. This is also the equivalent of the Tamil *teḷi,* clear; but I consider *teri* and *teḷi,* in Tamil, different forms of the same root. Similarly the *r* of Tamil sometimes becomes *l* in the middle of words in Malayālam—*e.g.,* Tam. *pariśei,* a shield; Mal. *paliśa.*

Seeing that a tendency to change *r* into *l* still exists and operates in the Dravidian languages, especially in Tamil, it may be concluded that in these ancient roots, which are the common property of several families of languages, and in which an interchange appears to exist between *r* and *l*, *r* was the original and *l* the altered sound—*e.g.,* if the Dravidian *kar-u* or *kār,* black, is connected, as it evidently is, with the Sanskrit *kāl-a,* black, it may be concluded that the Sanskrit form of the root is less ancient than the Dravidian;

and this supposition seems to be confirmed by the existence of this root, *kar*, black, in many of the Scythian languages. Compare *kri*, the root of *krishna*, Sans. black.

The fact of the frequency of the interchange between *r* and *l* (irrespective of the question of priority) would lead us to suspect a remote connection between several sets of Dravidian roots which are now considered to be independent of each other—*e.g.*, compare *śiṟ*, Tam. small, with *śil*, few; and *par* (probably another form of *per*), large, with *pal*, many. Another form of *śiṟ*, small, is *śin*.

(vi.) *l* changes into *r*. Whilst the ordinary change is that of *r* into *l*, the change of *l* into *r* is occasionally met with, and forms one of the peculiarities of Tuḷu. Tuḷu generally changes the final *l* of the other Dravidian languages into *r*—*e.g.*, *vil*, Tam. a bow (*billu*, Can.) becomes in Tuḷu *bir*. In this instance it cannot be doubted that *l* was the original termination of the word, for we find the same root west of the Indus in the Brahui *billa*, a bow. A similar interchange between *l* and *r* takes place in Central Asia. The *l* of Manchu is *r* in Mongolian.

(vii.) *l* sometimes changes into *ṟ*—*e.g.*, compare *nil*, Tam. to stand, with *niṟuttu*, to cause to stand.

In Zend and old Persian, *l* was unknown, and *r* was systematically used instead. In Telugu, *lu*, the pluralising suffix of nouns, is sometimes changed into *ru*. This change, however, of *l* into *r* is not systematic, as in Tuḷu, but exceptional. In Tamil, *l* is euphonically changed, not into *r*, but into *ṟ* before all hard consonants—*e.g.*, *palpala*, various, becomes in written compositions *paṟpala*. This proves that a change of *l* into *r* is not contrary to Tamil laws of sound.

(viii.) *l* changes in the language of the Kus to *ḍ*. The change of *ḍ* into *ḷ* is common enough, but the regular change of *l* into *ḍ* is peculiar to this idiom—*e.g.*, *pālu*, Tel. milk, is in Ku *pāḍu*; *illu*, house, is *iḍḍu*. Compare also the change of the Sanskrit *l* into *ḍ* in the North Indian vernaculars—*e.g.*, *tāli*, the intoxicating juice of the palmyra palm, is in those vernaculars *tāḍī*, whence the word used by the English, *toddy*. The Telugu name of the tree is *tāḍu*, equivalent to the Hindi *tāḍ* or *tāṛ*.

(ix.) The *r* and *ṟ* and the *l* and *ḷ* of the other dialects change in the dialect of the Tudas to *rsh*, *rzh* and *lzsh*.

(x.) *v* is generally hardened in Canarese into *b* in the beginning of a word—*e.g.*, *vāṟ*, Tam. to flourish, becomes in Canarese *bāḷ*. Where *v* is not changed into *b*, viz., in the middle of words, Cana-

rese generally softens it into *w*. The same softening is sometimes observed in the pronunciation of the lower classes of Tamilians. In Malayālam the sound of *v* stands midway between the English *v* and *w*. This soft sound is common in colloquial Tamil also.

(xi.) The *v* euphonic of Tamil is sometimes changed into *g* in Telugu. Both *y* and *v* are used euphonically to prevent hiatus in Tamil; so in Telugu *g* is sometimes used not only instead of *v*, but also instead of *y*. Compare Tam. *aṟu-(v)-ar*, six persons, with the Tel. *āṟu-(g)-uru*. Compare also *gāru*, Tel. honorific singular (really plural) suffix, with *vāru*, he (they), its more correct form. This will perhaps explain the occasional use of *g* instead of *v* as the sign of the future tense in high Tamil—*e.g.*, *śeygēn*, instead of *śeyvēn*, I will do.

(xii.) *v* appears to change into *m* in Malayālam. It has already been mentioned that *b* in Tamil sometimes becomes *m* in Malayālam—*e.g.*, Tam. *uṇ-bān*, about to eat, is in Mal. *uṇmān*—but it is doubtful whether this might not rather be represented as a change of *v* into *m*—*e.g.*, where Tamil has *kāṇ-bān*, about to see (the future verbal participle), Malayālam uses optionally either *kāṇu-vān* or *kāṇmān*; so where Tamil says *vāṛvavan* (or *vāṛbavan*), he who flourishes, Malayālam says either *vāṛvavan* or *vāṛumavan*. Here, in so far as Malayālam itself is concerned, *b* disappears, and the interchange is between *v* and *m*. I have noticed, also, an interchange between *v* and *m* in the Finno-Ugrian languages; *m* in Finnish is *v* in Hungarian.

(xiii.) *ṛ* (the peculiar vocalic *ṛ* of Tamil) interchanges with five different consonants. Sometimes it becomes *ṇ*—*e.g.*, *muṛugu*, Tam. to sink, is changed in Telugu to *muṇugu*; and *kuṛi*, Tam. a hole, becomes in Canarese *kuṇi*. Ordinarily *ṛ* is changed in Telugu into *ḍ*. Neither Telugu nor modern Canarese possesses the Tamil *ṛ*. It is found, however, in old Canarese, of which it is a distinctive sign. In a very few instances Telugu uses *ṇ* or *ḷ* instead of *ṛ*; sometimes it omits the consonant altogether, without using a substitute, but in a large majority of instances it converts *ṛ* into *ḍ*. *ṛ* is ordinarily converted in Canarese into *ḷ*, and the same change characterises the pronunciation of the mass of the Tamil people in the southern districts of the country. In Malayālam *ṛ* is sometimes converted into *ḷ*, but more frequently into *y*. Thus Malayāṛma (Malayālam) is often written and pronounced Malayāyma. In Tuḷu, *ṛ* is generally changed into *r*—*e.g.*, Tam. *poṛudu*, time, Tuḷu, *portu*. In Canarese this *r* is assimilated—*e.g.*, *hottu* (*pottu*)

for the Tuḷu, *pordu*. Compare also the Telugu *poddu*. We thus find ṛ interchanging with ṇ, ḍ, ḷ, *y*, and *r*, and lastly assimilating itself to the succeeding consonant.

This change of ṛ into ḷ, and the previous one of ṛ into ḍ, form the constituents of an important dialectic law. That law is, that the same consonant which is ṛ in Tamil is generally ḍ in Telugu, and always ḷ in modern Canarese. Thus a fowl is *kōṛ-i* in Tamil, *kōḍ-i* in Telugu, and *kōḷ-i* in Canarese. The numeral seven is *ēṛ-u* in Tamil, *ēḍ-u* in Telugu and *ēḷ-u* in Canarese. In the compound numeral *ēḷnūṛu*, seven hundred, the Telugu *ēḍ-u* is found to change, like the Canarese, into *ēḷ-u*. The word signifying time which is included in the adverbial nouns then and now (literally that time and this time), is in Tamil *poṛu-ḍu*, in Telugu *pṛodd-u* or *podd-u*, then *puḍ-u*, and in Malayālam *pōḷ*. In the last instance, however, Malayālam uses ḷ only when final. When followed by a vowel it is ṛ, as *ippōṛum*, *appōṛum*, now and then. It thus appears that ḷ and ḍ are as intimately allied as ḍ and ṛ. This is a point of some importance in the affiliation of languages, for an interchange of *d* and *l* is characteristic of the Ugrian family of languages, as well as of the Dravidian family and the North Indian vernaculars. The same word is written with *t* or *d* in Ostiak, and with *l* in Magyar and Finnish.

A corresponding interchange is occasionally observed even in the Indo-European languages—*e.g.*, compare δάκρυμα (*dakryma*), a tear, with *lachryma*. Similar changes in several of the modern Romance dialects might also be adduced, but in those languages it is rarely met with, whereas it is a characteristic dialectic sign of several families of tongues belonging to the Scythian group.

(xiv.) ṟ (the strong rough ṟ of Tamil) is frequently changed in Tuḷu into *j*—*e.g.*, *mūṟu*, the original form of *mūndru*, Tam. three, becomes *mūji*; *āṟu*, Tam. six, becomes *āji*. It changes also in Tuḷu into *d*—*e.g.*, *nūdu*, one hundred, instead of *nūṟu*. It changes still more frequently into the soft *r*. The tendency of Tuḷu appears, therefore, to be to soften down this hard sound. This change of *r* into *j*, the equivalent of *ś*, is directly the converse of the change of *s* into *r*, which is so common in the Indo-European tongues.

(xv.) This strong ṟ sometimes changes in Tamil into *n*—*e.g.*, *piṟ* in *piṟagu*, afterwards, is identical with *pin*, afterwards, *śiṟ-u*, *little*, is identical with *śinn-a*, little.

(xvi.) ḷ changes in Tuḷu into ṇ—*e.g.*, *kēṇ*, to hear, replaces the Tam.-Can. *kēḷ*. So also *koḷ*, to take, to buy, Tam.-Can., be-

comes in Tuḷu *koṇ*. In Telugu the latter word becomes *kon-u*. Even in Tamil the *ḷ* of *koḷ* is euphonised into *ṇ* in the gerund *koṇ-ḍu*.

(xvii.) *ḷ* sometimes changes in Malayālam into *ṛ*, and this again into *y*. The name of the country and language is an instance of this. *āṛma* is for *āḷma* (euphonised in Tamil into *āṇmei*), from *āḷ*, to rule, to possess. It has already been shown that Malayāṛma becomes also Malayāyma.

Having now finished the consideration of the dialectic changes which pure Dravidian consonants undergo, it remains to point out the changes which take place in the Sanskrit sibilants, when words in which they occur are borrowed from Sanskrit by Tamil.

1. *ṣh.* The hard, lingual sibilant of Sanskrit is unknown to classical Tamil. Sometimes it is changed into *ś*, a change which ordinarily takes place at the present day in the pronunciation of the lower classes of the southern districts. *ṣh* is sometimes, though rarely, converted in Tamil into *ṛ*. Dr Gundert supplies me with some instances of this in old Malayālam—*e.g.*, *kshaya*, Sans. loss, is in old Mal. written *kiṛayam*, and the name *Lakshmaṇan* in an old copy of the Rāmāyana is written *Ilaṛkkaṇan*. Here *ṛkk* stands for *ksh*. Sometimes *ṣh* is assimilated to a succeeding *ṇ*—*e.g.*, the name *Vishṇu* becomes sometimes, both in poetical Tamil and in Malayālam, *Viṇṇu*. This name appears also in poetical Tamil as *Viṇḍu*, a word which denotes the wind as well as Vishnu. Dr Gundert identifies the *viṇ* of *Viṇṇu*, Vishnu, with the Tam.-Mal. word *viṇ*, sky, a true Tamil word connected with the root *viḷ*, to be bright. The derivation of Vishnu from *viḷ* and *viṇ* looks very tempting, but I fear Sanskrit lexicographers will refuse to yield to the temptation. Most commonly *ṣh* is converted in Tamil into *ḍ*. This *ḍ* is sometimes softened down into the dental *d*. Thus, *manuṣhya*, Sans. man, becomes in classical Tamil *māniḍa-n*; and this by a further change becomes *manida-n*. A very old example of the change of the Sanskrit *ṣh* into *ḍ*, in Tamil, can be adduced. The month *Āṣhāḍha*, Sans. July—August, has become in Tamil *Aḍi*; and this change dates probably from the earliest period of the cultivation of the Tamil language. In *Taiṣha*, January—February, the hard *ṣh*, instead of being changed, has been discarded altogether: the Tamil name of this month, as far back as the literature reaches, has been *Tei*.

2. *s.* The hissing sibilant of Sanskrit, answering to our English *s*, is ordinarily in Tamil converted into *d*, the sonant of *t*,

which is pronounced as *th* in that— *e.g.*, *māsam*, Sans. a month, becomes in classical Tamil *mādam* (*mātham*); and *manas*, the mind, becomes *manad-u* (*manath-u*). In this conversion of the Sanskrit *s* into *d* (or *th*) in Tamil, there is a change from the sibilant to the dental, which is exactly the reverse of that change from the dental to the semi-sibilant which has already been described.

"If asked to account for the connection between two sounds at first sight so widely opposed, I would refer to similar conditions in other languages, as, for instance, the substitution of τ (*t*) for σ (*s*) in Attic Greek, as μέλιττα (*melitta*), θάλαττα (*thalatta*), for μέλισσα (*melissa*), θάλασσα (*thalassa*). Among modern languages, the example of the Spanish may also be adduced, where *c* before the palatal vowels *e* and *i* is pronounced as *th*. From the same cause arises that defect in speaking called a lisp, which renders some Englishmen unable to pronounce sibilants or palatals otherwise than as half-obscure linguals. But whereas in England this is only an individual and personal peculiarity, in Spanish it becomes a law. The people of Madrid all lisp, not only in pronouncing *c* and *z*, but also in *s*. So also, to go to a different age and family of languages, the Chaldeans and Syrians lisp the Semitic *sh*, as in Heb. *shāḷosh*, Chal. *telath*, Syriac *tloth*, three."—*Beames*, p. 216. Mr Beames goes on to explain physiologically the origin of this tendency to change *s* into *t*.

When *s* happens to be the first consonant of a Sanskrit derivative, it is sometimes omitted in Tamil altogether—*e.g.*, *sandhyā*, evening, becomes *andi; sthānam*, a place, becomes *tānam*. More commonly in modern Tamil an effort is made to pronounce this *s* with the help of the vowel *i*, which is prefixed to it in order to assist enunciation—*e.g.*, *istiri* (*strī*, Sans.), a woman, *ś*, the soft sibilant of Sanskrit, sometimes passes through similar changes. Generally it is represented by the corresponding *ś* or *ch* of the Dravidian languages, but sometimes it is converted, like the harder *s*, into *t*, as in the very ancient derivative *tiru*, sacred, for *Śrī*. Sometimes it is discarded altogether, especially when compounded with *r*. Thus, *Śrāvaṇa*, the month of August—September, is in Tamil *Āvaṇi*. The Malayālam *Oṇam*, the ceremony of the month *Śrāvaṇa*, carries this change further still.

The Sanskrit sibilant never changes into *r* in Tamil. This change, though very common in languages of the Indo-European family, rarely, if ever, appears in the Dravidian. It may be con-

jectured, but cannot be proved to have taken place. The Tamil-Canarese root *ir*, to be, originally to sit (in Brahui *ar*), *may* be allied to the Indo-European substantive verb, best represented by the Sanskrit *as*. The Tamil plural of rational beings *ar*, resembles the Sanskrit epicene nominative plural *as;* and perhaps, though more doubtfully still, the Tamil *iru*, iron, euphonised into *iru-mbu*, may be compared with the Sanskrit *ayas*, and the English word *iron* (which is allied to *ayas*, through the change of *s* into *r*), though I prefer connecting this word with the Tamil root *ir*, dark.

Euphonic Permutation of Consonants.—The permutation of consonants for euphonic reasons, though it throws less light on the laws of sound than dialectic interchange, includes a few points of considerable interest. Dravidian grammarians have bestowed more attention and care on euphonic permutation than on any other subject; and the permutations which the grammar of Tamil requires or allows are at least twice as numerous, and more than twice as perplexing to beginners as those of Sanskrit. On examining the permutations of consonants prescribed in the classical grammars of Tamil, Telugu, and Canarese—the three principal languages of this family—it is evident that a considerable proportion of them are founded upon Sanskrit precedents. Another class in which Sanskrit rules of euphony have been, not imitated, but emulated and surpassed, may be regarded rather as prosodial than as grammatical changes. But after these have been eliminated, a certain number of euphonic permutations remain, which are altogether peculiar to these languages, and which proceed from, and help to illustrate, their laws of sound. It will suffice to notice a few of those permutations; for the subject is too wide, and at the same time not of sufficient importance, to allow us to enter here on a minute investigation of it.

1. In *dvandva* compounds, *i.e.*, in nouns which are united together, not by copulative conjunctions, but by a common sign of plurality (in the use of which common sign the Dravidian languages resemble, and probably imitate, the Sanskrit), if the second member of the compound commences with the first or surd consonant of any of the five *vargas* (viz., *k*, *ch* or *ś*, *ṭ*, *t*, *p*), the surd must be changed into the corresponding sonant or soft letter. In those Dravidian languages which have adhered to the alphabetical system of Sanskrit, as Telugu and Canarese, this conversion of the surd into the sonant is carried into effect and expressed by the employment of a different character. In Tamil, in which the same character is used to represent both surds and sonants, a different charac-

ter is not employed, but the softening of the first consonant of the second word is always apparent in the pronunciation. This peculiar rule evidently proceeds from the Dravidian law that the same consonant which is a surd at the beginning of a word should be regarded as a sonant in the middle; for the first consonant of the second word, being placed in the middle of a compound, has become a medial by position. The existence of this rule in Telugu and Canarese, notwithstanding the Sanskrit influences to which they have been subjected, proves that the law of convertibility of surds and sonants is not confined to Tamil.

All the Dravidian dialects agree in softening the initial surd of the second member of *dvandva* compounds; but with respect to compounds in which the words stand to one another in a case-relation—*e.g.*, substantives of which the first is used adjectivally or to qualify the second, or an infinitive and its governing verb—Telugu pursues a different course from Tamil. The rule of Telugu is, that when words which belong to the *druta* class, including all infinitives, are followed by any word commencing with a surd consonant, such consonant is to be converted (as in *dvandva* compounds) into its soft or sonant equivalent. The rule of Telugu on this point resembles that of the Lappish, and still more the rule of Welsh; and it has been observed that Welsh, possibly through the præ-historic influence of Finnish, is the most Scythic of all the Indo-European languages.

It is curious that in combinations of words which are similar to those referred to above, and uniformly after infinitives in *a*, Tamil, instead of softening, doubles and hardens the initial surd-sonant of the succeeding word. Tamil also invariably doubles, and consequently hardens, the initial surd of the second member of *tat-purusha* compounds, *i.e.*, compounds in which the words stand in a case-relation to each other. In such combinations, Canarese, though it is less careful of euphony than either Tamil or Telugu, requires that the initial surd of the second member of the compound should be softened: it requires, for instance, that *huli togalu*, a tiger's skin, shall be written and pronounced *huli dogalu*. Tamil on the contrary, requires the initial surd in all such cases to be hardened and doubled—*e.g.*, the same compound in Tamil, viz., *puli tōl*, a tiger's skin, must be written and pronounced, not *puli dōl* but *puli-(t)tōl*. This doubling and hardening of the initial is evidently meant to symbolise the transition of the signification of the first word to the second; and it will be seen that this expedient has been very frequently resorted to by Tamil.

When the first word is used, not as a noun or adjective, but as a verb or relative participle, the initial surd of the second word becomes a sonant in Tamil also, as in Telugu—*e.g.*, compare *kāy kombu*, a withering branch, with *kāy-(k)kombu*, a branch with fruit.

2. The Tamil system of assimilating or euphonically changing concurrent consonants, is in many particulars almost identical with that of Sanskrit, and has probably been arranged in imitation of it. Nevertheless there are some exceptions which may be regarded as distinctively Dravidian, and which are founded upon Dravidian laws of sound—*e.g.*, the mutation of *l* into *n* in various unexpected combinations. Through this tendency to nasalisation, *pōl-da*, like, becomes *pōn-da*, or rather *pōn-dra; koḷ-ḍa*, taken, bought, becomes *koṇ-ḍa;* and the latter euphonic mutation has found its way in Telugu into the root itself, which is *kon-u*, to buy, instead of the older Tamil *koḷ*. Tuḷu also is *koṇ*. It does not appear to have been noticed even by Tamil grammarians, that *l*, in a few instances, has been converted into *n* before *k*. Thus *nān-ku*, pronounced *nān-gu*, four, is derived from *nāl-ku*, an older form of the word; and *Panguni*, the Tamil name of the month of March—April, has been altered from the Sanskrit *Phalguna*. In Telugu a corresponding tendency appears in the change of *l* into *ṇ* before *ṭ*—*e.g.*, *ilṭi*, of a house, is softened into *iṇṭi*. In all these cases *l* is undoubtedly the original; and these proofs of the priority of *l* to *n* corroborate the suspicion that the Latin *alius* is older than its Sanskrit equivalent *anyas*.

A rule of the Tuda, which seems to arise from considerations of euphony, may here be noticed. *th* and *sh* seem to be euphonically inserted between *l* and *k* and *r* and *k*—*e.g.*, *nilthken*, I stand, and *ershken*, I am, where we should have expected *nilken* and *erken*.

Euphonic Nunnation or Nasalisation.—Much use is made in the Dravidian languages, especially in Tamil and Telugu, of the nasals *ṅ*, *ñ*, *ṇ*, *n*, and *m* (to which some add *n̆* or *m*, the *half anusvāra* of the Telugu), for the purpose of euphonising the harder consonants of each *varga*. All the nasals referred to, with the exception of the *half anusvāra*, which is an inorganic sound, are regarded by native grammarians as modifications of the sound of *m;* the nature of each modification being determined by the manner in which *m* is affected by succeeding consonants. In Tamil, as in Sanskrit, all those modifications are expressed by the nasal consonants which constitute the final characters of each of the five *vargas*. In Telugu and Canarese one and the same character, which is called

anusvāra, but which possesses a greater range of power than the *anusvāra* of Sanskrit, is used to represent the whole of the nasal modifications referred to. The pronunciation of this character, however, varies so as to accord with the succeeding consonant, as in Tamil.

The *nunnation,* or nasalisation, of the Dravidian languages is of three kinds.

1. The first kind of *nunnation* is used to a greater extent in Tamil than in any other dialect. It consists in the insertion of a nasal before the initial consonant of the formative suffix of many nouns and verbs. The formative syllable or suffix, the nature of which will be explained more particularly in the succeeding section, is added to the crude root of the verb or noun, and constitutes the inflexional theme, to which the signs of inflexion are annexed. The nasalised formative is used in Tamil in connection with the intransitive form of the verb and the isolated form of the noun. When the verb becomes transitive, and when the noun becomes adjectival, or is placed in a case-relation to some other noun, the nasal disappears, and the consonant to which it was prefixed—the initial consonant of the formative—is hardened and doubled. The nasal is modified in accordance with the nature of the initial consonant of the formative suffix: it becomes *ṅ* before *k* or *g; ñ* before *ś, ch,* or *j; ṇ* before *ṭ* or *ḍ; n* before *t* or *d;* and *m* before *p* or *b.* Telugu uses the *anusvāra* to express all these varieties of sound; and the half *anusvāra* in certain other cases.

(i.) Of the use of the first nasal *ṅ,* to emphasise and euphonise the formative suffix *k-u* or *g-u,* Tamil affords innumerable examples. One verb and noun will suffice—*e.g., aḍa-ṅgu,* to restrain oneself, keep in, is formed from the root *aḍa,* by the addition of the formative, intransitive suffix *gu,* which is euphonised into *ṅgu; kā-ṅgei,* heat, is from *kā* or *kāy,* to burn (in Telugu *kā-gu*); with the addition of the suffix *gei,* euphonised into *ṅgei.* The final *g* is nasalised, not only in the case of the addition of the formative, but sometimes also when it is radical—*e.g.,* from *pag-u,* to divide, we have *paṅg-u,* a portion. The tendency in Tamil to the nasalisation of this consonant may be illustrated by its treatment of a Sanskrit word. Sans. *śunaka* (from *śuna*), a dog, has become in Tamil (with the masculine termination *an*) *śunagan,* then *śuṇaṅgan,* then by a further change (*u* being pronounced like *o* before a consonant followed by *a*) *śōṇaṅgi.*

The insertion of nasal before *k* or *g* probably accounts for the shape of the Tamil adverbs, or rather nouns of place, *aṅgu,* there,

iṅgu, here, *eṅgu*, where. The demonstrative and interrogative bases *a*, *i*, and *e* are followed by *ku* or *gu*, the Tamil dative case sign, or rather sign of direction, whence *agu* (*k* becoming *g* before a vowel) is nasalised into *aṅgu*. Dr Gundert prefers to derive these nouns of place from the (supposititious) demonstrative nouns *am* and *im*, and the interrogative noun *em*, which last still survives in Tamil in the shape of *en*; *e.g.*, *en*, *ēn*, what, why; and takes in Telugu the shape of *ēmi*. By the addition of the directive *ku* to these nouns, *am*, &c., they would naturally become *aṅgu*, &c. I recognise distinct traces of these supposititious demonstrative nouns *am* or *an* and *im* or *in* in the formatives of nouns, in the inflexional increments, and in the case signs, as will be seen under each of those heads; probably also they are the bases of the poetical Tamil equivalents of *aṅgu*, &c., viz., *ambar*, there, *imbar*, here, *embar*, where. Still I feel doubtful whether in *aṅgu*, &c., we are to recognise those demonstrative nouns. If we compare *yāṅgu*, Tam. where, a poetical form of *eṅgu*, with *yāṇḍu*, another noun of place and time, which appears to me to be derived from *yā*, one of the interrogative bases, and *ḍu*, the formative, nasalised into *ṇḍu*, as will be seen under the next head, it will appear probable that *yāṅgu* has been formed in this manner; and if *yāṅgu*, then also *āṅgu*, *īṅgu*, poetical, and *aṅgu*, *iṅgu*, and *engu*, the common forms. Besides, if we compare these Tamil adverbial forms with the Gōnd adverbs *aga*, there, *iga*, here, *inga*, now, *hike*, hither, *hoke*, thither; with the Canarese *āga*, *āgalu*, then, *īga*, now, *yāvāga*, when, *hāge*, in that manner, *hīge*, in this manner, alternating with their nasalised forms *hāṅge* and *hīṅge*; and with the Coorg *akka*, then, *ikka*, now, *ekka*, when—(remembering that demonstrative nouns of time and place are in these languages more or less equivalent—*e.g.*, in Tamil, *āṇḍu* means either there or then)—we shall conclude, I think, that the primitive form of the Tamil adverbial noun *aṅgu*, there, with its companions, was *agu*, and that *aṅgu* is only an instance of the fondness of the Tamil for nasalisation. (See "Demonstratives, their use as Adverbs.")

(ii.) Instances of the euphonic use of the nasal of the second *varga*, *ñ*, are more common in Telugu than in Tamil. Thus, *pañch-u*, Tel. to divide, is derived from *pag-u*, Tam. (changed into *pach-u*, and then nasalised into *pañch-u*), and is analogous to the Tamil noun *paṅg-u*, a portion, derived from the same verbal root. *reṭṭiñchu*, Tel. to double, is an example of the use of the euphonic nasal by verbs of the transitive class—a class in which that nasal is not used by any other dialect but Telugu.

(iii.) The cerebrals *ṭ* and *ḍ* are not used as formative suffixes of verbs, though some verbal roots end in those consonants; but they are not unfrequently used as formatives of neuter nouns—*e.g.*, *ira-ḍ-u*, the probable original of the Tamil numeral two, corresponding to the Canarese *era-ḍu*, has been euphonised to *ira-ṇḍ-u*. The Tamil adverbial nouns *ā-ṇḍ-u*, there, *ī-ṇḍ-u*, here, *yā-ṇḍ-u*, where, are derived from *ā* and *ī*, the demonstrative bases, and *yā*, the interrogative base, with the addition of the usual neuter formative *ḍ-u*, euphonised to *ṇḍu*. *Yāṇḍu*, where, when, is used also to signify a year; another form is *yāṇḍei*. In common Tamil the word for year is *āṇḍu*, but *yāṇḍu* is the form I have invariably found in inscriptions. *āṇḍu*, a year, the more recent word (or rather the obsolete form of this word *āṇḍei*), is the origin of the word *āṭṭei*, annual—*e.g.*, *āṭṭei-(k)-karmam*, Tam. and Mal. an annual ceremony. The omission of the nasal *ṇ* from the word *āṭṭei* shows that the nasal is a portion, not of the root, but of the formative, and that it is merely euphonic in origin. The adjectival shape of a noun, or that which appears in the inflexion, may be regarded, as a general rule, as its oldest shape. Compare *iraṭṭei*, Tam. double, from *iraṇḍu*, two, with the Canarese *eraḍu*, two. We see, therefore, that the original shape of the noun of place or time under consideration was not *āṇḍu*, but *āḍu*. What seems to place this beyond doubt is the fact that in Telugu the *ḍ* of these words is not nasalised in ordinary writing, and only slightly nasalised in pronunciation. They are *āḍa*, *īḍa*, *ēḍa*, there, here, where; and the last word, *ēḍa*, changed to *ēḍu*, is used like the corresponding Tamil *yāṇḍu*, to signify a year. [It will be shown, under the head of the "Interrogative Pronouns," that the Tamil *yā* takes also the weaker form of *e*, and in Telugu *ē*.] We see the same primitive, unnasalised form of these demonstrative nouns in the Tuḷu *aḍe*, thither, *iḍe*, hither, *oḍe*, whither. In Telugu a large number of masculine formatives in *ḍ-u* receive in pronunciation the obscure nasal *ñ*—*e.g.*, for *vāḍu-lu* or *vāḍ-lu*, they, *vāṇḍ-lu* is commonly used. On comparing the Tamil *karaṇḍi*, a spoon, with *garite-* the Telugu form of the same word, we find that sometimes the nasal is used by one dialect and rejected by another.

(iv.) We see an example of the euphonic use of *n*, the nasal of the dental *varga*, in the intransitive verb *tiru-nd-u*, Tam. to become correct, from *tiru*, the radical base, and *du*, the formative, euphonised into *ndu*: the transitive form of the same verb is *tiru-ttu*, to correct. An example of the nasalisation of a noun of this class is found in *maru-ndu*, Tam. a medicinal drug, medicine, which

is derived from *maru,* fragrant, with the addition of the formative *du,* euphonised to *ndu*: comp. Tuḷu and ancient Canarese, *mardu,* modern Canarese, *maddu.* We find, I think, the same euphonic nasalisation in the Tamil demonstrative adjectives *anda,* that, *inda,* this, *enda,* which. These appear to have been formed from the neuter demonstrative pronouns *ad-u, id-u,* and the interrogative *e-du,* by the insertion of the euphonic nasal (as was probably done also in the case of *aṅgu,* &c., and *āṇḍu,* &c.), with the addition of *a,* the sign of the relative participle, so frequently used in the formation of adjectives (see "Adjectives"). *ad-u* would thus become *and-a* by an easy process. Dr Gundert derives these adjectives from *am, im,* &c., the demonstrative nouns referred to in the previous paragraph, and *da,* the formative of relative participles. This relative formative, however, is not *da,* but only *a;* and it would be necessary to put Dr Gundert's case thus. The demonstrative base *am* was developed into *aṅdu,* by the addition of *du,* the neuter formative; and this *and-u,* by the addition of the relative participle sign *a,* became *and-a.* A confirmation of this view might be found in the Telugu *andu,* there, which is also the sign of the locative case, and *indu,* here, as compared with the Canarese *inda* (originally, as we know, *im*), the sign of the instrumental, but a locative case sign originally. This view is very plausible, but on the whole I prefer adhering to the view I have already taken, which accords with a still larger number of parallel instances of Tamil nasalisation. The Tuḷu demonstrative pronoun *indu* or *undu,* it (proximate), corroborates this view. It is simply a nasalised form of the Tam. and Can. *idu* (prox.), *udu* (intermediate). The Tamil *andru, indru,* &c., that day, this day, &c. (Can. *andu, indu*), may also be euphonisations of *adu* and *idu,* that and this; though this euphonisation would be more in accordance with rule if they were formed from demonstrative nouns in *al* and *il,* the existence of which we may surmise, but of which I can discover no distinct proof. Compare, however, the Canarese *alli, illi, elli,* there, here, where, which may either be derived from supposed demonstrative nouns, *al, il, el,* or from the demonstrative bases of those nouns, *a, i, e,* prefixed to *li,* an altered form of *il,* a house, which is used in Tamil, as *alli* is in Canarese, as a locative case sign. The Tamil *ittrei,* to-day, a secondary form of *indru,* to-day (also the corresponding *attrei,* that day, and *ettrei,* what day) would seem to indicate the origin of *indra,* &c., from a root *il* or *iṟ,* from which *ittrei,* &c., would naturally proceed like *ottrei,* single, from *oṟ* or *or.* Compare *indru,*

Tam. there is not, and *andru*, it is not, which are regularly derived from the negative bases *il* and *al*.

(v.) Many examples of the euphonic insertion of *m* before the suffix in *b* might be adduced, but the following will suffice: *tiru-mbu*, to turn (intransitively), of which the root is unquestionably *tiru*, as appears in the corresponding Telugu *tiru-gu* and Canarese *tiru-vu*. The Tamil form of the transitive of the same verb is *tiru-pp-u*, to turn. An example of a similar insertion of euphonic *m* before the formative *b* of a noun is seen in *eṟu-mbu*, Tam. an ant, when compared with the equivalent Canarese word *iru-ve*. The formatives *nd-u* and *mbu* are extremely common terminations of Tamil nouns; and with few if any exceptions, wherever those terminations appear, they will be found on examination to be euphonised suffixes to the root.

2. The second use to which the euphonic nasal is put is altogether peculiar to Tamil. It consists in the insertion of an euphonic *n* between the verbal theme and the *d*, which constitutes the sign of the preterite of a very large number of Tamil verbs. The same *d* ordinarily forms the preterite in ancient Canarese, and is not unknown to Telugu; but in those languages the nasal *n* is not prefixed to it. The following are examples of this nasalisation of the sign of the preterite in Tamil: *vāṛ-nd-ēn* (for *vāṛ-d-ēn*), I flourished, from the root *vāṛ*; in Canarese, *bāḷ*: compare old Canarese preterite, *bāḷ-d-en*. So also *viṛu-nd-u* (for *viṛu-d-u*), having fallen, from the root *viṛu* or *vīṛ*; High Tamil, *vīṛ-d-u*; Canarese equivalent, *bidd-u*. The corresponding Malayālam *vīṇ-u* is an example of the absorption of the dental in the nasal. In colloquial, or vulgar, Tamil this euphonic insertion of *n* is carried further than grammatical Tamil allows. Thus, *śey-d-a*, done, and *pey-d-a*, rained, are vulgarly pronounced *śey-ñj-a* and *pey-ñj-a*.

3. A third use of the euphonic nasal is the insertion, in Tamil, of *ṇ* or *n* before the final *ḍ* or *d* of some verbal roots. The same rule sometimes applies to roots and forms that terminate in the rough *ṟ*, or even in the ordinary semi-vowel *r*. Thus *kar-u*, Can. a calf, is *kanṟ-u* in Tamil (pronounced *kandr-u*); and *mūr-u*, Can. three, is in Tamil *mūnṟ-u* (pronounced *mūndr-u*). In the first and second classes of instances in which *nunnation* is used for purposes of euphony, the Dravidian languages pursue a course of their own, which is different from the usages of the Scythian, as well as of the Syro-Arabian and Indo-European families of languages. In the Syro-Arabian languages, especially in Talmudic Hebrew, euphonic *n* is always a final, and is often emphatic as well as

euphonic. In Turkish, *n* is used between the bases of words and their inflexions in a manner similar to its use in Sanskrit. In the North-Indian vernaculars an obscure nasal, *ñ*, is often used as a final. But none of these usages perfectly corresponds to the Dravidian nasalisation referred to under the first and second heads. In the third class of instances the Dravidian usage bears a close resemblance to the Indo-European. In the seventh class of Sanskrit verbal roots a nasal is inserted in the special tenses, so as to coalesce with a final dental—*e.g.*, *nid,* to revile, becomes *nindati,* he reviles. Compare also the root *uda,* water, with its derivative root *und,* to be wet. A similar nasalisation is found both in Latin and Greek. In Latin we find the unaltered root in the preterite, and a nasalised form in the present—*e.g.*, compare *scidi* with *scindo, cubui* with *cumbo, tetigi* with *tango, fregi* with *frango.* Compare also the Latin *centum* with the Greek ἕ-*κατόν* (*eh-katon*). In Greek, compare the roots μαθ (*math*) and λαβ (*lab*) with the nasalised forms of those roots found in the present tense—*e.g.*, μανθ-*άνω* (*manth-anō*), to learn, and λαμβ-*άνω* (*lamb-anō*), to take. The principle of euphonic nasalisation contained in these Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin examples, though not perfectly identical with the Dravidian usage, corresponds to it in a remarkable degree. The difference consists in this, that in the Indo-European languages the insertion of a nasal appears to be purely euphonic, whereas in Tamil it generally contributes to grammatical expression. The consonant to which *n* is prefixed by neuter verbs is not only deprived of the *n,* but also hardened and doubled, by transitives.

PREVENTION OF HIATUS.—An examination of the means employed in the Dravidian languages to prevent hiatus between concurrent vowels, will bring to light some analogies with the Indo-European languages, especially with Greek.

In Sanskrit, and all other languages in which negation is effected by the use of "alpha privative," when this *a* is followed by a vowel, *n* is added to it to prevent hiatus, and *a* becomes *an, in,* or *un.* In the Latin and Germanic languages, this *n,* which was used at first euphonically, has become an inseparable part of the privative particles *in* or *un.* In the greater number of the Indo-European languages this is almost the only conjuncture of vowels in which hiatus is prevented by the insertion of an euphonic *n.* In Sanskrit and Pāli, *n* is also used for the purpose of preventing hiatus between the final base-vowels of nouns or pronouns and their case terminations, in order that the vowels of the base may escape elision or corruption, and be preserved pure. In some instances

(a probably older) *m* is used for this purpose instead of *n*. This usage is unknown in the cognate languages, with the exception of the use of *n* between the vowel of the base and the termination of the genitive plural in Zend and old high German. It is in Greek that the use of *n*, to prevent hiatus, has been most fully developed; for whilst in Sanskrit contiguous vowels are combined or changed, so that hiatus is unknown, in Greek, in which vowels are more persistent, *n* is used to prevent hiatus between contiguous vowels, and that not only when they belong to the same word, but also, and still more, when they belong to different words.

On turning our attention to the Dravidian languages, we may chance at first sight to observe nothing which resembles the system now mentioned. In Tamil and Canarese, and generally in the Dravidian languages, hiatus between contiguous vowels is prevented by the use of *v* or *y*. Vowels are rarely combined or changed in the Dravidian languages, as in Sanskrit, except in the case of compounds which have been borrowed directly from Sanskrit itself; nor are final vowels elided in these languages before words commencing with a vowel, with the exception of some short finals, which are considered as mere vocalisations. In Telugu and Canarese a few other unimportant vowels are occasionally elided. Ordinarily, however, for the sake of ease of pronunciation, and in order to the retention of the agglutinative structure which is natural to these languages, all vowels are preserved pure and pronounced separately; but as hiatus is dreaded with peculiar intensity, the awkwardness of concurrent vowels is avoided by the interposition of *v* or *y* between the final vowel of one word and the initial vowel of the succeeding one. The rule of Tamil, which in most particulars is the rule of Canarese also, is that *v* is used after the vowels *a*, *u*, and *o*, with their long vowels, and *au*, and that *y* is used after *i*, *e*, with their long vowels, and *ei*. Thus, in Tamil, *vara illei*, not come, is written and pronounced *vara-* (*v*) *-illei*, and *vaṛi-alla*, (*it is*) not the way, becomes *vaṛi-* (*y*) *-alla*.

This use of *v* in one conjunction of vowels, and of *y* in another, is doubtless a result of the progressive refinement of the language. Originally, we may conclude that one consonant alone was used for this purpose, and this may possibly have been *v* changing into *m*, *n*, and *y*. In Malayālam, as Dr Gundert observes, *y* has gradually encroached on the domain of *v*, pure *a* having become rare. Words like the Tamil *avan* (*a*+ (*v*) +*n*), he, remote; *ivan* (*i*+ (*v*) +*n*), he, proximate, changing in Telugu into *vāṅḍu* and *vīṅḍu*, prove sufficiently the great antiquity of *v*. They appear to me to prove that

even in Telugu *y* is more recent than *v*. Possibly, also, the *n* of the Telugu is more recent than *m*. The only thing, however, perfectly certain is that *m, n, v,* and *y* interchange in Telugu, Tuḷu, and Canarese, and *n, v,* and *y* in Tamil. Euphonic insertions between contiguous vowels are observed in the common conversation of Dravidians, as well as in written compositions; and they are found even in the barbarous dialects—*e.g.*, in the Ku, which was reduced to writing only a few years ago, *v* may optionally be used for euphony as in Tamil. Thus, in Ku, one may say either *āālu,* she, or *ā (v) ālu.* This insertion of *v* or *y* takes place, not only when a word terminating with a vowel is followed by a word beginning with another vowel, but also (as in Sanskrit) between the final vowels of substantives and the initial vowels of their case terminations—*e.g., puḷi-* (*y*) *-il,* in the tamarind, *pilā-* (*v*) *-il,* in the jack. The use of *alpha privative* to produce negation being unknown to the Dravidian languages, there is nothing in any of them which corresponds to the use of *an, in,* or *un* privative, instead of *a*, in the Indo-European languages, before words beginning with a vowel.

The only analogy which may at first sight have appeared to exist between the Dravidian usage and the Greek, in respect of the prevention of hiatus, consists in the use of *v* or *y* by the Dravidian languages as an euphonic copula. When we enter more closely on the examination of the means by which hiatus is prevented, a real and remarkable analogy comes to light; for in many instances where Tamil uses *v,* Telugu and Tuḷu, like Greek, use *n*. By one of the two classes into which all words are arranged in Telugu for euphonic purposes, *y* is used to prevent hiatus when the succeeding word begins with a vowel; by the other, a very numerous class, *n* is used, precisely as in Greek. Thus, instead of *tinnagā ēgenu,* it went slowly, Telugu requires us as to say *tinnagā-* (*n*) *-ēgenu.* When *n* is used in Telugu to prevent hiatus, it is called *druta,* and words which admit of this euphonic appendage are called *druta prakrits,* words of the *druta* class. *Druta* means fleeting, and *the druta n* may be interpreted as *the n which often disappears.* The other class of words consists of those which use *y* instead of *n,* or prevent elision in the Sanskrit manner by *sandhi* or combination. Such words are called the *kala* class, and the rationale of their preferring *y* to *n* was first pointed out by Mr Brown. Whenever *n* (or its equivalent, *ni* or *nu*) could have a meaning of its own—*e.g.*, wherever it could be supposed to represent the copulative conjunction, or the case sign of the accusative or the locative, there its use is inadmissible, and either *y* or *sandhi* must be used instead. Hence, there is no

difference in principle between *n* and *y*, for the latter is used in certain cases instead of the former, merely for the purpose of preventing misapprehension; and it can scarcely be doubted that both letters were originally identical in origin and in use, like *v* and *y* in Tamil.

An euphonic peculiarity of Telugu may here be noticed. *ni* or *nu*, the equivalents of *n*, are used euphonically between the final vowel of any word belonging to the *druta* class (the class which uses *n* to prevent hiatus), and the hard, surd initial consonant of the succeeding word—which initial surd is at the same time converted into its corresponding sonant. They may also be optionally used before any initial consonant, provided always that the word terminating in a vowel to which they are affixed, belongs to the class referred to. It is deserving of notice that in this conjunction *ni* or *nu* may be changed into that form of *m* (the Telugu *anusvāra*) which coalesces with the succeeding consonant. Occasionally, *m* is used in Telugu to prevent hiatus between two vowels where we should have expected to find *n*, or, in Tamil, *v*.

m may perhaps be regarded as the original form of the euphonic copula of Telugu, and *n* and *y* as a softening of the same. A distinct trace of the use, apparently a very ancient use, of *m* to prevent hiatus, instead of *n* or *v*, may be noticed in classical Canarese, in the accusative singular of certain nouns—*e.g.*, instead of *guru-v-am*, the accusative of *guru*, a teacher, *guru-m-am* may be used. On the other hand, in Tuḷu, an older *v* seems to have changed into *m*, and even into *mb*. Thus, *mōḷ*, Tuḷu, she (prox.), stands for *imaḷ*, and that for *ivaḷ* : *mēr*, they (prox.), for *imar*, and that for *ivar*, whilst the sing. masc. of the same is *imbe*, for *ivan*. Compare the Tuḷu remote sing. masc. *āye*, he. The evidence of all the other dialects in favour of *v* being originally the euphonic vowel of the pronouns is so strong that the Tuḷu *m* must, I think, be regarded as a corruption. In colloquial Tamil *m* is used in some instances instead of *v*, where *v* alone is used, not only by the classics, but by scrupulously correct writers up to the present day—*e.g.*, *ennamō*, whatever it may be, instead of the more correct *ennavō*, from *enna*, what, and *ō*, the particle expressing doubt.

It may be noticed here, that where *n* is used in later Sanskrit to prevent hiatus between base vowels and case terminations, *y* is often used instead in the Sanskrit of the Vedas. I regard *m* as the original form of the euphonic copula of the Telugu, and *n* and *y* as a softening of the same.

It has been mentioned that *v* and *y* are the letters which are used in Tamil for preventing hiatus, where *n* and *y* are used by Telugu. On examining more closely the forms and inflexions of classical Tamil, we shall find reason for advancing a step farther. In Tamil also, *n* is used instead of *v* in a considerable number of instances, especially in the pronominal terminations of verbs in the classical dialects. Thus, the neuter plural demonstrative being *avei* (for *a*-(*v*)-*a* from *a-a*), we should expect to find the same *a*-(*v*)*ei*, or the older *a*-(*v*)-*a*, in the third person plural neuter of verbs; but we find *a*-(*n*)-*a* instead—*i.e.*, we find the hiatus of *a-a* filled up with *n* instead of *v*—*e.g.*, *irukkindra*(*n*)*a*, they are (neuter), instead of *irukkindra*(*v*)*a*. So also, whilst in the separate demonstratives *avan*, he, and *avar*, they (epicene), the hiatus is filled up with *v*—*e.g.*, (*a*-(*v*)-*an*, *a*-(*v*)-*ar*), in the pronominal terminations of verbs in the classical dialect we find *a*-(*n*)-*an* often used instead of *a*-(*v*)-*an*, and *a*-(*n*)-*ar* instead of *a*-(*v*)-*ar*—*e.g.*, *irunda*(*n*)*an*, he was, instead of *irunda* (*v*) *an*, or its ordinary contraction *irundān*. We sometimes also find the same *n* in the neuter plural of appellative nouns and verbs in the classical dialect—*e.g.*, *poruḷa*(*n*)*a*, things that are real, realities, instead of *poruḷa*(*v*)*a*, or simply *poruḷa*. *varu*-(*n*)-*a*=*varubavei*, things that will come. We find the same use of *n* to prevent hiatus in the preterites and relative past participles of a large number of Tamil verbs—*e.g.*, *kāṭṭi*(*n*)*ēr*, I showed; *kāṭṭi*(*n*)*a*, which showed; in which forms the *n* which comes between the preterite participle *kāṭṭi* and the terminations *ēn* and *a*, is clearly used (as *v* in ordinary cases) to prevent hiatus. The euphonic character of this *n* (respecting which see the Section on "Verbs, Preterite Tense") is confirmed by the circumstance that *n* optionally changes in classical Tamil into *y*—*e.g.*, we may say *kāṭṭi*(*y*)*a*, that showed, instead of *kāṭṭi*(*n*)*a*. Another instance of the use of *n* in Tamil for the prevention of hiatus appears to be furnished by the numerals. The compound numerals between ten and twenty are formed by the combination of the word for ten with each numeral in rotation. The Tamil word for ten is *pattu*, but *padu* is used in the numerals above twenty, and *padi*, identical with the Telugu word for ten, is used in the numerals from eleven to eighteen inclusive. Between this *padi* and the units which follow, each of which, with the exception of *mūndru*, three, and *nālu*, four, commences with a vowel, *n* is inserted for the prevention of hiatus where the modern Tamil would have used *v*. The euphonic character of this *n* appears to be established on comparing the

Tamil and Canarese numerals with those of the Telugu, in most of which *h* is used instead of *n*—*e.g.*,

	TELUGU.	TAMIL AND CANARESE.
fifteen	*padi-(h)-ēnu*	*padi- (n) -eindu* (Can. *eidu*)
sixteen	*padi-(h)-āru*	*padi-(n)-āṟu*
seventeen	*padi-(h)-ēḍu*	*padi-(n)-ēṟu* (Can. *ēḷu*)

In the Tamil compound numeral, *padi-(n)-mūndru*, thirteen, we find the same *n* used as in the previous examples, though there is no hiatus to be prevented. Telugu has here *pada-mūḍu*, the Canarese *hadi-mūru;* and as Canarese uses *n*, like Tamil, in all the other compound numbers between eleven and eighteen inclusive, and dispenses with it here, I think it may be concluded that in the Tamil *padi (n) mundru* the *n* has crept in through the influence of the numerals on each side of it, and in accordance with the euphonic tendencies of the language in general. Dr Gundert thinks *padin* hardly an example of *n* used for the prevention of hiatus. He prefers to regard the *in* of these numerals as the *in* of the oblique case, and considers *padin-mūndra* (in Malayālam, *padim-mūṇu*) as decisive to this effect. He adduces also *ombadin-āyiram* (Tam. *onbadin*), nine thousand, and *eṇbadin kōḍi* (also capable of being used in Tamil), eighty crores. On the other hand, it may be replied that the *h* used by Telugu cannot be regarded as a sign of the oblique case, and that if it be admitted that it is used simply for the prevention of hiatus, this fact should be allowed to throw light on the use of *n* in the same words in the other languages. It would be quite natural, however, that *in*, the inflexional increment of the Tam.-Mal. oblique case, should be used instead of the merely euphonic *n*, where it appeared to fit in suitably. Identity of sound would recommend it for occasional use. In the Coorg dialect *n* appears in all the compounds after *padu*, the form of *pattu*, ten, used in construction—*e.g.*, *padunanje*, fifteen, *padunāru*, sixteen, *padunēḷu*, seventeen. Notwithstanding this, the inflexional increment of the Coorg does not contain *n*, but is either *ḍa* or *ra*. Similarly in Tuḷu, in which the possessive increment is *a*, *ta*, or *da*, and the locative *ḍ'* or *ṭ'*, *ḍu* or *ṭu*, *n* is inserted between *pad'*, ten, and the words for four, &c., in the compound numerals from fourteen to nineteen inclusive—*e.g.*, *pad' (n) ormba*, nineteen. The *n* thus inserted must surely be euphonic.

We have an indubitable instance of the use of *n*, even in common Tamil, to prevent hiatus, in appellative nouns ending in *ei*—*e.g.*, when an appellative noun is formed from *iḷei*, youth, or young, by

annexing *an*, the sign of the masc. sing., the compound is not *iḷei-(y)-an*, but *iḷei-(ñ)-an*, or even *ilei-(n)-an*. *ñ* is merely a more liquid form of *n*, and in Malayālam regularly replaces *n* in the pronoun of the first person. Probably also *manār*, the epicene plural of the future tense of the Tamil verb in some of the poets, is for *ma-ar*—*e.g.*, *enma-(n)-ār*, they will say, for *enmār*, and that for *enbār*, the more common form.

There is thus reason to suppose that originally Tamil agreed with Telugu in using a nasal instead of a semi-vowel to keep contiguous vowels separate. It may be objected that *n* evinces no tendency to change into *v*. I admit this ; but if we suppose *m*, not *n*, to have been the nasal which was originally employed for this purpose, every difficulty will disappear ; for *m* readily changes on the one hand to *v*, and on the other to *n*. Nor is it a merely gratuitous supposition that Telugu may have used *m* at a former period instead of *n*, for we have already noticed that *ni* or *nu*, the euphonic equivalents of *n*, are interchangeable in certain conjunctions with the *anusvāra* or assimilating *m* ; that in two important instances (the copulative particle and the aorist formative) the *n* of Telugu replaces an older *m* of Tamil ; that *m* is occasionally used instead of *n* to prevent hiatus between contiguous vowels ; and that in Sanskrit also, instead of the *n*, which is ordinarily inserted between certain pronominal bases and their case terminations, an older *m* is sometimes employed. It may also be noticed that the *ni* or *nu*, which may be considered as the euphonic suffix of the accusative in Telugu, is replaced in old Canarese by *m*.

In Tuḷu, *n* is sometimes used to prevent hiatus. When the personal pronouns beginning with a vowel are suffixed to participles for the purpose of forming participial nouns, *n* is euphonically inserted where *v* would ordinarily be inserted in Tamil and Canarese—*e.g.*, *maḷpu-(n)-āye*, he who makes. Tamil agrees with Tuḷu in thus inserting *n* after past participles ending in *i*—*e.g.*, compare *paṇṇi-(n)-avan*, Tam. he who made, with *batti-(n)-āye*, Tuḷu, he who came. Sometimes this euphonic *n* is inserted in Tuḷu where *y* would be inserted in Tamil—*e.g.*, *dhore-(n)-ākulu*, Tuḷu, gentlemen, Tam. *durei-(y)-avargaḷ* (plural used honorifically for singular). In *amma-(n)-ākuḷu*, Tuḷu, mistresses, Tamil would run the vowels together. When the adverbial particle *aga* is added to the root of a verb, to denote the time at which an action takes place, *n* is inserted between the concurrent vowels—*e.g.*, *maḷpu-(n)-aga*, when making. Compare with these particulars the uses of the *druta* *n* of Telugu. The emphatic particle *ē* becomes in Tuḷu not only *yē* or *vē*, accord-

ing to the nature of the preceding vowel, as in Tamil, but also *nē*, after *a*, and sometimes after *e*—*e.g.*, *āye-(n)-ē*, he himself. *n* is inserted in like manner before *ā* and *ō*, the interrogative particles, where *v* would be inserted in Tamil, as also before *ē* when used interrogatively.

The reader cannot fail to have observed that whilst the Dravidian languages accord to a certain extent with Sanskrit in the point which has now been discussed, they accord to a much larger extent with Greek, and in one particular (the prevention of hiatus between the contiguous vowels of *separate words*) with Greek alone. It is impossible to suppose that the Dravidian languages borrowed this usage from Sanskrit, seeing that it occupies a much less important place in Sanskrit than in the Dravidian languages, and has been much less fully developed.

It should be mentioned here that the letter *r* is in some instances used to prevent hiatus in each of the Dravidian idioms. In Tamil, *kā*, the imperative singular of the verb to preserve, becomes in the plural, not *kā-(v)-um*, but *kā-(r)-um*. Canarese in certain cases inserts *r* or *ar* between the crude noun and the case terminations, instead of the more common *v*, *n*, or *d*—*e.g.*, *karid'-ar-a*, of that which is black. This *ar*, however, is probably only another form of *ad*. Telugu inserts *r* in a more distinctively euphonic manner, as, for instance, between certain nouns and *ālu*, the suffix by which the feminine gender is sometimes denoted—*e.g.*, *sundaru-(r)-ālu*, a handsome woman. Compare this with the Tamil *soundariya-(v)-aḻ*, in which the same separation is effected by the use of the more common euphonic *v*. *r* is inserted euphonically in Telugu in other connections also—*e.g.*, *poda-r-illu*, from *poda*, leaf, and *illu*, house= a bower.

The *d* which intervenes between the *i* of the preterite verbal participle and the suffixes of many Canarese verbs (*e.g.*, *māḍi-(d)-a*, that did), though possibly in its origin a sign of the preterite, is now used simply as an euphonic insertion. This *d* becomes invariably *n* in Telugu and Tamil; and in Tamil it is sometimes softened further into *y*. *ṭ* is sometimes stated to be used in Telugu for a similar purpose—viz., to prevent hiatus between certain nouns of quality and the nouns which are qualified by them—*e.g.*, *kaṟaku-ṭ-ammu*, a sharp arrow, but I have no doubt that this *ṭ* is identical with *ṭi*, and was originally an inflexional particle. *g* is in some instances used by Telugu to prevent hiatus, or at least as an euphonic formative, where Tamil would prefer to use *v*—*e.g.*, the rational plural noun of number, six persons, may either be *āru(g)ur-u* or *āru(v)ur-u*. *k*

seems to be used for the same purpose in *padakoṇḍu* (*pada-k-oṇḍu*), eleven. *gāḍu*, he, for *vāḍu*, and *gāru*, they, for *vāru*, are instances of the use of *g* for *v* in Telugu.

Harmonic Sequence of Vowels.—In all the languages of the Scythian group (Finnish, Turkish, Mongolian, Manchu), a law has been observed which may be called "the law of harmonic sequence." The law is, that a given vowel occurring in one syllable of a word, or in the root, requires an analogous vowel, *i.e.*, a vowel belonging to the same set (of which sets there are in Turkish four) in the following syllables of the same word, or in the particles appended to it, which, therefore, alter their vowels accordingly. This rule, of which some traces remain even in modern Persian, appears to pervade all the Scythian languages, and has been regarded as a confirmation of the theory that all those languages have sprung from a common origin.

In Telugu a similar law of attraction, or harmonic sequence, is found to exist. Traces of it, indeed, appear in all the Dravidian languages, especially in Tuḷu, which in this particular comes nearest to Telugu; but it is in Telugu that it comes out most distinctly and regularly. The range of its operation in Telugu is restricted to two vowels *i* and *u*; but in principle it appears to be identical with the Scythian law, *u* being changed into *i*, and *i* into *u*, according to the nature of the preceding vowel. Thus the copulative particle is *ni* after *i*, *ī*, *ei*; and *nu* after *u* and the other vowels. *ku*, the sign of the dative case becomes in like manner *ki* after *i*, *ī*, and *ei*. In the abovementioned instances it is the vowels of the appended particles which are changed through the attraction of the vowels of the words to which they are suffixed; but in a large number of cases the suffixed particles retain their own vowels, and draw the vowels of the verb or noun to which they are suffixed, as also the vowels of any particles that may be added to them, into harmony with themselves. Thus, the Telugu pluralising termination or suffix being *lu*, the plural of *katti*, a knife, would naturally be *kattilu*; but the vowel of the suffix is too powerful for that of the base, and accordingly the plural becomes *kattulu*. So also, whilst the singular dative is *katti-ki*, the dative plural is not *kattila-ki*, but *kattula-ku*; for *la*, the plural inflexion, has the same power as the pluralising particle *lu* to convert *katti* into *kattu*, besides being able to change *ki*, the dative post-position of the singular, into *ku*.

In the inflexion of verbs, the most influential particles in Telugu are those which are marks of time, and by suffixing which the tenses

are formed. Through the attraction of those particles, not only the vowels of the pronominal fragments which are appended to them, but even the secondary vowels of the verbal root itself, are altered into harmony with the vowel of the particle of time. Thus, from *kalugu*, to be able, *du*, the aorist particle, and *nu*, the abbreviation of the pronoun *nēnu*, I, is formed the aorist first person singular *kalugu-du-nu*, I am able. On the other hand, the past verbal participle of *kalugu*, is not *kalugi*, but *kaligi*, through the attraction of the final *i*; the characteristic of the tense; and the preterite of the first person singular, therefore, is not *kalugi-ti-nu*, but *kaligi-ti-ni*. Thus, the verbal root *kalu* becomes *kali*; *nu*, the abbreviation of *nēnu*, becomes *ni*; and both have by these changes been brought into harmony with *ti*, an intermediate particle, which is probably an ancient sign of the preterite.

This remarkable law of the Telugu phonetic system evidently accords with the essential principles of the law of harmonic sequence by which the Scythian languages are characterised, and differs widely from the prevailing usage of the Indo-European languages. The change which is apparent in the pronominal terminations of the various tenses of the Telugu verb (*eg.*, *nu* in the first person of the present tense, *ni* in the preterite), have been compared with the variation in Greek and Latin of the pronominal terminations of the verb according to the tense. But the change in Greek and Latin arises merely from euphonic corruption, whereas the Dravidian change takes place in accordance with a regular fixed phonic law, the operation of which is still apparent in every part of the grammar.

Though I have directed attention only to the examples of this law which are furnished by Telugu, in which it is most fully developed, traces of its existence could easily be pointed out in the other dialects. Thus, in the Canarese verbal inflexions, the final euphonic or enunciative vowel of the abbreviated personal pronouns is *u*, *e*, or *i*, according to the character of the preceding vowel—*e.g.*, *māḍuttēv-e*, we do, *māḍuttīr-i*, ye do, *māḍidev-u*, we did. If in the means employed to prevent hiatus between contiguous vowels, the Dravidian languages appeared to have been influenced by Indo-European usages, still more decided traces of Scythian influences may be noticed in the phonetic law now mentioned.

Principles of Syllabation.—The chief peculiarity of Dravidian syllabation is its extreme simplicity and dislike of compound or concurrent consonants; and this peculiarity characterises Tamil, the earliest cultivated member of the family, in a more marked

degree than any other Dravidian language. In Telugu, Canarese, and Malayālam, the great majority of primitive Dravidian words—*i.e.*, words which have not been derived from Sanskrit, or altered through Sanskrit influences—and in Tamil all words without exception, including even Sanskrit derivatives, are divided into syllables on the following plan. Double or treble consonants at the beginning of syllables, like *str* in *strength*, are altogether inadmissible. At the beginning, not only of the first syllable of every word, but also of every succeeding syllable, only one consonant is allowed. If in the middle of a word of several syllables, one syllable ends with a consonant and the succeeding one commences with another consonant, the concurrent consonants must be euphonically assimilated, or else a vowel must be inserted between them. At the conclusion of a word, double and treble consonants, *ngth* in *strength*, are as inadmissible as at the beginning: and every word must terminate, in Telugu, Tuḷu, and Canarese, in a vowel; in Tamil, either in a vowel or in a single semi-vowel, as *l* or *r*, or in a single nasal, as *n* or *m*. Malayālam resembles Tamil in this, but evinces a more decided preference for vowel terminations. It is obvious that this plan of syllabation is extremely unlike that of Sanskrit.

The only double consonants which can stand together in the middle of a word in Tamil without an intervening vowel, are as follows. The various nasals, *ṅ*, *ñ*, *ṇ*, *n*, and *m*, may precede the sonant of the *varga* to which they belong; and hence *ṅ-g*, *ñ-ś*, or *ñ-ch*, *ṇ-ḍ*, *n-d*, *m-b*, may occur, also *ṅṅ*, *ññ*, *ṇṇ*, *nn*, *mm*, *ṇm*, and *nm*: the doubled surds, *kk*, *śś*, or *chch*, *ṭṭ*, *tt*, *pp*. *ḷḷ*, *ṟṟ* (pronounced *ttr*); also *ṭk*, and *ṭp* ; *ṟk*, *ṟch*, and *ṟp* ; *yy*, *ll*, *vv* ; and finally *nṟ* pronounced *ndr*. The only treble consonants which can coalesce in Tamil, under any circumstances, are the very soft, liquid ones, *ṛnd* and *ynd*. Tamilian laws of sound allow only the above-mentioned consonants to stand together in the middle of words without the intervention of a vowel. All other consonants must be assimilated—that is, the first must be made the same as the second, or else a vowel must be inserted between them to render each capable of being pronounced by Tamilian organs. In the other Dravidian dialects, through the influence of Sanskrit, nasals are combined, not with sonants only, but also with surds—*e.g.*, *pamp-u*, Tel. to send, *eṇṭ-u*, Can. eight. The repugnance of Tamil to this practice is so very decided, that it must be concluded to be non-Dravidian. Generally *i* is the vowel which is used for the purpose of separating unassimilable consonants, as appears from the manner in which Sanskrit derivatives are Tamilised. Sometimes *u* is employed instead of *i*. Thus

the Sanskrit preposition *pra* is changed into *pira* in the compound derivatives which have been borrowed by Tamil; whilst *Krishna* becomes *Kiruṭṭina-n* (*ṭṭ* instead of *ṣh*), or even *Kiṭṭina-n*. Even such soft conjunctions of consonants as the Sanskrit *dya, dva, gya,* &c., are separated in Tamil into *diya, diva,* and *giya*. Another rule of Tamil syllabation is, that when the first consonant of an unassimilable double consonant is separated from the second and formed into a syllable by the intervention of a vowel, every such consonant (not being a semi-vowel) must be doubled before the vowel is suffixed. Thus, *tatva*, Sans. nature, becomes in Tamil *tat(t)uva; aprayojana,* unprofitable, *ap(p)irayōśana.*

In consequence of these peculiarities of syllabation and the agglutinative structure of its inflexions, the Tamil language appears very verbose and lengthy when compared with Sanskrit and the languages of Europe. Nevertheless, each syllable being exceedingly simple, and the great majority of the syllables being short, rapidity of enunciation is made to compensate for the absence of contraction and compression.

Finnish, Hungarian, and other languages of the same stock, allow of only one consonant at the beginning of a syllable. When foreign words which begin with two consonants are pronounced by a Magyar, the consonants are separated by the insertion of a vowel—*e.g., krāl* becomes *kirāly*. Where the first consonant is a sibilant, it is formed into a distinct syllable by a prefixed vowel—*e.g., schola* becomes *iskōla*. How perfectly in accordance with Tamil this is, is known to every European resident in Southern India who has heard the natives speak of establishing, or sending their children to an English *iskūl*. The same peculiarity has been discovered in the language of the Scythic tablets of Behistun. In rendering the word *Sparta* into Sythian, the translator is found to have written it with a preceding *i*—*e.g., Isparta,* precisely as it would be written in the present day in Magyar or in Tamil.

Professor Max Müller, in his "Lectures on the Science of Language, Second Series," adduces many similar instances in other families of languages. "Many words in Latin begin with *sc, st, sp*. Some of these are found, in Latin inscriptions of the fourth century after Christ, spelt with an initial *i*—*e.g., ispiritus.* It seems that the Celtic nations were unable to pronounce an initial *s* before a consonant, or at least that they disliked it. Richards, as quoted by Pott, says, 'No British word begins with *s* when a consonant or *w* follows, without setting *y* before it; and when we borrow any words from another language which begin with an *s* and

a consonant immediately following it, we prefix a *y* before such words, as from the Latin *schola, ysgol; spiritus, yspryd.*' The Spaniards in Peru, even when reading Latin, pronounce *estudium* for *studium, eschola* for *schola.* Hence the constant addition of the initial vowel in the Western, or chiefly Celtic, branch of the Roman family. French *espérer,* instead of Latin *sperare; stabilire,* became *establir,* lastly *établir,* to establish."—P. 195. "Words beginning with more than one consonant are most liable to phonetic corruption. It certainly requires an effort to pronounce distinctly two or three consonants at the beginning without intervening vowels, and we could easily understand that one of these consonants should be slurred over and allowed to drop. But if it is the tendency of language to facilitate pronunciation, we must not shirk the question how it came to pass that such troublesome forms were ever framed and sanctioned. Most of them owe their origin to contraction—that is to say, to an attempt to pronounce two syllables as one, and thus to save time and breath, though not without paying for it by an increased consonantal effort."—P. 187. "There are languages still in existence in which each syllable consists either of a vowel, or of a vowel preceded by one consonant only, and in which no syllable ever ends in a consonant. This is the case, for instance, in the Polynesian languages. A Hawaiian finds it almost impossible to pronounce two consonants together. All syllables in Chinese are open or nasal. In South Africa, all the members of the great family of speech called by Dr Bleek the Bā-ntu family, agree in general with regard to the simplicity of their syllables. In the other family of South African speech, the Hottentot, compound consonants are equally eschewed at the beginning of words. In Kafir we find *gold* pronounced *igolide.* If we look to the Finnish, and the whole Uralic class of the Northern Turanian languages, we meet with the same disinclination to admit double consonants at the beginning, or any consonants whatever at the end of words. No genuine Finnish word begins with a double consonant, for the assimilated and softened consonants, which are spelt as double letters, were originally simple sounds. The Esthonian, Lapp, Mordvinian, Ostiakian, and Hungarian, by dropping or weakening their final and unaccented vowels, have acquired a large number of words ending in simple and double consonants; but throughout the Uralic class, wherever we can trace the radical elements of language, we always find simple consonants and simple vowels."—P. 190.

The mode in which compound consonants are dealt with in

Prakrit and the modern North Indian vernaculars, is investigated and explained by Mr Beames in chapter iv. of his "Comparative Grammar." The Prakrit rules for the assimilation of compound consonants bear a considerable resemblance, up to a certain point, to the Dravidian, especially in regard to the combination called by Mr Beames "the strong nexus"—that is, the combination, without a vowel, of the strong consonants only, such as *kt, tp*, &c., respecting which the rule of the Prakrits, as of Tamil, is that the first consonant should be assimilated to the next. Vararuchi expresses the Prakrit rule rather peculiarly by saying that the first consonant is elided, the second doubled. The corresponding Tamil rule applies only to the treatment of *tadbhavas*, no such conjunction of consonants as *kt*, &c., being possible in words of purely Dravidian origin.

Minor Dialectic Peculiarities.

1. *Euphonic Displacement of Consonants.*

In the Dravidian languages, consonants are sometimes found to change places through haste or considerations of euphony, especially, but not exclusively, in the speech of the vulgar.

We have example of this in the Tamil *taśei*, flesh, which by a displacement of consonants, and a consequent change of the surd into the sonant, has become *śadei*: *kudirei*, a horse, is in this manner often pronounced by the vulgar in the Tamil country *kuridei;* and looking at the root syllable of the Telugu word, *gur-ram*, it is hard to decide whether *kuridei* or *kudirei* is to be regarded as the true Dravidian original, though the apparent derivation of the word from *kudi*, Tam. to leap, inclines me to prefer *kudirei*. In many instances, through the operation of this displacement, we find one form of a word in Tamil, and another, considerably different, in Telugu or Canarese. Thus, *koppuḷ*, Tam. the navel, is in Telugu *pokkili*, in Malayālam *pokkuḷ* and *pokkiḷ;* and *paḍar*, Tam. to spread as a creeper, is in Canarese *paraḍ-u*. In comparing words in the different dialects, it is always necessary to bear in mind the frequent recurrence of this displacement.

2. *Euphonic Displacement of Vowels.*

In Telugu we find many instances of a still more curious displacement of vowels. This displacement occurs most commonly in words which consist of three short syllables beginning with a vowel; and when it occurs, we find that the second vowel has disappeared, and that the first vowel has migrated from the beginning of the word to the second syllable, and at the same time been lengthened to compensate for the vowel that is lost. We have here to deal, therefore, with an euphonic amalgamation of vowels,

as well as an euphonic displacement. I take as an example the Dravidian demonstrative pronouns, remote and proximate ; and I select the plural, rather than the singular, to get rid of the disturbing element of a difference which exists in the formatives. In Tamil those pronouns are *avar,* they, remote ; and *ivar,* they, proximate, corresponding to *illi* and *hi.* Canarese adds *u* to each word, so that they become *avaru* and *ivaru.* By analogy this is the form we should expect to find in Telugu also ; but on examination, we find in Telugu *vāru* instead of *avaru,* and *vīru* instead of *ivaru.* The neuter demonstrative pronouns of Telugu being dissyllables, there is no displacement in their nominatives (*adi,* that, *idi,* this, corresponding closely to the Tamil *adu, idu*) ; but when they become trisyllables by the addition of the inflexional suffix *ni,* we find a displacement similar to that which has been described—*e.g., adini,* it, or of it, becomes *dāni,* and *idini* becomes *dīni.* Many ordinary substantives undergo in Telugu a similar change—*e.g., ural,* Tamil, a mortar, pronounced *oral,* should by analogy be *oralu* in Telugu ; but instead of *oralu* we find *rōlu.* In each of the instances mentioned, the change seems to have been produced by the rejection of the second vowel, and the substitution for it of a lengthened form of the first. This unsettledness of the vowels, as Dr Gundert calls it, attaches chiefly to the enunciation of *l, r,* and other liquid consonants.

As soon as this peculiar law of the displacement of vowels is brought to light, a large number of Telugu words and forms, which at first sight appear to be widely different from Tamil and Canarese, are found to be the same or but slightly altered. Thus *kādu,* Tel. it will not be, or it is not, is found to be the same as the Tamil *āgādu ; lēdu,* there is not, corresponds to the Tamil *illadu,* or *iladu ;* and by an extension of a similar rule to monosyllables, we find *lō,* Tel. within, to be identical with *uḷ,* Tam. ; *ōḷ,* old Canarese. A similar rule of displacement appears in Tuḷu, though in a less degree.

3. *Rejection of Radical Consonants.*

Telugu and Canarese evince a tendency to reject or soften away liquid consonants in the middle of words, even though such consonants should belong to the root, not to the formative. Thus, *neruppu,* Tam. fire, is softened into *nippu* ; *elumbu,* a bone, into *emmu; uḍal* (pronounced *oḍal*) body, into *oḷḷu; poṛudu,* time, into *poddu; erudu,* an ox, into *eddu, marundu,* medicine, into *mandu.* For the last word Tuḷu has *mardu,* Can. *maddu* (ancient Can. *mardu*). For the Tam. *eṛupadu,* seventy, Can. has *eppattu ;* for

eṛuppu, Tam. to raise (root, Tam. *eṛu,* to rise, Can. *ēḻu*), Can. has *ebbisu*. For the Tam. *koṛuppu, koṛumei*, fat, Can. has *kobbu*, Tuḷu *komme*. So Tam. *erumei,* a buffalo, Tuḷu *erme,* Can. *emme.* Something similar to this process takes place, but not so systematically, in vulgar colloquial Tamil.

In a few instances, on the other hand, Telugu appears to have retained a radical letter which has disappeared in some connections from Tamil. For example, *ōḍu*, with, together with, is the suffix of the Tamil conjunctive case. On examining Telugu, we find that the corresponding suffix is *tōḍa*. It has already been shown that *ḍ* in Telugu corresponds to *ṛ* in Tamil; and consequently *tōḍa* would become in Tamil *tōṛa*. *tōṛa* (*tōṛa-mei*) is contained in Tamil, and means companionship—a meaning which appears also in many Telugu compounds; and thus by the help of Telugu we find that the Tamil *ōḍu* and *tōṛa* are closely allied, if not virtually identical; that the meaning of the suffix *ōḍu* accords with its use; and that there is also reason to conclude another pair of similar words to be allied, viz., *uḍan*, with, Can. *oḍane,* a suffix of the conjunctive case, in itself a noun signifying connection, and *toḍar*, a verbal root, to follow, to join on, written also *tuḍar*.

Dr Gundert is right in considering *ōḍu* a lengthened secondary form of *oḍu,* which is still used in Malayālam poetry (and equally so in Tamil). Old Can. has *oḍa, oḍam,* modern Can. *oḍane*; Tuḷu *oṭṭugu,* with Can. *oḍane* is of course the equivalent of the Tam. *uḍan,* together with. *oḍu*, therefore, he thinks, needs no explanation from Tel. *tōḍu*, Tam. *tōṛa*, companionship, the root of which latter word is *toṛu* (found with this meaning in Tam. *toṛudi,* a crowd). *toḍar*, to follow, explains itself as a verbal noun of *toḍu*, to touch, to connect. These three roots he considers as altogether distinct from, and independent of, each other. It seems to me, however, on a comparison of the three roots, difficult to avoid the conclusion that they are substantially identical. The lengthening of the root vowel in secondary forms of roots is quite common in Tamil, and the close relationship of the radical meanings of the shorter forms, *oḍu, toḍu,* and *toṛu,* favours the supposition that they are only different forms of the same root. I cannot perceive any essential difference between the radical meanings of *oḍu* and *toḍu*. The former, as we see from its verbal noun *oṭṭu,* means to touch so as to adhere, the latter simply to touch. The slight variations apparent in form and meaning appear to me to be specialisations of a common root. See the section on the radiation of roots, through "Particles of Specialisation."

4. *Accent.*

It is generally stated that the Dravidian languages are destitute of accent, and that emphasis is conveyed by the addition of the *ē* emphatic alone. Though, however, the Dravidian languages are destitute of the Indo-Greek system of accents, the use of accent is not altogether unknown to them; and the position of the Dravidian accent, always an acute one, accords well with the agglutinative structure of Dravidian words. The accent is upon the first syllable of the word; that syllable alone, in most cases, constituting the base, prior to every addition of formatives and inflexional forms, and remaining always unchanged. The first syllable of every word may be regarded as the natural seat of accent; but if the word be compounded, a secondary accent distinguishes the first syllable of the second member of the compound.

As in other languages, so in the Dravidan, accent is carefully to be distinguished from quantity; and in enunciation an accented short vowel is more emphatic than an unaccented long one. Thus, in the intransitive Tamil verb *aḍangugiṟadu*, it is contained, the second syllable, *ang*, is long by position, yet the only accent is that which is upon the first syllable *aḍ*, which, though shorter than the second, is more emphatic. Another example is furnished by the compound verb *uḍeind'-irukkiṟadu*, it is broken; literally, having been broken it is. Though in this instance the second syllable of the first word of the compound is long, not only by position, but by nature, and the second syllable of the auxiliary word is long by position, yet the principal accent rests upon the first syllable of the first word, *uḍ*, the most emphatic portion of the compound, and the secondary accent rests upon *ir*, the first syllable and crude base of the auxiliary; hence it is pronounced *uḍeindírukkiṟadu*, every syllable except the two accented ones being enunciated lightly and with rapidity.

The general rule of the Dravidian languages, which fixes the accent in the first or root syllable, admits of one exception. In poetical Tamil one and the same form is used as the third person of the verb (in each tense, number, and gender) and as a participial noun—*e.g.*, *ōduvān* means either he will read, or one who reads—*i.e.*, a reader. Even in the colloquial dialect the third person neuter singular, especially in the future tense, is constantly used in both senses—*e.g.*, *ōduvadu*, means either it will read, or that which will read, or abstractly, yet more common still, a reading, or to read. The same form being thus used in a double sense, Tamil grammarians have determined that the difference in signification

should be denoted by a difference in accent. Thus when *ōduvān* is a verb, meaning he will read, the accent is left in its natural place, on the root syllable—*e.g.*, *ōduvān*; but when it is an appellative or participial noun, meaning he who reads, the pronominal termination is to be pronounced more emphatically, that is, it becomes the seat of accent—*e.g.*, *ōduvān*.

Dr Gundert (in an article in the *Journal of the German Oriental Society* for 1869) directs attention to a subject which I had not sufficiently discussed—viz., the changes which Sanskrit sounds undergo when Sanskrit words are Dravidianised. Old tadbhavas, he observes, are not to be regarded as mere corruptions. Most of the changes that have taken place when Sanskrit words have been adopted by the Dravidian dialects have been in accordance with rule, though some appear to be arbitrary. It would be easy, he says, to point out the laws in virtue of which, for instance, the Sans. *vrishabha*, an ox, has become *basava* in Can., Tel., and Tuḷu; in Tam. and Mal. *iḍaba* and *eḍava*; and also to show how the Sans. *parva*, a season, becomes in Tam. *paruva*, in Can. *habba*; and how *Brahma* has become in Tel. *Bomma* and in Tam. *Pirama*. He contents himself, however, with pointing out some of the laws which appear in the formation of the oldest class of tadbhavas. One of these laws consists in the simple omission of non-Dravidian sounds, such as the sibilants. Thus, *sahasram*, Sans. for one thousand, becomes in Can. *savira*, in Tuḷu *sāra*, in Tam. *āyiram*. The latter has been formed, he thinks, thus—*sahasiram* = *a-a-iram* *āyiram*. So, out of the Pali name for Ceylon, *Sīhalam*, the old Tamil formed *Īḻam*. The nakshatras *Mṛigaśīrsham* and *Śrāvaṇam*, have become in Mal. *Magayiram* and *Ōṇam*. *Śramaṇa*, a Jaina ascetic, becomes in Tamil *Samaṇa-n*, and also *Amaṇa-n*; *Sīsam*, lead, becomes *īyam*.

Another rule, which shows itself especially in Canarese, is the shortening of the long vowels of Sanskrit. Thus, from Sans. *kumārī*, a young girl, comes Tamil *kumari* (whence *Comorin*), from *śrēshṭi*, a superior, comes *śeṭṭi* (chetty), the title of the merchant caste. A noticeable illustration is Sanskrit, *snēha*, oil, which in all the Dravidian dialects becomes *ney*. Another important rule consists in the separation of vowels. No old Dravidian word can commence with *l* or *r*. Hence *rājā*, a king, becomes commonly *irāśā*; *lōka*, *ulōgam*. The predilection for short vowels produces a further change in these words—*rājā* becomes in Tamil *arasa-n* and *araya-n*; *lōka*, *ulagam*, and *ulagu*; Sans. *Rēvatī*, the nakshatra, becomes *Iravati*.

PART II

ROOTS

BEFORE proceeding to examine and compare the grammatical forms of the Dravidian languages, it is desirable to examine the characteristics of Dravidian roots, and the nature of the changes which are effected in them by the addition of the grammatical forms. The manner in which various languages deal with their roots is strongly illustrative of their essential spirit and distinctive character; and it is chiefly with reference to their differences in this particular, that the languages of Europe and Asia admit of being arranged into classes.

Those classes are as follows:—(1.) The monosyllabic, uncompounded, or isolative languages, of which Chinese is the principal example, in which roots admit of no change or combination, and in which all grammatical relations are expressed either by auxiliary words or phrases, or by the position of words in a sentence. (2.) The Semitic or intro-mutative languages, in which grammatical relations are expressed by internal changes in the vowels of dissyllabic roots. (3) The agglutinative languages, in which grammatical relations are expressed by affixes or suffixes added to the root or compounded with it. In the latter class I include both the Indo-European and the Scythian groups of tongues. They differ, indeed, greatly from one another in details, and that not only in their vocabularies but also in their grammatical forms; yet I include them both in one class, because they appear to agree, or to have originally agreed, in the principle of expressing grammatical relation by means of the agglutination of auxiliary words. The difference between them is rather in degree than in essence. Agreeing in original construction, they differ considerably in development. In the highly cultivated languages of the Indo-European family, post-positional additions have gradually been melted down into inflexions, and sometimes even blended with the root; whilst in the less plastic languages of the Scythian group, the principle of agglutination has been more faithfully retained, and every portion and particle of every compound word has not only maintained its original position, but held fast its separate individuality. In this particular the Dravidian languages agree in general rather with

the Scythian than the Indo-European; and hence in each dialect of the family there is, properly speaking, only one declension and one conjugation.

It is to be remembered that the three classes mentioned above, into which the languages of Europe and Asia have been divided, are not separated from one another by hard and fast lines of distinction. Their boundaries overlap one another. Probably all languages consisted at first of isolated monosyllables. The isolative languages have become partly agglutinative, and changes in the internal vowels of roots, which are specially characteristic of the Semitic languages, are not unknown in the agglutinative class, especially in the Indo-European family. Such internal changes may occasionally be observed even in the Dravidian languages.

I here proceed to point out the most notable peculiarities of the Dravidian root-system, and of the manner in which roots are affected by inflexional combinations.

Arrangement of Dravidian Roots into Classes.—Dravidian roots, considered by themselves, apart from formative additions of every kind, may be arranged into the three classes of—(1.) Verbal roots, capable in general of being used also as nouns, which constitute by far the most numerous class; (2.) Nouns which cannot be traced up to any extant verbs.

1. *Verbal Roots.*—The Dravidian languages differ from Sanskrit and Greek, and accord with the languages of the Scythian group, in generally using the crude root of the verb, without any addition, as the imperative of the second person singular. This is the general rule, and the few apparent exceptions that exist are to be regarded either as corruptions, or as euphonic or honorific forms of the imperative. In a few instances, both in Tamil and in Telugu, the second person singular of the imperative has cast off its final consonant, which is generally in such cases a soft guttural or a liquid; but in those instances the unchanged verbal theme is found in the less used second person plural, or in the infinitive.

A considerable proportion of Dravidian roots are used either as verbal themes or as nouns, without addition or alteration in either case; and the class in which they are to be placed depends solely on the connection. The use of any root as a noun may be, and in general is, derived from its use as a verb, which would appear to be the primary condition and use of most words belonging to this class; but as such words, when used as nouns, are used without the addition of formatives or any other marks of derivation, they can scarce-

ly be regarded as derivatives from verbs; but in respect of grammatical form, the verb and the noun must be considered either as twin sisters or as identical. The following will suffice as examples of this twofold condition or use of the same root:—*śol*, Tam. as a verb, means to speak; as a noun, a word; *tar̤i*, Tam. as a verb, to lop, to chop off; as a noun, a stake, a loom: *mur̤i*, Tam. as a verb, to break in two; as a noun, a fragment, a document written on a fragment of a palm-leaf, a bond. In these instances it is evident that the radical meaning of the word is unrestrained, and free to take either a verbal or a nominal direction. Moreover, as the Dravidian adjective is not separate from the noun, but is generally identical with it, each root may be said to be capable of a threefold use—viz., (1.) as a noun, (2.) as an adjective, and (3.) as a verb. Thus in Tamil, *kaḍ-u*, if used as the nominative of a verb, or followed by case terminations, is a noun, and means harshness or pungency; if it is placed before another noun for the purpose of qualifying it, it becomes an adjective—*e.g.*, *kaḍu-naḍei*, a sharp walk; *kaḍu-vāy*, the tiger, literally harsh mouth; and when standing alone, or preceded by a pronoun of the second person, expressed or understood, it becomes a verb—*e.g.* *kaḍu*, be sharp. With the formative addition *gu*, the same root becomes *kaḍu-gu*, mustard, that which is pungent. Again, when the included vowel is lengthened, it becomes *kāḍu*, a forest, literally what is rough, harsh, or rugged.

It would appear that originally there was no difference in any instance between the verbal and the nominal form of the root in any Dravidian dialect. Gradually, however, as the dialects became more cultivated, and as logical distinctness was felt to be desirable, a separation commenced to take place. This separation was affected by modifying the theme by some formative addition, when it was desired to restrict it to one purpose alone, and prevent it from being used for others also. In many instances the theme is still used in poetry, in accordance with ancient usages, indifferently either as a verb or as a noun; but in prose more commonly as a noun only, or as a verb only.

2. *Nouns.*—In Sanskrit and the languages allied to it, all words, with the exception of a few pronouns and particles, are derived by native grammarians from verbal roots. In the Dravidian languages the number of nouns which are incapable of being traced up or resolved into verbs is more considerable. Still, such nouns bear but a small proportion to the entire number; and not a few which are generally considered to be underived roots are in reality verbal nouns or verbal derivatives.

Many Dravidian dissyllabic nouns have for their second syllable *al*, a particle which is a commonly used formative of verbal nouns in Tamil, and a sign of the infinitive in Canarese and Gōnd. All nouns of this class may safely be concluded to have sprung from verbal roots. In most instances their themes are discoverable, though in a few no trace of the verb from which they have been derived is now apparent. I cannot doubt that the following Tamil words, generally regarded as primitives, are derived from roots which are still in use—viz., *viral*, a finger, from *viri*, to expand; *kaḍal*, the sea, from *kaḍa*, to pass beyond; *pagal*, day as distinguished from night, properly *mid-day*, from *pag-u*, to divide; *kuḍal*, a bowel, from *kuḍei*, to hollow out.

There are many words in the Dravidian, as in other languages, denoting primary objects which are identical with, or but slightly altered from, existing verbal roots, possessing a more generic signification. What is specially noticeable is the smallness of the change the roots have undergone in the Dravidian languages. One might suppose the name of the object to have been affixed to it only a few years ago. These languages present in consequence the appearance of fresh youth, yet doubtless the true inference is that they have remained substantially unchanged (possibly in consequence of the high cultivation they received) from a very early period. The change effected consists in general only in the addition to the root of a formative particle, or in the lengthening of the included vowel of the root. Either way the name of the object is simply a verbal noun with the signification of a noun of quality. The following illustrations are from Tamil:—*nilam*, the ground, from *nil*, to stand; *nāḍu*, the cultivated country, from *naḍu*, to plant; *kāḍu*, the forest, from *kaḍu*, to be rugged (compare also *kaḍam*, a rough way, a forest); *viṇ*, the sky, from *viḷ* to be clear; *mīn*, a star, also a fish, from *min*. to glitter; *veḷḷi*, the planet Venus, also silver, from *veḷ*, white; *kudirei*, a horse, from *kudi*, to leap; *pandri* (*pal-ti*), a hog, from *pal*, a tusk; *āḍu*, a sheep, from *aḍu*, to frisk: (Dr. Gundert carries this noun still further back, but with some risk of error, to *aḍu*, to fight or cook, the sheep being regarded as the fighting animal, or the animal that was cooked); *kaṇ*, the *eye*, identical with *kāṇ* (in the past tense *kaṇ*), to see; *mūkku*, the nose (Tel. *mukku*, Can. *mūgu*), from *mug-ar*, to smell; *nākku*, the tongue, from *nakku*, to lick (compare the probably older *nā*, the tongue, with *nāy*, a dog, the animal that licks). Probably also *kei*, the hand, bears the same relation to *śey*, to do (Can. *gēyu*), that the Sanskrit *kara*, the hand, bears to *kar* (*kṛi*), to do. In Telugu, *chē*,

the hand, is identical with *chē,* to do (*kei* also is used in Telugu). I may here remark that the names of animals in the Dravidian languages are not imitations of the sounds they make, but are predicative words, expressive of some one of their qualities.

Though the greater number of Dravidian nouns are undoubtedly to be regarded as verbal derivatives, a certain proportion remain which cannot now be traced to any ulterior source. In this class are to be included the personal pronouns; some of the particles of relation which answer to the case signs and prepositions of other languages; and a considerable number of common nouns, including some names of objects—*e.g., kāl,* foot, *kal,* a stone, and most nouns of quality—*e.g., kar,* black, *veḷ,* white, *se,* red, &c. A suspicion may be entertained that some of the apparently simple nouns belonging to this class are derived from verbal roots which have become obsolete. Thus, *mun,* before, a noun of relation, appears at first sight to be an underived radical, yet it is evident that it is connected with *mudal,* first; and this word, being a verbal noun in *dal,* is plainly derived from a verb in *mu,* now lost; so that, after all, *mun* itself appears to be a verbal derivative: *mēl,* above, may similarly be traced to a lost verb *mi,* apparent in the Telugu and Tamil *mīdu,* above; *mēl* is equivalent to *mi-y-al*: *kīṛ,* below, may be traced to *kiṛ* (found in *kiṛ-angu,* root).

A large majority of the Dravidian postpositions and adverbs, and of the particles employed in nominal and verbal inflexions are known to be verbs or nouns adapted to special uses. Every word belonging to the class of adverbs and prepositions in the Dravidian languages is either the infinite or the participle of a verb, or the nominative, the genitive, or the locative of a noun; and even of the inflexional particles which are employed in the declension of nouns, and in conjugating verbs, nearly all are easily recognised to be derived from nouns or verbs. Thus, in Telugu, the signs of the instrumental ablative, *chē* and *chēta,* are the nominative and locative of the word hand. So also the Tamil locative of rest may be formed by the addition of any noun which signifies a place; and the locative of separation, a case denoting motion from a place, or rather the place from whence motion commences, is formed by the addition of *in* or of *il,* the ordinary sign of the locative of rest, which means 'here' or a house.

The same suffix added to the crude aoristic form of the verb, constitutes the subjunctive case in Tamil—*e.g., var-il* or *var-in,* if (he, she, it or they) come literally, in (his or their) coming—that is, in the event of (his or their) coming.

Of the post-positions or suffixes which are used as signs of case, some distinctly retain their original meaning; in some, the original meaning shines more or less distinctly through the technical appropriation; but it is doubtful whether any trace whatever remains of the original meaning of *ku*, *ki*, or *ge*, the sign of the dative and particle of direction. The Dravidian dative has, therefore, assumed the character of a real grammatical case; and in this particular the Dravidian languages have been brought into harmony with the genius of the Indo-European grammar.

Dravidian Roots Originally Monosyllabic.—It may appear at first sight scarcely credible that the Dravidian roots were originally monosyllabic, when it is considered that the majority of the words in every Dravidian sentence are longer than those of (perhaps) any other language in Asia or Europe (*e.g.*, compare *irukkiṟadu*, Tamil, it is, with the Latin *est*), and are inferior in length only to the words of the polysynthetic languages of America.

The great length of Dravidian words arises partly from the separation of clashing consonants by the insertion of euphonic vowels, but chiefly from the successive agglutination of formative and inflexional particles and pronominal fragments. A considerable number of Dravidian verbal themes, prior to the addition of inflexional forms, are trisyllabic; but it will generally be found that the first two syllables have been expanded out of one by the euphonic insertion or addition of a vowel; whilst the last syllable of the apparent base is in reality a formative addition, which appears to have been the sign of a verbal noun in its origin, but which now serves to distinguish transitive verbs from intransitives. In some instances the first syllable of the verbal theme contains the root, whilst the second is a particle anciently added to it, and compounded with it for the purpose of expanding or restricting the signification. The syllables that are added to the inflexional base are those which denote case, tense, person, and number.

Hence, whatever be the length and complication of Dravidian words, they may invariably be traced up to monosyllabic roots, by a careful removal of successive accretions. Thus, when we analyse *perugugiṟadu*, Tam. it increases, we find that the final *adu* represents the pronoun it, *giṟ* is the sign of the present tense, and *perugu* is the base or verbal theme. Of this base, the final syllable *gu* is only a formative, restricting the verb to an intransitive or neuter signification; and by its removal we come to *peru*, the real root, which is used also as an adjective or noun of quality, signify-

ing greatness or great. Nor is even this dissyllable *peru* the ultimate condition of the root; it is an euphonised form of *per*, which is found in the adjectives *per-iya* and *per-um*, great; and an euphonically lengthened but monosyllabic form of the same is *pēr*. Thus, by successive agglutinations, a word of six syllables has been found to grow out of one. In all these forms, and under every shape which the word can assume, the radical element remains unchanged, or is so slightly changed that it can readily be pointed out by the least experienced scholar. The root always stands out in distinct relief, unobscured, unabsorbed, though surrounded by a large family of auxiliary affixes. This distinctness and prominence of the radical element in every word is a characteristic feature of all the Scythian tongues (*e.g.*, of the Turkish and the Hungarian); whilst in the Semitic and Indo-European tongues the root is frequently so much altered that it can scarcely be recognised.

Dravidian roots, adds Dr Gundert, arrange themselves naturally in two classes, each originally monosyllabic; one class ending in a vowel generally long—*e.g.*, *ā*, to become; *śā*, to die; *pō*, to go; or ending in a consonant, in which case the vowel is short—*e.g.*, *aḍ'*, to approach; *aṇ'*, to be in contact; *nil*, to stand; *śel*, to go. (Additions to these monosyllabic roots are either formative particles, particles of specialisation, or helps to enunciation.)

It is desirable here to explain in detail the manner in which Dravidian roots, originally monosyllabic, have been lengthened by the insertion or addition of euphonic vowels, or by formative additions, or in both ways.

Euphonic Lengthening of Roots.—Crude Dravidian roots are sometimes lengthened by the addition of an euphonic vowel to the base. This euphonic addition to the final consonant takes place in grammatical Telugu and Canarese in the case of all words ending in a consonant, whatever be the number of syllables they contain. Vowel additions to roots which contain two syllables and upwards, seem to be made solely for the purpose of helping the enunciation; but when the additions which have been made to some monosyllabic roots are examined, it will be found that they are intended not so much for vocalisation as for euphonisation.

When it is desired merely to help the enunciation of a final consonant, *u* is the vowel that is ordinarily employed for the purpose, and this *u* is uniformly elided when it is followed by another vowel; but *u* is not the only vowel which is added on to monosyllabic roots, though perhaps it is most frequently met with; and

in some of the instances under consideration, it becomes so intimately blended with the real base that it will not consent to be elided. Next to *u*, the vowel which is most commonly employed is *i*, then follows *a*, then *e* or *ei*, according to the dialect. Verbal roots borrowed from Sanskrit have generally *i* added to the final consonants in all the Dravidian languages, to which Telugu adds *nchu*, and Canarese *su*, formatives which will be noticed afterwards. Thus, *śap*, Sans. to curse, is in Tamil *śabi*, in Tel. *śapinchu*, in Can. *śabisu*. On comparing the various Dravidian idioms, it will be found that all these auxiliary or enunciative vowels are interchangeable. Thus, of Tamil verbs in *a*, *mar̤a*, to forget, is in Canarese *mare* ; of Tamil verbs in *i*, *kaḍi*, to bite, is in Telugu *karachu* ; *geli*, to win, is in Canarese *gillu*. Of Tamil verbs in *ei*, *muḷei*, to sprout, is in Telugu *moluchu*. These final vowels being thus interchangeable equivalents, it appears to me evident that they are intended merely as helps to enunciation, that they are not essential parts of the themes to which they are suffixed, and that they do not add anything to their meaning.

Formative Additions to Roots.—Formative suffixes are appended to the crude bases of nouns as well as to those of verbs. They are added not only to verbal derivatives, but to nouns which appear to be primitive ; but they are most frequently appended to verbs properly so called, of the inflexional bases of which they form the last syllable, generally the third. These particles seem originally to have been the formatives of verbal nouns, and the verbs to which they are suffixed seem originally to have had the force of secondary verbs ; but whatever may have been the origin of these particles, they now serve to distinguish transitive verbs from intransitives, and the adjectival form of nouns from that which stands in an isolated position and is used as a nominative. In Tamil, in which these formatives are most largely used and most fully developed, the initial consonant of the formative is single when it marks the intransitive or neuter signification of the verb, or that form of the noun which governs verbs or is governed by them : when it marks the transitive or active voice of the verb, or the adjectival form of the noun—viz., that form of the noun which is assumed by the first of two nouns that stand in a case relation to one another—the initial consonant of the formative is doubled, and is at the same time changed from a sonant into a surd. The single consonant, which is characteristic of the intransitive formative, is often euphonised by prefixing a nasal, without, however, altering its signification or value. The Tamil formatives are—(1.) *gu* or

ṅgu, and its transitive *kku,* answering to the Telugu *chu* or *nchu;* (2.) *śu,* and its transitive *śśu* or *chchu;* (3.) *du* or *ndu,* and its transitive *ttu,* with its equivalent *ḍu* or *ṇḍu,* and its transitive *ṭṭu;* and (4.) *bu* or *mbu,* with its transitive *ppu.*

I proceed to consider the various formatives more particularly, with examples of their use and force.

(1.) *ku,* pronounced *gu,* with its nasalised equivalent *ngu,* and its transitive *kku.* Tamil examples: *peru-gu,* intrans. to become increased, *peru-kku,* trans. to cause to increase; *aḍa-ngu,* to be contained, *aḍa-kku,* to contain. So also in the case of dissyllabic roots—*e.g.*, *ā-gu,* to become, *ā-kku,* to make,; *nī-ngu,* to quit, *nī-kku,* to put away. There is a considerable number of nouns, chiefly trisyllabic, in which the same formative is employed. In this case, however, there is no difference between the isolated shape of the noun and the adjectival shape. Whatever particle is used, whether *gu, ngu,* or *kku,* it retains its position in all circumstances unchanged. Examples: *paḍa-gu,* a boat, *kiṛa-ngu,* a root, *karu-kku,* a sharp edge. From a comparison of the above examples, it is evident that *ng* is equivalent to *g,* and euphonised from it; and that *ng,* equally with *g,* becomes *kk* in a transitive connection. In a few instances, *kku,* the transitive formative, is altered in colloquial Tamil usage to *ch, chu,* according to a law of interchange already noticed—*e.g.*, *kāykku,* to boil (crude root *kāy,* to be hot), is generally written and pronounced *kāychchu.* This altered form of the sign of the transitive, which is the exception in Tamil, is in Telugu the rule of the language, *kku* being regularly replaced in Telugu by *chu.*

In Telugu the intransitive formative *gu* is not euphonically altered into *ngu* as in Tamil; but an obscure nasal, the half *anusvāra,* often precedes the *gu,* and shows that in both languages the same tendency to nasalisation exists. It is remarkable, that whilst Tamil often nasalises the formative of the neuter, and never admits a nasal into the transitive formative, Telugu, in a large number of cases, nasalises the transitive, and generally leaves the neuter in its primitive, unnasalised condition. Thus in Telugu, whenever the base terminates in *i* (including a large number of Sanskrit derivatives), *chu* is converted into *nchu;* though neither in this case nor in any case does the *kku* of the Tamil change into *ngku. E.g.*, from *raṭṭi,* double, Tamil forms *raṭṭi-kka* (infinitive), to double; whilst the Telugu form of the same is *reṭṭi-ñcha. manni-ncha,* to forgive, in Telugu, corresponds in the same manner

to the Tamil *manni-kku.* In some cases in Telugu the euphonic nasal is prefixed to *chu*, not after *i* only, but after other vowels besides. Thus, *perugu*, to increase, neut. is the same in Tamil and in Telugu, but instead of finding *peru-chu* to be transitive or active (corresponding to the Tamil transitive *peru-kku*), we find *penchu*, corrupted from *per'-nchu*: so also instead of *pagu-kku*, Tam. *to* divide, we find in Telugu *panchu*, for *pag'-nchu*.

The identity of the Tamil *k* and the Telugu *ch* appears also from the circumstance that in many cases *vu* may optionally be used in Telugu instead of *chu*. This use of *vu* as the equivalent of *chu* points to a time when *gu* was the formative in ordinary use in Telugu as in Tamil; for *ch* has no tendency to be converted into *v*, *b*, or *p*, whilst *k* or *g* constantly evinces this tendency to change into *v*, not only in Telugu, but also in colloquial Tamil; and *v* is regularly interchangeable with *b* and its surd *p*. I conclude, therefore, that *gu* was the original shape of this formative in the Dravidian languages; and that its doubled, surd shape, *kku*, the formative of transitives, was softened in Telugu into *chu*, and in Canarese still further softened into *śu*.

(2.) *śu*, and its transitive *śśu*, pronounced *chchu*.—This formative is very rare in Tamil, and the examples which Telugu contains, though abundant, are not to the point, inasmuch as they are apparently altered from the older *ku* and *kku*, by the ordinary softening process by which *k* changes into *ś* or *ch*, and *kk* into *chch*. A Tamil example of this formative is seen in *aḍei-śu*, to take refuge, of which the transitive is *aḍei-chchu*, to enclose, to twine round.

(3.) *du* or *ndu*, with its transitive form *ttu*.—There appears to be no difference whatever between this formative and the other three, *gu*, *śu*, or *bu*, in meaning or grammatical relation; and as *gu* is euphonised in the intransitive to *ngu*, so is *du* to *ndu;* whilst in the transitive the doubled *d* (and its equivalent *nd*) changes by rule into *tt*. The euphonic change of *du* to *ndu* has so generally taken place, that *ndu* is invariably used instead of *du* in the formatives of verbs of this class; and it is only in the formatives of nouns that *du*, the more primitive form, is sometimes found to have survived. The formative *gu* remains unaltered in the adjectival form of nouns; but *du* changes into *ttu*, when used adjectivally, in the same manner as in the transitive voice of verbs. Tamil examples of this formative: *tiru-ndu*, to become correct, *tiru-ttu*, to correct; *maru-ndu*, medicine, adjectival form of the same, *maru-ttu*—*e.g.*,

maruttu-(p) pei, a medicine bag. The primitive unnasalised *du* and its adjectival *ttu* are found in such words as *eru-du*, a bull, an ox, and *eru-ttu-(p) pūṭṭu*, the fastening of an ox's traces. Nearly all the verbs which take *du* or *ndu* as a formative are trisyllabic. Of the few dissyllabic verbs of this class in Tamil, the most interesting is *nīndu*, to swim, of which I am inclined to consider *nī* as the crude form. *Nīndu* is evidently an euphonised form of *nīdu* (*du* changed into *ndu*); for the verbal noun derived from it, *nīttal*, swimming, is without the nasal, and Telugu uses *īdu* for the verb itself, instead of *īndu*, Tuḷu *ñanda*, Can. *īsu*, *īju*. I have little doubt that the *du*, *ndu*, or *ju* of this word is simply a formative. It is open to question whether the initial *n* of the Tamil word is a corruption, owing to the fondness of the Tamil for nasal sounds, so that the original shape was *ī* or *īdu*, or whether the Tel. and Can. word had the initial *n* *originally*, but lost it in course of time. Comparing the Tamil word with *nīr*, the word for water in all the Dravidian dialects, I am inclined to consider *nī* the primitive base, answering to the Greek νέ-ω (*ne-ō*), the Latin *no*, *nato*, and also to *nau*, *Sans.* a boat, of which Sanskrit does not appear to contain the root.

Derivative nouns formed from verbs which have formative suffixes always prefer as their formative the transitive suffix, or that which doubles and hardens the initial consonant. Thus from *tiru-ndu*, Tam. to become correct, is formed *tiru-ttam*, correction; and from *tū-ngu*, to sleep, *tū-kkam*, sleep (comp. *tuyil*, sleep). In some instances the crude root of a verb is used as the intransitive, whilst the transitive is formed by the addition of *ttu* to the root. *E.g.*, *paḍu*, Tam. to lie down, *paḍu-ttu*, to lay; *tāṛ*, to be low, *tāṛ-ttu*, to lower; *nil* (Tel. *nilu*), to stand, *niṟu-ttu* (*for nilu-ttu*), to establish. In such cases Canarese uses *du* instead of the Tamil *ttu*—*e.g.*, *tāḷ-du*, to lower, instead of *tāṛ-ttu*. This transitive formative is sometimes represented as a causal; but it will be shown in the section on "The Verb" that *i* is the only real causal in the Dravidian languages. In all the cases now mentioned, where *ttu* is used as the formative of the transitive by Tamil, Telugu uses *chu* or *pu*.

I class under the head of this formative all those nouns in which the *cerebral* consonants *ḍ*, *ṇḍ*, and *ṭṭ* are used in the same manner and for the same purpose as the dentals *d*, *nd*, and *tt*—*e.g.*, *kuru-ḍu*, blindness, adjectival form of the same, *kuru-ṭṭu*, blind; *ira-ṇḍu*, two, adjectival form, *ira-ṭṭu*, double. Telugu hardens, but does not double, the final *ḍ* of such nouns—*e.g.*, *ōḍ-u*, a leak, *ōṭi*, leaky. In some instances in Tamil the hard, rough *ṟ*, when used as a final,

seems to be equivalent to *du*, or *ḍu*, and is doubled and pronounced with a *t*—*e.g.*, *kiṇa-ṟu*, a well, *kiṇa-ṟṟu* (pronounced *kiṇattru*), of a well.

(4.) *bu* or *mbu*, with its transitive *ppu*.—In Canarese, *bu*, the original form of this intransitive suffix, has been softened into *vu*, and in Tamil, *bu* has universally been euphonised into *mbu*. This Tamilian formative *mbu* is in some instances softened in Telugu nouns into *mu*. The *bu* or *mbu* of Tamil verbs is superseded by *vu* or *gu* in Telugu; and the forms answering to the Tamil transitive *ppu* are *pu* and *mpu*, rarely *ppu*. Example of the use of this formative by a verb: *nirambu*, Tam. to be full, *nira-ppu*, to fill; of which the crude base *nir* reappears in the related verbs *nir-a*, *nir-avu*, *nir-ei*, and *niṟ-ei*, to be full, to be level, &c. Telugu has *niṇḍu* instead of *nirambu*; but the transitive *nimpu* answers very nearly to the Tamil *nirappu*. Example of a noun in *mbu* and *ppu*; *iru-mbu*, Tam. iron, adjectival form, *iru-ppu*, of iron—*e.g.* *iruppu-(k) kōl*, an iron rod. In Telugu *irumbu* is softened into *inumu*, adjectival form *inupa*. Canarese still adheres to the original form of this suffix, generally softening *b* into *v*, but leaving it always unnasalised—*e.g.*, Canarese *hāvu*, a snake, properly *pāvu*: Tamil *pāmbu*, nasalised from *pābu*; adjectival form *pāppu*—*e.g.*, *pāppu-(k) koḍi*, the serpent banner: Telugu, still further altered, *pāmu*. This example clearly illustrates the progressive euphonisation of the formative in question.

It has been mentioned that Telugu uses *pu* or *mpu* as a formative of transitive verbs where Tamil uses *ppu*. It should be added that even in those cases where Tamil uses the other formatives previously noticed, viz., *kku* and *ttu*, Telugu often prefers *pu*. Compare the following infinitives in Tamil and in Telugu—*e.g.*, *mēykka*, Tam. to feed cattle, *mēpa*, Tel.; *nirutta*, Tam. to establish, *nilupa*, Tel. Where *kku* in Tamil, and *pu* in Telugu, are preceded by *i*, this formative becomes in Telugu either *mpu* or *nchu*—*e.g.*, compare *oppuvi-kka*, Tamil, to deliver over, with the corresponding Telugu infinitive, *oppagi-mpa*, or *oppagi-ncha*.

It appears from the various particulars now mentioned, that transitive verbs and nouns used adjectivally must have been regarded by the primitive Tamilians as possessing some quality in common. The common feature possessed by each is doubtless the quality of transition; for it is evident that when nouns are used adjectivally there is a transition of the quality or act denoted by the adjectival noun to the noun substantive to which it is prefixed,

which corresponds to the transition of the action denoted by the transitive verb to the accusative which it governs.

It is manifest that the various particles which are used as formatives do not essentially differ from one another either in signification, in the purpose for which they are used, in the manner in which they are affixed, or in the manner in which they are doubled and hardened. It seems to have been euphony only that determined which of the sonants *g, ś, ḍ, d*, or *b* should be suffixed as a formative to any particular verb or noun. The only particular in which a grammatical principle appears to exist, is the doubling of the initial consonant of the formative, to denote or correspond with the putting forth of energy, which is inherent in the idea of active or transitive verbs, as distinguished from intransitives.

From the statements and examples given above, it may be concluded that wherever Dravidian verbs or nouns are found to terminate in any of the syllables referred to, there is reason to suspect that the first part of the word alone constitutes or contains the root. The final syllables *gu, ngu, kku; śu, chu; ḍu, ṇḍu, ṭṭu; du, ndu, ttu; bu, mbu, mpu, pu, ppu; mu, vu*, may as a general rule be rejected as formative additions. This rule will be found on examination to throw unexpected light on the derivation and relationship of many nouns which are commonly supposed to be primitive and independent, but which, when the syllables referred to above are rejected, are found to be derived from or allied to verbal roots which are still in use. I adduce, as examples, the following Tamil words:—*kombu*, a branch, a twig; *vēmbu*, the margosa-tree; *vambu*, abuse; *pāmbu*, a snake. As soon as the formative final, *mbu*, is rejected, the verbs from which these nouns are derived are brought to light. Thus, *kombu*, a twig, is plainly derived from *ko-y*, to pluck off, to cut; *vē-mbu*, the margosa-tree, is from *vē-y*, to screen or shade (the shade of this tree being peculiarly prized); *va-mbu*, abuse, is from *vei*, properly *va-y* (corresponding to the Canarese *bayyu*), to revile; *pā-mbu*, a snake, is from *pā-y*, to spring. In these instances, the verbal base which is now in use ends in *y*, a merely euphonic addition, which does not belong to the root, and which disappears in the derivatives before the consonants which are added as formatives. The same principle applied to nouns ending in the other formative syllables will be found to yield similar results—*e.g.*, *marundu*, a medical drug, from *maru*, to be fragrant; and *kiṛangu*, a root, from *kiṛ*, to be beneath, the *i* of which, though long in the Tamil *kīṛ*, is short in the Telugu *kinda*, below.

Reduplication of the Final Consonant of the Root.—The principle of employing reduplication as a means of producing grammatical expression is recognised by the Dravidian languages as well as by those of the Indo-European family, though the mode in which the reduplication is effected and the objects in view are different. It is in Tamil that this reduplication is most distinctly apparent, and it should here be borne in mind, that when a Tamil consonant is doubled it is changed from a sonant into a surd. The final consonant of a Tamil root is doubled—(1.) for the purpose of changing a noun into an adjective, showing that it qualifies another noun, or putting it in the genitive case—*e.g.*, from *māḍu*, an ox, is formed *māṭṭ-u* (*t*) *tōl*, ox-hide; (2) for the purpose of converting an intransitive or neuter verb into a transitive—*e.g.*, from *ōḍ-u*, to run, is formed *ōṭṭu*, to drive; (3) for the purpose of forming the preterite—*e.g.*, *tag-u*, to be fit, *takk-a*, that was fit; and (4) for the purpose of forming derivative nouns from verbal themes—*e.g.*, from *eṛud-u*, to write, is formed *eṛutt-u*, a letter. (See this subject further elucidated in the sections on "The Noun" and "The Verb.") It is remarkable that whilst the Indo-European tongues often mark the past tense by the reduplication of the *first* syllable, it is by the reduplication of the *last* letter that the Dravidian languages effect this purpose; and also, that whilst the Tibetan converts a *noun* into a *verb* by doubling the last consonant, this should be a Dravidian method of converting a *verb* into a *noun*. The rationale of the Dravidian reduplication seems to be, that it was felt to be a natural way to express the idea of *transition* both in the act and in the result. In Hebrew also the doubling of a consonant is intensitive or causative.

Up to this point it has been found that all Dravidian polysyllabic roots are traceable to a monosyllabic base, lengthened either by euphonic additions, or by the addition of formative particles. An important class of dissyllabic bases remains, of which the second syllable, whatever may have been its origin, is an inseparable particle of specialisation, into the nature and use of which we shall now inquire.

Particles of Specialisation.—The verbs and nouns belonging to the class of bases which are now under consideration, consist of a monosyllabic root or stem, containing the generic signification, and a second syllable, originally perhaps a formative addition, or perhaps the fragment of a lost root or lost postposition, by which the generic meaning of the stem is in some manner modified. The

second syllable appears sometimes to expand and sometimes to restrict the signification, but in some instance, through the absence of synonyms, its force cannot now be ascertained. As this syllable is intended in some manner to specialise the meaning of the root, I call it "the particle of specialisation." It is certain in some cases, probable in many, that these particles of specialisation were originally formatives of verbal nouns. This will appear from a comparison of the verbs and nouns contained in the list of final particles which will be found near the end of this section.

The principle involved in the use of these particles of specialisation, and the manner in which it is carried into effect, correspond in a certain degree to a characteristic feature of the Semitic languages, which it appears to be desirable to notice here. As far back as the separate existence of the Semitic family of languages can be traced, every root is found to consist of two syllables, comprising generally three consonants. When Semitic biliteral roots are compared with their synonyms, or corresponding roots, in the Indo-European languages, and especially with those which are found in Sanskrit, a simpler and more primitive root-system has been brought to light. It has been ascertained in a considerable number of instances that whilst the first syllable of the Hebrew root corresponds with Sanskrit, the second syllable does not in any manner correspond to any Indo-European synonym. It is found also that the second syllable has not any essential connection with the first, and that a considerable number of families of roots exist in which the first syllable is the same in each case, whilst the second continually varies. It is therefore inferred that in such cases the first syllable alone (comprising two consonants, the initial and the final, together with the vowel used for enunciation) contains the radical base and generic signification, and that the second syllable, perhaps the fragment of an obsolete auxiliary verb, has been appended to the first and afterwards compounded with it, for the purpose of giving the generic signification a specific and definite direction. According to this view, which appears to be in the main correct, Hebrew roots are to be regarded, not singly and separately, as independent monads, but as arranged generically in clusters or groups, exhibiting general resemblances and special differences. The family likeness resides in the first syllable, the radical base; the individuality, or special peculiarity, in the second, the particle of specialisation.

It is true that in some instances the second syllable of Semitic

roots meets with its counterpart in the Indo-European languages, as well as the first, or even instead of the first; but the peculiar rule or law now referred to is found to pervade so large a portion of the Hebrew roots, that it justly claims to be considered as a characteristic of the language. Thus, there is a family of Hebrew roots signifying generally to divide, to cleave, to separate, &c. The members of this family are *pālāh*, *pālaḥ*, *pālag*, *pālā*, *pālal*; and also (through the dialectic interchange of *l* with *r*) *pārash*, *pāras*. Chaldee *peras*. It cannot be doubted that in all these instances the first syllable *pāl* or *par*, or rather *p-r*, *p-l* (for the vowel belongs not to the root, but to the grammatical relation), expresses merely the general idea of division; whilst the second syllable (which is in some instances a reduplication of the final consonant of the biliteral) expresses, or is supposed to express, the particular mode in which the division or partition is effected. The first syllable, which is the same in all the members of this group of roots, is that which is to be compared with synonyms in other languages, whilst the second syllable is merely modal. In this instance we not only observe a distinct analogy between the Hebrew roots *p-r*, *p-l*, and the Greek πόϱ-ω (*por-ō*), the Latin *par-s*, *par-tis*, and the Sanskrit *phal*, to divide, but we also discover the existence of an analogy with the Dravidian languages. Compare with the Hebrew *p-r*, *p-l*, the Tamil *piri*, to divide, and *pāl*, a part; *piḷa* and *pōṟ*, to cleave; as also *pagir* and *pagu*, to portion out, to divide. See also the "Glossarial Affinities."

On turning our attention to the root-system of the Dravidian languages, we are struck with the resemblance which it bears to the Semitic root-system referred to above. We find in these languages groups of related roots, the first syllables of which are nearly or wholly identical, whilst their second syllables are different in each instance, and in consequence of this difference produce the required degree of diversity in the signification of each member of the group. We also find in these languages, as in Hebrew, that the generic particle or common base, and the added particle of specialisation, are so conjoined as to become one indivisible etymon. The specialising particle, which was probably a separable suffix, formative, or post-position at first, has become by degrees a component part of the word; and this word, so compounded, constitutes the base to which all formatives, properly so called, and all inflexional particles are appended.

This root-system exists in all the languages of the Dravidian

family, but its nature and peculiarities are especially apparent in Tamil. Out of many such groups of related Tamil roots, I select as illustrations two groups which commence with the first letter of the alphabet.

1. Roots which radiate from the base syllable *aḍ* :—

aḍu to come near; also to cook, to kill, to unite, to belong to.

aḍangu, *aḍakku* } to be contained, to enclose.

aḍi to drive in, commonly to beat. *aḍi*, as a noun, the basis of anything, a footstep, a sole.

aḍei to attain, to get in, to roost; transitive, to enclose.

aḍeiśu to stuff in.

aḍar to be close together, to be crowded, to join battle.

aḍukku to place one thing upon another, to pile up. This verb and *aḍakku* are properly *aḍuk* and *aḍak*, but final *k* in Tamil is always vocalised by the help of *u*, and often doubled, as in this instance, before receiving the *u* and *a* of the root.

aṇḍu (Tel. *aṇṭu*), to approach. This verb seems to be identical with *aḍu*, the first in the list, and euphonised from it by the insertion of the nasal. Compare also the related verb *aṇ*.

It is obvious that all these roots are pervaded by a family resemblance. All contain the generic notion of nearness, expressed by the first or base syllable *aḍ*; whilst each, by means of the second syllable, or particle of specialisation, denotes some particular species of nearness.

2. Roots which radiate from the base syllable *aṇ* :—

aṇu, *aṇugu* to approach, to touch.

aṇi to put on, to wear.

aṇei to connect, to embrace; as a noun, a weir, a dam.

aṇavu to cleave to.

aṇṇu to resort to, to lean upon. (From this verb is derived *aṇṇal* or *aṇṇan*, an elder brother, one to lean upon, a derivation which has at least the merit of being poetical.) The corresponding Telugu verb is *ānuta*.

aṇmu to be near.

The generic idea signified by the base syllable *aṇ* is evidently that of contact; and this group differs from the previous one as actual contact differs from contiguity or nearness. Probably *āṇi*, a nail, a fastening, is derived from the same verb, and it appears probable also that this is the origin of the Sanskrit *aṇi* or *āṇi*, the pin of an axle.

The illustrations given above prove that the second syllables of the various verbs now adduced have not been added merely for purposes of euphony, but have been appended in order to expand, to restrict, or in some manner to modify and specialise the signification. It was shown in a previous part of this section, that the vowels *a*, *i*, *u*, *e*, and *ei* are sometimes added euphonically to monosyllabic roots. It is obvious, however, that this is not the only purpose for which those vowel additions are used; and it is of importance to know that when they are merely euphonic they are found to be interchangeable with other vowels, whereas when they are used as particles of specialisation they retain their individual character more firmly. Probably they had all a specialising signification at first, which they retain in some instances, but have lost in others.

The examples already given may suffice to illustrate the use of appended *vowels* as specialising particles. Syllables ending in consonants, especially in *l* and *r*, are also used very frequently for this purpose; and it seems desirable here to adduce examples of the use of particles of this class. As has already been observed in connection with "Formative Additions to Roots," all these syllables seem to have been originally formatives of verbal nouns, probably each of them with a specialising signification. Many of the verbal nouns so formed have then become secondary verbal themes. The following examples are mostly from Tamil, in which *l* and *r* may stand as finals. The other dialects add *u* to the final consonant of each of these particles. Tamil requires this euphonic addition of *u* only when a word ends in the hard, rough *ṟ*, or in any consonant besides the nasals and semi-vowels.

Each word being considered either as a verb or as a noun according to circumstances, I give examples of nouns as well as of verbs. Some of the following words, though used as verbs, are more commonly used as nouns, and some, though used as nouns, are more commonly used as verbs. Some of the examples, again, are used either as nouns only or as verbs only :—

Final Particles	Verbs	Nouns
ar	*vaḷar,* to grow.	*suḍar,* lustre.
ir	*tuḷir,* to sprout.	*ugir,* a finger nail.
ur		*nudur-u,* Tel. the forehead.
aṛ	*pugaṛ,* to praise.	*idaṛ,* a flower petal.
iṛ	*magiṛ,* to rejoice.	*aviṛ,* a grain of rice.
aṟ-u	*iḍaṟ-u,* to trip.	*kiṇaṟ-u,* a well.
iṟ-u		*ñāyiṟ-u,* the sun.
al	*suṛal,* to whirl.	*īral,* the liver.
il	*kuyil,* to utter a sound.	*veyil,* sunshine.
ul	*pagul-u,* Tel. to break.	
aḷ	*tuvaḷ,* to bend.	*tiṅgaḷ,* the moon.
iḷ		*madiḷ,* a fort wall.
uḷ	*uruḷ,* to roll.	*iruḷ,* darkness.

Of all the thirteen specialising particles ending in consonants of which examples have now been adduced, only one appears occasionally to be used as an equivalent for a vowel addition: *ar* alternates with *ei*—*eg., amar,* Tam. to rest, and *amei,* are apparently equivalent. The verb to grow, also, is in Tamil *vaḷar,* and in Canarese *baḷe,* which in Tamil would be *vaḷei.*

The original meaning of most of the particles used as formative suffixes or particles of specialisation, is now unknown, but there are two of which the meaning appears nearly certain; these are *il,* which survives as a substantive, meaning here or a house, the particle used as the most common case sign of the locative in Tamil-Malayālam, and *uḷ,* which is still used both as a noun and as a verb; as a noun meaning within, and as a verb, to be. The force of these particles and their retention of the locative signification will appear in such instances as *vāyil,* a doorway, literally the mouth house from *vāy,* (mouth); *veyil,* the heat of the sun, literally, that in which heat resides (from *vey,* to be hot). Dr Gundert suggests also *poruḷ,* wealth, which may come from *poru,* to unite; *aruḷ,* grace, from *aru,* to be scarce, precious; and *iruḷ,* darkness, from *ir,* to be dark, the root of *irā,* night.

I here subjoin an example of another peculiar and interesting set of groups of roots found in the Dravidian languages, which are formed upon a plan differing considerably from that which has now been explained. The roots referred to are dissyllabic, but they contain only one consonant, which is preceded and followed by a vowel. This consonant appears to represent the ultimate or radical

base, whilst the initial and final vowels alter in accordance with the particular shade of signification which it is desired to convey. When we compare *iḍu,* Tam. to press or crush, *oḍu,* to squeeze, to bring into a smaller compass, and *iḍi,* to bruise, to beat down, as also *aḍi,* to drive in, or *oḍi,* to break in two, and *uḍei* (pronounced *oḍei*), to break open, we cannot avoid the conclusion that the first four roots are closely related members of the same family or group; that the last two are in like manner mutually related; and that possibly the whole of them have an ulterior relationship, in virtue of their possessing in common the same nucleus or radical base, the central consonant *ḍ,* and the same generic signification.

The existence of clusters of roots, like these mentioned above, is not a peculiarity of the Dravidian languages alone. Max Müller (Lectures, ii. 313) observes, "We find in Sanskrit and in all the Aryan languages *clusters of roots,* expressive of one common idea, and differing from each other merely by one or two additional letters, either at the end or at the beginning." In illustration of this he says, "To go would be expressed by *sar,* to creep by *sarp;* to shout by *nad,* to rejoice by *nand;* to join by *yu* or *yuj,* to glue together by *yauṭ.*" In another place (i. 274) he says, "In the secondary roots we can generally observe that one of the consonants, in the Aryan languages generally the final, is liable to modification. The root retains its general meaning, which is slightly modified and determined by the changes of the final consonants." "These secondary roots," he says, "stand to the primaries in about the same relation as the triliteral Semitic roots to the more primitive biliteral." In the Dravidian languages the change under consideration is as often in the vowel of the root as in the consonant, and it is hard to say whether the initial vowel is not even more subject to modification than the final vowel.

Changes in Root Vowels.—As a general rule the vowels of Dravidian roots belong as essentially to the radical base as the consonants. They very rarely pertain, as in the Semitic languages, to the system of means by which grammatical relations are expressed, and they are still more rarely modified, as in the Indo-European languages, by the addition of inflexional forms, or in composition.

In the Semitic languages the radical base is destitute of vowels, and by itself unpronounceable. The insertion of vowels not only vocalises the consonants of the root, but constitutes it a grammatically inflected verb or noun, the signification of which

varies with the variation of the interior vowels. In the Indo-European languages grammatical modifications are generally produced by additions to the root; and though in the earliest period of the history of those languages, the root, generally monosyllabic, is supposed to have remained unaltered by additions and combinations, yet the existence of that rigidity is scarcely capable of direct proof; for on examining the Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, and German, the most faithful representatives of the early condition of those languages, we find that the root-vowels of a large proportion of the words have been modified by the addition of the suffixes of case and tense; and in particular, that the reduplication of the root, by which the past tense appears usually to have been formed, is often found either to alter the quantity of the root-vowel, to change one vowel into another, or entirely to expunge it.

In the Scythian family of tongues, not only does the vowel belong essentially to the root, but in general it remains unalterable. It very rarely happens that the root-vowel sustains any change or modification on the addition to the root of the signs of gender, number, and case, or of persons, tense, and mood; which, as a rule, are successively agglutinated to the root, not welded into combination with it. This rigidity or persistency is almost equally characteristic of the root-vowels of the Dravidian languages. In general, whatever be the length or weight of the additions made to a Dravidian root, and whether it stands alone or is combined with other words in a construct state, it is represented as fully and faithfully in the oblique cases as in the nominative, in the preterite and future as in the present tense or in the imperative. I proceed to point out some noticeable exceptions to this rule.

Exceptions.—Internal Changes in Roots.

1. One class of changes is purely euphonic. It has no relation to grammatical expression; but it seems desirable to mention it here in order to give a complete view of the subject. It is connected with one of the minor dialectic peculiarities referred to in the chapter on sounds, and consists in the occasional softening or rejection of the medial consonant of a dissyllabic root or verbal noun, together with the coalescence of the vowels that preceded and followed it. It has been shown that *g* has a tendency to be softened into *v* and then to disappear, and that *ś* sometimes changes in the same manner into *y*, when it sometimes becomes absorbed. When either of these consonants is a medial, it is apt to be thus softened down and rejected. Thus *togal-u,* Can. skin, becomes in Tamil *tōl; peśar,* Can. a name, becomes in Tamil first *peyar,* and then *pēr.* So in

Tamil, *togup-pu*, a collection, is softened into *tōp-pu*, which has the restricted meaning of a collection of trees, a tope. In like manner the medial *v* of the Tamil *avan*, he, disappears in the personal terminations of verbs, and the preceding and following vowels coalesce, when *avan* becomes *ān* or *ōn*. So also the length of the demonstrative roots, *a* remote, and *i* proximate, varies in different dialects, and even in different connections in the same dialect, through considerations of euphony.

2. The exceptions that follow in this and the following paragraphs are not euphonic merely, but real. They pertain to grammatical expression. In most of the Dravidian languages the quantity of the root-vowels of the pronouns of the first and second persons, both singular and plural, is short in the oblique cases. The nominatives of those pronouns are long—*e.g.*, *nān*, Tamil, I, *nām*, we; *nī*, thou, *nīr*, you. But in Tamil, Canarese, Malayālam, and Tuḷu, in all the oblique cases the vowels are shortened before receiving the suffixed inflexional particles. Thus, in Canarese, to me is not *nān-a-ge*, but *nan-a-ge;* to thee is not *nīn-a-ge*, but *nīn-a-ge*. Telugu, Gōnd, and Ku generally retain the quantity of the vowel of the nominative unaltered—*e.g.*, in Telugu we find *nī-ku*, to thee, as well as *nī*, thou; but in the accusative, *nin-u* or *ninn-u*, thee, the quantity is altered. It is open to us to regard the shorter form of the pronouns as the original, and the longer as the form that has been altered; and it will be seen, when the pronouns are under discussion, that this is the view I prefer. Singularly enough, this exception from the general rigidity of the root-vowels is a Scythian exception, as well as a Dravidian one. In the Scythian version of the Behistun tablets, whilst the nominative of the pronoun of the second person is *nī*, thou, as in the Dravidian languages, the possessive case is *nī*, thy, and the accusative *nin*, thee, corresponding in quantity to the Dravidian oblique cases—*e.g.*, Telugu *nin-u*, thee; Tulu *nin-a*, thy, *nin-an'*, thee; High Tamil *nīn*, thy, and *nīnnei*, thee.

3. Another class of exceptions consists of instances in which the quantity of a vowel is lengthened when a verbal root is formed, directly and without any extraneous addition, into a noun. The alteration which the root-vowel sustains is prior to any inflexional additions being made. If any formative particle is added to a verbal root to convert it into a noun, the quantity of the root-vowel remains unchanged. The lengthening of the root-vowel to which I refer takes place only in (some of) those cases in which the verbal base itself is used as a noun. Thus, the verb *keḍ-u*, to

destroy or to become destroyed, may become a verbal noun by the addition of the formative *di*—*e.g.*, *keḍudi*, destruction, in which event the root-vowel remains unaltered; but the verbal base may also be used without addition as a verbal noun, in which case *keḍ-u* is lengthened into *kēḍ-u*.

The following Tamil examples of the lengthening of each of the five primary vowels will suffice to illustrate this usage:—

From *paḍ-u* to suffer, is formed *pāḍ-u*, a suffering; from *min*, to shine, *mīn*, a star; from *śuḍ-u*, to burn, *śūḍ-u*, heat; from *peṟ-u*, to obtain, *pēṟ-u*, a benefit obtained; and from *koḷ*, to receive, *kōḷ*, reception.

I am not aware of the existence of a similar rule in any of the Scythian languages, but it is well known in Sanskrit (*e.g.*, compare *vach*, to speak, with *vāch*, a word; *mar* (*mri*), to die, with *māra*, death). Nevertheless, I can scarcely think it likely that it is from Sanskrit that the Dravidian languages have derived a usage which prevails among them to so great an extent, and which has every appearance of being an original feature of their own. If it is not to be regarded as an independently developed peculiarity, arising out of the same mental and lingual habitudes as those out of which the corresponding Sanskrit usage was developed; it is probably to be regarded as a relic of those pre-Sanskrit influences of which many traces seem to be discoverable in these language. In one particular the Dravidian rule differs from the Sanskrit. In Sanskrit the root-vowel is often not only lengthened, but changed, according to certain rules, into another—*e.g.*, from *vid*, to know, comes *vēda*, knowledge, the Veda; whereas in the Dravidian languages the rule is that the root-vowel is simply lengthened—*e.g.*, from *viḍ-u*, Tam. to set free, comes *vīḍ-u*, emancipation, a house (meaning probably a tax-free tenement).

Dr Gundert derives *vēr*, Tam. a root, from *vir*, the radical part of *viri*, to expand (compare *viral*, a finger). If this derivation be accepted as correct, as I think it may, it will furnish an instance of the operation of the Sanskrit law in question. Another derivation which I regard as still more probable is that of *nēr*, Tam. straight, from *nira*, to be level. These very rare exceptions, however, do not nullify the rule.

I must here notice a class of verbal nouns formed after this manner which are much used adjectivally. All Dravidian adjectives, grammatically considered, are nouns, but some of them are used indiscriminately either as nouns or as adjectives; some exclusively as adjectives, some exclusively as nouns. The three

adjectives *pēr*, large, *kār*, black, and *ār*, precious, furnish good illustrations of the class of verbal nouns to which I refer. *pēr* and *ār* are used exclusively as adjectives, *kār* both as an adjective and as a noun. As an adjective it means black, as a noun, blackness, a cloud, the rainy season, &c. The radical forms of these words are also in use. These are *per-u,* to be large, *kar-u,* to be black, and *ar-u,* to be precious. The final *u* is, as usual, merely enunciative; the roots are *per, kar,* and *ar.* When we find a Dravidian root in two shapes, one with a longer, the other with a shorter vowel, it may generally be assumed, and can often be proved, that the shorter form is the radical one. Where both forms are in use, as in the case of these three words, the longer form is considered more elegant, and is much used in combinations, esepcially before words beginning with a vowel. It is to the shorter and probably more ancient form that *mei,* the formative of abstract nouns, like our English nouns ending in *ness,* is suffixed—*e.g., arumei,* preciousness. The same change in the internal vowel of the root is apparent in some of the numerals. The radical of the Tamil numerals one and two seem to be *or* and *ir,* and these are often lengthened, when the numeral is used not as a substantive but as an adjective, into *ōr* and *īr.* There are also two forms of the numerals three, six and seven (*mu* and *mū, aṟu* and *āṟu, eṟu* and *ēṟu*), but in these instances it is the shorter forms that are used adjectivally. These shorter forms cannot stand alone, they can be used only as adjectives, whereas the longer ones are used as numerals substantives. The formation of verbal nouns by means of the lengthening of the root-vowel throws as much light on the original meaning of some adjectives, or nouns of quality, as we have seen that it does (in the previous part of this section) in the case of certain nouns exclusively used as substantives. For instance, *pāṟ* (Tam.), desolate, is evidently a verbal noun from *paṟ-u* to grow old. To grow mature or ripe is a secondary meaning, from which we have *paṟam,* a ripe fruit. Another form used adjectivally is *paṟa,* old. A verb of the secondary formation is *paṟagu,* to become used to anything.

When the final consonant of the crude root belongs to this class of hard letters, it cannot be enunciated by Dravidian organs, whether the preceding vowel be long or short, without the aid of a final euphonic *u.* Thus *paśu,* Tam. to be green, when lengthened becomes, not *pāś* (*as pēr, kār,* &c.), but *pāśu,* green. A change sometimes takes place in the internal vowel of this word which has been supposed to accord with the Sanskrit change of a short vowel into a longer one of a different order, and of a naturally long vowel into

a diphthong, on the change of a noun or verbal-root into an adjective. *paśum*, green (another form of *paśu*), is changed in certain conjunctions into *peim*—*e.g.*, *peim-pon* (Tam.), excellent, literally green, gold. This change, however, is merely euphonic. It has already been shown that *ś*, when medial, has a tendency to soften into *y*, and then to disappear, and when this takes place the preceding and following vowels coalesce. In consequence of this tendency, *paśum* naturally becomes *payum*, and this again, by a change which is almost imperceptible in pronunciation, *peim*. We have a parallel instance of this in the noun *kaśuppu* (Tam.), bitterness, which may optionally be written and pronounced *keippu; Kaśuppu* changing first into *kayuppu* and then into *keippu*. It should be observed that *peim* has not in the least superseded *paśum*. The one may be optionally used instead of the other, and this proves that both forms are grammatically equivalent. I should be prepared to admit that in these and similar instances *y* may possibly be older than *ś*. The process, on this supposition, would have to be reversed; *pei*, properly *payu*, would become *paśu*, but the result would be the same. The change in the internal vowel would still be owing merely to the euphonic substitution of one consonant for another.

I may here remark that forms like *paśum*, green, do not appear to me to be derived, as Beschi, following native grammarians, supposed, from *pasumei*, greenness, by the omission of the final *ei;* for *mei*, not *ei*, is the particle by which abstract nouns of quality are formed, and the initial *m* is the most essential portion of that particle. *Paśum* is evidently derived from *paś*, the crude verbal root, with the addition of *um*, the sign of the aoristic future, by means of which it becomes an aoristic relative participle, a class of participles which the Dravidian tongues delight to use as adjectives.

4. Another class of internal changes appears in those instances in which Tamil shortens the quantity of the root-vowel in the preterite tense of verbs. This shortening is observed in Canarese also, but the following illustrations are furnished by Tamil—*e.g.*, *vē*, to burn, has for its preterite participle, not *vēndu*, but *vendu; nō*, to be in pain, has for its preterite, not *nōndu*, but *nondu; kāṇ*, to see, becomes, not *kāṇḍu*, but *kaṇḍu*. Another instance is *śā*, to die, which takes not *śāttu*, but *śettu*. The Malayālam and Canarese form of this participle, *śattu* or *chattu*, represents the root-vowel more accurately than the Tamil. In some instances Tamil retains in the preterite the long vowel of the root, whilst Canarese shortens it —*e.g.*, *ī*, to give, has for its preterite in Tamil *īndu*, in Canarese *ittu*.

There are two verbs in Tamil, *vā*, to come, and *tā*, to give, which involve peculiarities of which it is difficult to give a satisfactory explanation. Each of them is regularly conjugated, except in the preterite and imperative, as if from roots in *var* and *tar* (*e.g.*, *varugirēn*, I come, *tarugirēn*, I give) ; each takes the root with the long vowel without *r* for its imperative singular, and inserts *r* between this form of the root and the personal termination in the imperative plural (*e.g.*, *vā*, come, *tā*, give; *vārum*, come ye, *tārum*, give ye); and each forms its preterite by shortening the vowel without inserting *r*, as if from roots in *vā* and *tā*, after the manner described in the previous paragraph (*e.g.*, *vandēn*, I came, *tandēn*, I give, like *nondēn*, I felt pain, from the root *nō*). Dr Pope, in his "Tamil Handbook," p. 52, considers the *r* of these verbs euphonically inserted to prevent hiatus and the whole of the tenses built upon the roots in *vā* and *tā*. I should have no objection to this view if the *r* made its appearance in the plural imperative only, as in *kārum*, protect ye, from *kā*, to protect, the only other instance I know of *r* being used for this purpose in Tamil, and one which I have already mentioned in the chapter on "Prevention of Hiatus." On the other hand, the appearance of the roots in *var* and *tar*, in every part of the verb, except the preterite and the singular imperative alone, and in all the verbal nouns without exception (*e.g.*, *varal*, *varattu*, *varuttu*, *varudal*, *varavu*, *varugei*, each of them meaning a coming), leads to the conclusion that *var* and *tar* (whatever be the origin of their difference from *vā* and *tā*) are treated in Tamil as verbal themes. If *r* were not a portion of the root, we should expect to find the present, future, infinitive, negative voice, verbal nouns, &c., formed from *vā* and *tā*, with the addition of *g* or *v* as a formative suffix, as we find to be the case with the parallel verbs *nō*, &c. Compare *nōga*, infinitive ; *nōvu*, *nōdal*, &c., verbal nouns ; *nōgā*, negative. The Canarese roots are *bar* and *tar*. In Telugu the imperative singular is *vā*, the plural *rammu*, and this seems to me to confirm the supposition that *r* is an essential part of the root. If the Telugu *r* represented only the supposed euphonic *r* of the Tamil, the root-consonant would be left without any representative at all. It appears to me improbable, moreover, because unsupported by usage, that the Tamil *v* has been changed into *r* in Telugu. It seems more in accordance with usage to recognise here a change similar to that which has converted the Tamil *iladu*, there is not, into *lēdu* in Telugu, and *irā*, night, into *rē*. See the chapter on "Euphonic Displacement of Vowels." Notwithstanding this, I am not disposed to regard the forms in *vā* and *tā*

as having found their way into the conjugation of the verbs by mistake. It is evident that *vā* and *tā*, not *var* and *tar*, are the themes from which the preterites *vanden* and *tanden* have been formed, and which we find pure in the imperatives. We seem therefore driven to adopt Dr Gundert's suggestion that *vā* and *var*, and *tā* and *tar*, are alternative roots—perhaps it would be preferable to say, different forms of the same root. This supposition need not be relinquished in consequence of its being regarded as probable that *tā* is identical with the Indo-European root *dā*, to give. The Dravidian *tar* may have sprung from a related form of the same root, of which possibly a trace may survive in the Greek δῶρον (*dōron*) and the Hebrew *tan*. I may add that though the change in the length of the vowel in the preterite has a grammatical significance, its change of length in the imperative, from *rā*, Tel. singular, to *rammu*, honorific singular (plural), and from *vā*, Tam. singular, to High Tam. *vammin*, plural, appears to be purely euphonic.

The changes in the internal vowels of Dravidian roots exhibited in the last three classes of instances mentioned in this section as exceptions to the ordinary stability of the Dravidian root-vowels, evidently accord, as far as they go, with usages prevalent in the Indo-European languages, inasmuch as one of the classes referred to furnishes us with instances of the lengthening of the root-vowel, when the verb is converted into a noun, whilst the other classes furnish us with examples of the shortening of the interior vowels of the root on receiving the addition of inflexional particles, to compensate for the additional weight thus imposed on the root-vowel, or for the purpose of distinguishing one tense from another. In regard, however, to changes in root-vowels, it would be erroneous to suppose the rule of the Scythian languages essentially and universally dissimilar to the Indo-European. In the Scythian languages, as in the Dravidian, stability in the root-vowels is the rule, change the exception. But exceptions exist (*e.g.*, compare *olen*, Finnish, I am, from the root *ol*, to be, with *lienen*, if I be; compare also Hungarian *leven*, from the same root, being, with *volt*, having been, and *lenni*, to be). In consequence of the existence of such exceptions as these, it is impossible to erect the difference between the two families of language, in this particular, into a hard and fast law of distinction. It would also be unsafe, on this ground alone, to disconnect the Dravidian languages from the languages of the Scythian group and to connect them with the Indo-European.

PART III.

The Noun.

In this section it will be my endeavour to investigate the nature and inflexions of the Dravidian noun, with the view of ascertaining its method of expressing the relations of gender and number, and the principles on which that method proceeds, together with the characteristics and origin of its case system, or system of means for expressing the relationship of nouns with other parts of speech. It will be shown at the close of the section on "The Verb," how derivative nouns are formed from verbal roots; and the various classes of participial nouns will then also be investigated.

SECTION I.—GENDER AND NUMBER.

1. Gender.

When the Indo-European laws of gender are compared with those of the Scythian group of tongues, it will appear that in this point, as in many others, the Dravidian languages accord more closely with the Scythian than with the Indo-European family. In all the more primitive Indo-European languages, not only are words that denote rational beings and living creatures regarded as masculine or feminine, according to the sex of the objects referred to, but also inanimate objects and even abstract ideas have similar sexual distinctions attributed to them; so that many nouns which denote objects naturally destitute of gender, and which ought therefore to be regarded as neuters, are treated by the grammars of those languages as if the objects they denote were males and females, and are fitted not with neuter, but with masculine or feminine case terminations, and with pronouns of corresponding genders. This peculiar system is a proof of the highly imaginative and poetical character of the Indo-European mind, by which principles of resemblance were discerned in the midst of the greatest differences, and all things that exist were not only animated, but personified. It is from this personification that most of the ancient mythologies are supposed to have arisen. A similar remark applies to the Semitic languages also, in which the same or a similar usage respecting gender prevailed. In the progress of the corruption of the primitive Indo-European languages, a less imaginative but more natural usage gained ground. Nevertheless, in a majority of the

modern colloquial dialects of this family, both in Europe and in India, the gender of nouns is still an important and difficult section of the grammar, and a standing impediment in the way of the idiomatic use of those languages by foreigners.

On the other hand, in the Manchu, Mongolian, Turkish, and Finnish families of tongues—the principal families of the Scythian group—a law or usage respecting the gender of nouns universally prevails, which is generically different from that of the Indo-European and the Semitic idioms. In those families, not only are all things which are destitute of reason and life denoted by neuter nouns, but no nouns whatever—not even nouns which denote human beings—are regarded as in themselves masculine or feminine. All nouns, as such, are neuter, or rather are destitute of gender. In those languages there is no mark of gender inherent in, or inseparably annexed to, the nominative or any noun (the crude root being generally the nominative) ; and in none of the oblique cases, or postpositions used as case terminations, is the idea of gender at all involved. The unimaginative Scythians reduced all things, whether rational or irrational, animate or inanimate, to the same dead level, and regarded them all as impersonal. They prefixed to common nouns, wherever they found it necessary, some word denoting sex, equivalent to male or female, he or she; but they invariably regarded such nouns as in themselves neuters, and generally they supplied them with neuter pronouns. The only exceptions to this rule in the Scythian languages consist in a few words, such as God, man, woman, husband, wife, which are so highly instinct with personality that of themselves, and without the addition of any word denoting sex, they necessarily convey the signification of masculine or feminine.

When our attention is turned to the Dravidian languages we find that, whilst their rules respecting gender differ widely from those of the Indo-European group, they are not quite identical with those of the Scythian. It seems probable, however, that the particulars in which the Dravidian rules respecting gender differ from those of the Scythian languages, and evince a tendency in the Indo-European direction, are not the result of direct Sanskritic influences, of which no trace is perceptible in this department of Dravidian grammar, but have arisen either from the progressive mental cultivation of the Dravidians themselves, or from an inheritance of præ-Sanskritic elements.

Dravidian nouns are divided into two classes, which Tamil

grammarians denote by the technical terms of high-caste or casteless nouns, but which are called by Telugu grammarians, *mahāt*, majors, and *a-mahāt*, minors. High-caste nouns, or majors, are those which denote " the celestial and infernal deities and human beings," or, briefly, all things endowed with reason; and in all the Dravidian dialects (with a peculiar exception which is found only in Telugu and Gōnd) nouns of this class are treated in the singular as masculines or feminines respectively, and in the plural as epicenes, that is, without distinguishing between masculines and feminines, but distinguishing both from the neuter. The other class of nouns, called casteless, or minors, includes everything which is destitute of reason, whether animate or inanimate. This classification of nouns, though not so imaginative as that of the Indo-European and Semitic tongues, is decidedly more philosophical; for the difference between rational beings and beings or things which are destitute of reason is more momentous and essential than any difference that exists between the sexes. The new Persian, which uses one pluralising particle for nouns that denote animated beings, and another and different one for things that are destitute of life, is the only non-Dravidian language in which nouns are classified in a manner which is in any degree similar to the Dravidian system. The peculiar Dravidian law of gender which has now been described would appear to be a result of progressive intellectual and grammatical cultivation; for the masculine, feminine, and epicene suffixes which form the terminations of Dravidian high-caste nouns, are properly fragments of pronouns or demonstratives of the third person, as are also most of the neuter formatives. It may, indeed, be stated as a general rule that all primitive Dravidian nouns are destitute of gender, and that every noun or pronoun in which the idea of gender is formally expressed, being a compound word, is necessarily of later origin than the uncompounded primitives. The technical term by which such nouns are denoted by Tamil grammarians is *pagu-padam*, divisible words, *i.e.*, compounds. Hence the poetical dialects, which retain many of the primitive landmarks, are fond of discarding the ordinary suffixes of gender or rationality, and treating all nouns as far as possible as abstract neuters. Thus, in poetical Tamil *Dēv-u*, God, a crude noun destitute of gender, is reckoned more classical than *Dēv-an*, the corresponding masculine noun. This word is a Sanskrit derivative; but the same tendency to fall back upon the old Scythian rule appears in the case of many other words which are primitive Dravidian nouns—*e.g.*, *iṟei*, a king, a word which is

destitute of gender, is more classical than *irei-(v)-an,* the commoner form, which possesses the masculine singular termination.

In the modern Tamil spoken by the educated classes, the words which denote sun and moon (*sūriy-an* and *śandir-an,* derived from the Sanskrit *sūrya* and *chandra*) are of the masculine gender, in accordance with Sanskrit usage and with the principles of the Brahmanical mythology; but in the old Tamil of the poets and the peasants, *ñāyiṟu,* the sun, also *poṛudu,* and *tiṅgal,* the moon, also *nilā,* all pure Dravidian words, are neuter. All true Dravidian names of towns, rivers, &c., are in like manner destitute of every mark of personality or gender. In some few instances Malayālam and Canarese retain the primitive laws of gender more faithfully than Tamil. Thus, in the Tamil word *peiyan,* a boy, we find the masculine singular termination *an*; whereas Malayālam (with which agrees Canarese) uses the older word *peidal,* a word (properly a verbal noun) which is destitute of gender, to which it prefixes in a thoroughly Scythian manner words that signify respectively male and female to form compounds signifying boy and girl—*e.g.,* *ān peidal,* a boy, *peṇ peidal,* a girl. The nature and origin of the terminations which are used to signify gender in the various Dravidian dialects will be inquired into under the head of "Number," with the consideration of which this subject is inseparably connected. Under this head I restrict myself to a statement of the general principles respecting gender which characterise the Dravidian languages.

A peculiarity of Telugu, which appears also in Gōnd, should here be mentioned. Whilst those dialects agree with the other members of the Dravidian family in regarding masculines and feminines, and both combined, as constituting in the plural a common or epicene gender, they differ from the other dialects in this respect, that they are wholly or virtually destitute of a feminine singular, and instead of the feminine singular use the singular of the neuter. This rule includes in its operation pronouns and verbs as well as substantives, and applies to goddesses and queens, as well as to ordinary women. The Telugu possesses, it is true, a few forms which are appropriate to the feminine singular, but they are rarely used, and that only in certain rare combinations and conjunctures. He and it are the only pronouns of the third person singular which are ordinarily made use of by more than twenty millions of the Telugu people; and the colloquial dialect does not even possess any pronoun, equivalent to our pronoun she, which is capable of being applied to women of the

lower as well as of the higher classes. Ordinarily every woman is spoken of in Telugu as a chattel or a thing, or as we are accustomed to speak of very young children (*e.g.*, *it* did so and so), apparently on the supposition either that women are destitute of reason, or that their reason, like that of infants, lies dormant. Whilst each woman taken singly is treated by Telugu grammar as a chattel or as a child, women taken collectively are regarded with as much respect as by the other Dravidian dialects. In the plural they are honoured with the same high-caste or rational suffixes and pronouns that are applied to men and gods.

Canarese and Malayālam agree in this point with Tamil, and regard women, not in the plural only but also in the singular, as pertaining to the class of rationals: accordingly in those languages there is a feminine singular pronoun equivalent to she, which corresponds in the principle of its formation to the masculine he. With those languages agrees Ku, which, though the near neighbour of Telugu and Gōnd, pursues in this respect a politer course than either. In the idioms of the Tudas and Kōtas, the rude aborigines of the Nilgherry hills, there is, properly speaking, only one pronoun of the third person, and that is without distinction of gender or number. *atham*, remote, *itham*, proximate, mean indiscriminately he, she, it, they. The pronouns *avan*, *avaḷ*, he, she, are also occasionally used, but Dr Pope thinks they have been recently introduced from the Tamil and Canarese. This usage reminds one of the employment in the old Hebrew of the same pronoun, *hū*, to signify both he and she, and still more of the use of the reflexive pronoun of the Latin *se*, for all genders and numbers. Compare *wuh*, Hindustani, he, she.

2. Number.

The Dravidian languages recognise only two numbers, the singular and the plural. The dual, properly so called, is unknown, and there is no trace extant of its use at any previous period. Several of the languages of this family contain two plurals of the pronoun of the first person, one of which includes the party addressed as well as the party of the speaker, and which may therefore be considered as a species of dual, whilst the other excludes the party addressed. As, however, this peculiarity is restricted to the personal pronouns, it will be examined in that connection. Under the head of "Number," we shall inquire into the Dravidian mode of forming the masculine, feminine, and neuter singular, and the epicene and neuter plural.

(1.) *Masculine Singular.*—It has already been intimated that the formatives by which the gender of nouns is occasionally expressed are identical with the terminations of the demonstrative pronouns. From a very early period of the history of these languages, particles or formatives of gender were suffixed to the demonstrative bases, by the addition of which suffixes demonstrative pronouns were formed. Those formatives of gender were not originally appended to or combined with *substantive* nouns; but their use was gradually extended as their utility was perceived, and nouns which included the idea of gender were made to express that idea by suffixing the gender terminations of the pronouns, whereby they became appellative nouns. The manner in which all these suffixes are added will be sufficiently illustrated by the instance of the masculine singular.

The masculine singular suffix of the Tamil is *an, ān,* or *ōn. An,* the shorter formative, is that which appears in the demonstrative pronoun *avan* (*a-*(*v*)*-an*), he; and by suffixing any of these formatives to an abstract or neuter noun, the noun ceases to be abstract and becomes a concrete masculine-singular appellative. Thus *mūpp-u,* age, by the addition of *an* becomes *mūpp-an,* an elder, literally age-he, or age-man; and from *Tamiṛ* comes *Tamiṛ-an,* a Tamilian, a Tamil-man. These and similar nouns are called generically " compound or divisible words " by Tamil grammarians. They are obviously compounded of a noun—generally a noun of quality or relation—and a suffix of gender, which appears also to have been a noun originally.

In the instances which have been adduced, the suffix of gender is annexed to the nominative or *casus rectus;* but in many cases it is annexed to the oblique case or inflexional base, viz., to that form of the noun to which the case signs are suffixed, and which, when used by itself, has the meaning of the genitive or locative. When the inflexion, or oblique case, is employed instead of the nominative in compounds of this nature, it generally conveys a possessive or locative signification—*e.g., maleiyinan* (*malei-* (*y*) -in-*an*), a mountaineer, literally a man of or on the mountain; *paṭṭinattan* (*paṭṭin'-att'ān*), a citizen, literally a man of or in the city. Sometimes, however, the inflexional "in" is merely added euphonically—*e.g.,* there is no difference in meaning between *villan* (*vill-an*), a bowman, and *villinan* (*vill-*in*-an*), which is considered a more elegant form. Words of this description are in some grammars called adjectives; but they are never regarded as such by any native grammarians: they cannot be simply prefixed for the purpose of qualifying other

words, and it is evident from their construction that they are merely appellative nouns.

A subdivision of appellatives consists of words in which the suffixes of gender are annexed to adjectival forms—*e.g.*, *koḍiya-n*, a cruel man. I regard words of this class as participial nouns, and they will be investigated in the part on "The Verb," under the head of "Appellative Verbs"; but whatever be the nature of *koḍiya* (the first part of the compound), *koḍiya-n* is certainly not an adjective, for before it can be used adjectivally we must append to it the relative participle *āna*, that is—*e.g.*, *koḍiyan-āna*, that is a cruel man; and as the compound, cruel man, cannot be called an adjective in English, neither is *koḍiyan* an adjective in Tamil: it is properly an appellative noun. It may be said that the neuter plural of this word, viz., *koḍiya*, may be prefixed adjectivally to any substantive; but *koḍiya*, cruel things, the neuter plural of *koḍiyan*, is not really identical with the adjective *koḍiya*, cruel. It is totally distinct from it, though identical in appearance. The *a* of the former word is the neuter suffix of plurality; whereas the *a* of the latter is that of the possessive case and of the relative participle, as will be shown at the close of this part (see "Adjectival Formatives") and in the part on "Verbs."

Another species of Tamil appellative nouns is said by Beschi to be formed by annexing suffixes of gender to verbal roots—*e.g.*, *ōduvān*, a reader, from *ōdu*, to read; but this, I believe, is an error. Those words are to be regarded as participial nouns, and *ōduvān* is literally he who will read, *i.e.*, he who is accustomed to read. In the same manner, *ōdinan* is the participial noun of the preterite tense, and means he who read or is accustomed to read: *ōdugindravan*, the corresponding present participial noun, he who reads, belongs to the same class; and these forms are not to be confounded with appellative nouns properly so called. On the other hand, such words as *kāppan*, a protector, are true appellatives; but *kāppan* is not formed from the future tense of the verb (though *kāppān* means he will protect), but from *kāppu*, protection, a derivative noun, of which the final and formative *ppu* is from the same origin as the corresponding final of *mūppu*, old age. See the concluding section of the part on "The Verb."

The suffixes of gender which form the terminal portion of appellative nouns vary somewhat in form, but they are one and the same in origin, and their variations are merely euphonic. It is the vowel only that varies, never the consonant. When a neuter noun ends with a vowel which is essential to it, and is incapable of elision,

and also when a noun happens to be a long monosyllable, *ān,* or in poetry *ōn,* is more commonly suffixed than *an.* In some cases *avan,* he, the full demonstrative pronoun, is suffixed instead of its termination only, and this mode is thought peculiarly elegant. Thus, from *vil* or *vill-u,* a bow, we may form *vill-an, vill-ān,* and *vill-ōn,* an archer, a bowman, and also *vill-avan.* Indeed, *ān* and *ōn,* have evidently been formed, not from *an,* but from *a+v+n,* by the softening of the euphonic *v,* and the coalescence of the vowels. This corruption of *avan* into *ān* appears systematically in the third person masculine singular of the colloquial Tamil verb—*e.g., pō-(ṉ)-ān* (not *pō-(n)-avan*), he went.

The Canarese masculine singular suffix *anu* is identical with the Tamil *an,* the addition of *u* being merely a phonetic necessity of the modern dialect. In the older Canarese, the termination which was used was *am,* a particle which is to be regarded as the equivalent of *an, n* and *m* being interchangeable nasals. Malayālam is in this particular perfectly identical with Tamil. The corresponding Telugu masculine singular formative is *ḍ-u, uḍ-u,* or *aḍ-u;* or rather *ṉḍ-u, uṉḍ-u,* or *aṉḍu,* the obscure *ṉ* being always pronounced, and being probably an essential part of the original form of the particle, and by suffixing the same formative to any substantive noun, it becomes a masculine singular—*e.g., mag-aṉḍu,* a husband, a word which seems to be identical in origin with the Tamil *mag-an,* a son (the primitive and proper meaning of each word being a male). The masculine singular suffix of Telugu often takes the shape of *uṉḍ-u,* and in like manner the epicene plural suffix, which is in Tamil *ar-u,* is often *ur-u* in Telugu; but in these instances *a* changes into *u* through attraction.

As Tamil forms masculine appellatives by suffixing the demonstrative pronoun *avan,* so does Telugu sometimes suffix its full demonstrative pronoun *vāṉḍu*—*e.g., chinna-vāṉḍu,* a boy (Tamil, *śinna-(v)-an*), literally he who is little. It is probable that the Telugu masculine singular suffix was originally *an* or *an-u,* as in Tamil-Canarese. *aṉḍu, uṉḍu,* or *ṉḍu,* is found only in the nominative in correct Telugu, and it is replaced in all the oblique cases by *ani* or *ni;* and that this *ni* is not merely an inflexional increment, but the representative of an old masculine singular suffix, appears on comparing it with *ri,* the corresponding oblique case suffix of the masculine-feminine plural, which is certainly formed from *ar-u.* When *vāniki,* to him, is compared with its plural *vāriki,* to them, it is evident that the former corresponds as closely to the Tamil *avanukku* as the latter *avarukku;* and consequently that the *ni* of

vāniki must be significant of the masculine singular. Probably the same termination survives in the demonstrative, *āyana,* he, a form which is more rarely used than *vāṇḍu.*

The Telugu *ṇḍ* being thus found to be identical with the Tam., Can., Mal. *ṇ*, and the old Can. *m*, the masculine suffixes *an, am,* and *aṇḍu* are also found to be identical. It is more difficult to determine the origin of this suffix *an*. *an* is sometimes used in Tam. and Mal. instead of *am* as a formative of neuter nouns, as will be shown hereafter in the section on the Nominative—*e.g., palan* (Sans. *phala*), fruit, instead of *palam* ; but I cannot see how this can be identical in origin with the suffix *an* which denotes the masculine, the Dravidian masculine being a distinctive one—that is, not merely a grammatical term, but a sign of sex. On looking around for an explanation of the origin of the masculine suffix, it appears to me that the Ku, though one of the most barbarous of the Dravidian dialects, throws more light than any other upon this point. It forms its demonstrative pronouns in a simple and truly primitive manner by prefixing *ā*, the demonstrative base, to common nouns which signify *man* and *woman.* These nouns are *āñ-u,* a man, and *āl-u,* a woman; and *ääñ-u* (compare Tam. *a*(*v*)*an*), literally that man, is used to signify he, and *äälu* (compare Tam. *a*(*v*)*aḷ*), that woman, to signify she. The Ku *āñ-u,* a man, seems certainly identical with the Tam. noun *āṇ*, a male, and probably also with *āḷ*, a man, a person. In the use to which this primitive root is put in the Ku word *ā-āñ-u,* we may see, I think, the origin of *an,* the suffix of the masculine singular in most of the Dravidian dialects. The final *u,* of the Ku word *āñ-u* being merely euphonic, the root appears to be *āñ* or *ān;* and as *ṇ* and *n* have been shown to be interchangeable, *ān* must be regarded as only another form of *āṇ*. *ṇ*, again, is not only often euphonised by suffixing *ḍu* (*e.g., peṇ,* Tam. a female, colloquially and poetically *peṇḍ-u*), but it is also sometimes directly changed into *ḍ*, of which we have an instance in the classical Tamil *peḍ-ei,* a hen, a word which is derived by this process from, and is identical with *peṇ*, a female. Hence, the Telugu suffix *aṇḍ-u* might naturally be derived from an older form in *aṇ*, if it should appear that that form existed; and that it did exist, appears from the vulgar use of the present day of *ṇ* instead of *n* in some of the oblique cases (*e.g., vāṇṇi,* him, instead of *vāni*), and from the half *anusvāra,* or obscure nasal, which precedes *ḍu* itself— *e.g., vāṇḍu,* for *vāḍu,* he. A close connection appears thus to be established between the Tamil-Canarese *an* and the Telugu *aḍ-u,* through the middle point *aṇ*.

The only difficulty in the way of the perfect identification of the formative *an* with the Ku *añu*, a man, and with the Tamil *āṉ*, a male, lies in the length of the vowel of the latter words. Here again Ku comes to our assistance; for we find that the vowel was euphonically shortened in some instances in the very dialect in which the origin of the word itself was discovered. In Ku the *ā* of *āñ-u* is long, both when it is used as an isolated word and in the demonstratives *āāñ-u*, he, and *āāl-u*, she; but when the demonstrative pronoun is appended to, and combined with, the relative participle of the verb, so as to form with it a participial noun, the *ā* of *āñ-u* is shortened into *a*, and in this shortened form the connection of the Ku formative with the Tamil-Canarese is seen to be complete. Compare the Ku participial noun *gităñ-u*, he who did, with the corresponding Canarese *gēyidăn-u; gitār-u*, Ku, they who did, with *gēyidar-u*, Can., and also *gital-u*, Ku, she who did, with *gēyidaḷ-u*, Can.

(2.) *Feminine Singular.*—Though Telugu and Gōnd generally use the neuter singular to supply the place of the feminine singular, the other Dravidian dialects possess and constantly use a feminine singular formative which is quite distinct from that of the neuter. This formative is *aḷ* in Tamil, Malayālam, and old Canarese, and by suffixing the sign of gender to the demonstrative base, the feminine singular demonstrative pronoun *avaḷ* (*a* (*v*) *aḷ*), she, is formed—a word which perfectly corresponds to *avan* (*a* (*v*) *an*), he. A numerous class of feminine singular appellative nouns is formed by suffixing the same particle to abstract or neuter nouns in their crude state—*e.g.*, compare *mag-aḷ*, Tam. a daughter, with *mag-an*, a son; *ill-āḷ*, house-wife, a wife, and *ill-ān*, a husband, are formed from the addition of the pronouns *avaḷ* and *avan* (euphonised into *āḷ* and *ān*) to *il*, a home.

Telugu, in some connections, uses a feminine singular formative which appears to be identical with that of Tamil-Canarese. That formative is *āl-u*, which is used by Ku more largely than by Telugu; and its identity with Tamil-Canarese *aḷ* will be found to furnish us with a clue to the origin and literal meaning of the latter. As *āñ-u*, in Ku, means a man, so *āl-u* means a woman: *āāl-u*, she, is literally that woman. The same word *āl-u* means a woman, a wife, in poetical and vulgar Telugu also; and in Gōnd there is a word which is apparently allied to it, *ār*, a woman. Even in Sanskrit we meet with *āli*, a woman's female friend. It is evident that *āl-u* would be shortened into *al* as easily as *āñ-u* into *an*, and the constant occurrence of a cerebral *ḷ* in Tamil and Canarese,

where Telugu has the medial *l*, fully accounts for the change of the one-semi vowel into the other. The unchanged form of this suffix appears in Telugu in such words as *manama-(r)-ālu*, a granddaughter, compared with *manamaṇḍu*, a grandson. The abbreviation of the vowel of the feminine suffix, which is characteristic of Tamil and Canarese, is exemplified in Telugu also, in the words *maradal-u*, a niece, and *kōḍal-u*, a daughter-in-law; in which words the feminine suffix *al-u* is evidently identical both with Tamil-Canarese *aḷ* or *aḷ-u*, and also with *āl-u* the older and more regular form of this suffix, which is capable of being used by itself as a noun. Probably the Telugu *āḍ-u*, adj. female, though now treated as a different word, is identical in origin with *āl-u*, through the very common interchange of *ḍ* and *ḷ*; an illustration of which we have in *kei(y)-āḷu*, Tam. to use, which is converted in the colloquial dialect to *kei-(y)-āḍu*. The feminine singular suffix *aḷ* appears in Tamil and Canarese in the terminations of verbs as well as in those of pronouns. Telugu, on the other hand, which uses the neuter demonstrative instead of the feminine singular, uses the final fragment of the same demonstrative as the termination of the feminine singular of its verb. It may be remarked that in some of the Caucasian dialects, *n* and *l* are used as masculine and feminine terminals, exactly as in Tamil—*e.g.*, in Avar, *emen* is father, *evel* is mother.

There is another mode of forming the feminine singular of appellative nouns, which is much used in all the Dravidian dialects, and which may be regarded as especially characteristic of Telugu. It consists in suffixing the Telugu neuter singular demonstrative, its termination, or a modification of it, to any abstract or neuter noun. The neuter singular demonstrative being used by Telugu instead of the feminine singular (it for she), this neuter suffix has naturally in Telugu supplied the place of a feminine suffix; and though in the other dialects the femine pronouns are formed by means of feminine suffixes, not by those of the neuter, yet the less respectful Telugu usage has crept into the department of their appellative nouns. In Tamil, this neuter-feminine suffix is *atti* or *tti*. This will appear on comparing *veḷḷāḷ-atti*, a woman of the cultivator caste, with *veḷḷāḷ-an*, a man of the same caste; *oru-tti*, one woman, *una*, with *oru-(v)-an*, one man, *unus*; and *vaṇṇā-tti*, a washerwoman, with *vaṇṇā-n*, a washerman. *tt*, a portion of this suffix, is sometimes erroneously used in vulgar Tamil as a component element in the masculine appellative noun *oruttan*, one man, instead of the classical and correct *oruvan*. With this exception its use is

exclusively feminine. The same suffix is *iti* or *ti* in Canarese—*e.g.*, *arasiti*, a queen (corresponding to the Tamil *rāśātti*), *okkalati*, a farmer's wife. The Telugu uses *adi* or *di*—*e.g.*, *kōmaṭi-(y)-adi* or *komaṭi-di*, a woman of the Komti caste; *māla-di*, a Paria woman; *chinna-di*, a girl. It seems to me evident, not only that all these suffixes are identical, but that the Telugu form of the demonstrative neuter singular, viz., *adi*, it, which is used systematically by Telugu to signify she, is the root from whence they have all proceeded.

Another feminine singular suffix of appellatives occasionally used in the Dravidian languages may possibly have been derived from the imitation of Sanskrit. It consists in the addition of *i* to the crude or neuter noun; and it is only in quantity that this *i* differs from the long *ī*, which is so much used by Sanskrit as a feminine suffix. In the majority of cases it is only in connection with Sanskrit derivatives that this suffix is used; but it has also come to be appended to some pure Dravidian nouns—*e.g.*, *talei(v)-i*, Tam. a lady (compare *talei-(v)-an*, a lord), from *talei*, a head; compare also the Gōnd *perdgal*, a boy, with *perdgi*, a girl. This feminine suffix is not to be confounded with *i*, a suffix of agency, which is much used in the formation of nouns of agency and operation, and which is used by all genders indiscriminately. See "Verbal Derivatives," at the close of the part on "The Verb."

(3.) *Neuter Singular.*—There is but little which is worthy of remark in the singular forms of neuter Dravidian nouns. Every Dravidian noun is naturally neuter or destitute of gender, and it becomes masculine or feminine solely in virtue of the addition of a masculine or feminine suffix. When abstract Sanskrit nouns are adopted by the Dravidians, the neuter nominative form of those nouns (generally ending in *am*) is preferred. Sanskrit masculines, with the exception of those which denote rational beings, are made to terminate in *am*, being treated as neuters; and there are also some neuter nouns of pure Dravidian origin which end in *am*, or take *am* as their formative. The Dravidian termination *am* is not to be regarded, however, as a sign of the neuter or a neuter suffix, though such is often its character in Sanskrit. It is merely one of a numerous class of formatives, of which much use is made by the Dravidian dialect, and by the addition of which verbal roots are transformed into derivative nouns. Such formatives are to be regarded as forming a part of the noun itself, not of the inflexional additions. See "Verbal Derivatives," at the close of the section on "The Verb."

All animated beings destitute of reason are placed by Dravidian grammarians in the caste-less, or neuter class, and the nouns that denote such animals, both in the singular and in the plural, are uniformly regarded as neuter or destitute of gender, irrespective of the animal's sex. If it happen to be necessary to distinguish the sex of any animal that is included in this class, a separate word signifying male or female, he or she, is prefixed. Even in such cases, however, the pronoun with which the noun stands in agreement is neuter, and notwithstanding the specification of the animal's sex, the noun itself remains in the caste-less or neuter class. For this reason, suffixes expressive of the neuter gender, whether singular or plural, were not much required by Dravidian nouns. The only neuter singular suffix of the Dravidian languages which is used in the same manner as the masculine *an* or *aḍu,* and the feminine *aḷ,* is that which constitutes the termination of the neuter singular of demonstrative pronouns and appellative nouns. This pronoun is in Tamil, Canarese, and Malayālam, *adu,* that, *idu,* this; in Telugu *adi, idi;* in Gōnd *ad, id.*

In the Tuḷu pronoun the *d* has dropped out. The pronoun 'that' is *avu.* Dr Gundert considers this simply a corruption, and he shows that the language had its neuter singular in *d* originally, like its sister languages, by adducing such words as *att',* it is not, which was evidently *aldu,* originally, like the Tamil *allaud* (old Tam. *andru* = *aldu*), in which the suffix *du* or *d* is the formative of the neuter singular.

The same neuter demonstrative, or in some instances its termination only, is used in the conjugation of Dravidian verbs as the sign of the neuter singular of each tense, and in Telugu as the sign of the feminine singular also. The bases of the Dravidian demonstratives being *a* and *i* (*a* remote, *i* proximate), that part of each pronoun which is found to be annexed to those demonstrative vowels is evidently a suffix of number and gender; and as the final vowels of *ad-u, ad-i, id-u, id-i,* are merely euphonic, and have been added only for the purpose of helping the enunciation, it is evident that *d* alone constitutes the sign of the neuter singular. This view is confirmed by the circumstance that *d* never appears in the neuter plural of this demonstrative, but is replaced by *ei, u, i,* or short *a,* with a preceding euphonic *v* or *n*—*e.g.,* compare *adu* (*a-d-u*), Tam. that, with *ava* (*a-*(*v*)*-a*), Malayālam, those. It will be shown afterwards that this final *a* is a sign of the neuter plural.

Appellative nouns which form their masculine singular in Tamil in *an,* and their feminine singular in *aḷ,* form their neuter singular by

annexing *du,* with such euphonic changes as the previous consonant happens to require—*e.g., nalla-du,* a good thing; *al-du,* euphonically *andru,* a thing that is not; *periya-du* or *peri-du,* great, a great thing. This neuter singular suffix *d* is largely used in all the dialects in the formation of verbal nouns—*e.g., pōgiṟa-du,* Tam. the act of going, *pōna-du,* the having gone, *pōva-du,* the being about to go. This form has been represented by some, but erroneously, as an infinitive: it is a concrete verbal or participial noun of the neuter gender, which has gradually come to be used as an abstract.

The affinities of the neuter singular suffix in *d* appear to be exclusively Indo-European, and they are found especially in the Indo-European pronouns and pronominals. We may observe this suffix in the Sanskrit *tat,* that; in *tyat,* that; in *adas,* a weakened form of *adat,* that; in *ētat,* this; and in the relative pronoun *yat,* who, which, what. We find it also in the Latin *illud, id,* &c. (compare the Latin *id* with the Tamil *id-u,* this); and in our English demonstrative neuter it (properly hit), the neuter of he, as also in what, the neuter of who. Compare also the Vedic *it,* an indeclinable pronoun, described as "a petrified neuter," which combines with the negative particle *na* to form *nēt,* if not, apparently in the same manner as in Telugu the aoristic neuter *lēdu,* there is not, is compounded of the negative *la* for *ila,* and the suffix *du.* Though the Dravidian languages appear in this point to be allied to the Sanskrit family, it would be unsafe to suppose that they borrowed this neuter singular suffix from Sanskrit. The analogy of the Dravidian neuter plural in *a,* which, though Indo-European, is foreign to Sanskrit, and that of the remote and proximate demonstrative vowels *a* and *i,* which though known to the Indo-European family, are used more systematically and distinctively by the Dravidian languages than by any other class of tongues, would lead to the supposition that these particles were inherited by the Dravidian family, in common with Sanskrit, from a primitive præ-Sanskrit source.

The Plural: Principles of Pluralisation.—In the primitive Indo-European tongues, the plural is carefully distinguished from the singular; and with the exception of a few nouns of quantity which have the form of the singular, but a plural signification, the number of nouns is always denoted by their inflexional terminations. Nouns whose number is indefinite, like our modern English sheep, are unknown to the older dialects of this family. In the languages of the Scythian group a looser principle prevails, and number is generally left indefinite, so that it is the connection alone which determines whether a noun is singular or plural.

Manchu restricts the use of its pluralising particle to words which denote animated beings: all other words are left destitute of signs of number. Even the Tartar, or Oriental Turkish, ordinarily pluralises the pronouns alone and leaves the number of other nouns indeterminate. In Brahui also, the number of nouns is generally left undefined; and when it is desired to attach to any noun the idea of plurality, a word signifying many or several is prefixed to it. Notwithstanding this rule, Brahui verbs are regularly pluralised; and the number of an indeterminate noun may often be ascertained from the number of the verb with which it agrees.

With respect to principles of pluralisation, most of the Dravidian tongues differ considerably from the Indo-European family, and accord on the whole with the languages of the Scythian stock. The number of Tamil nouns, especially of neuter nouns, is ordinarily indefinite; and it depends upon the connection whether any noun is to be regarded as singular or as plural. It is true that when more persons than one are referred to, the high-caste or rational pronouns that are used are almost invariably plural, and that even neuter nouns themselves are sometimes pluralised, especially in polished prose compositions; but the poets and the peasants, the most faithful guardians of antique forms of speech, rarely pluralise the neuter, and are fond of using the singular noun in an indefinite singular-plural sense, without specification of number, except in so far as it is expressed by the context. This rule is adhered to with especial strictness by Tamil, which in this, as in many other particulars, seems to exhibit most faithfully the primitive condition of the Dravidian languages. Thus in Tamil, *māḍu*, ox, means either an ox or oxen, according to the connection; and even when a numeral which necessarily conveys the idea of plurality is prefixed, idiomatic speakers prefer to retain the singular or indefinite form of the noun. Hence they will rather say, *nālu māḍu mēygiṟadu*, literally four ox is feeding, than *nālu māḍugaḷ mēygindrana*, four oxen are feeding, which would sound stiff and pedantic. Telugu is an exception to this rule. In it neuter nouns are as regularly pluralised as masculines or feminines, and the verbs with which they agree are pluralised to correspond. In Tuda, on the other hand, the only words that appear to be ever pluralised are the pronouns and the verbs which have pronouns for their nominatives. In Coorg neuter nouns have no plural. We find a similar usage occasionally even in English, as Mr C. P. Brown points out, in the military phrases, a hundred *foot*, three hundred *horse*.

In Tamil, even when a neuter noun is pluralised by the addition of a pluralising particle, the verb is rarely pluralised to correspond; but the singular form of verb is still used for the plural —the number of the neuter singular being naturally indeterminate. This is almost invariably the practice in the speech of the lower classes; and the colloquial style of even the best-educated classes exhibits a similar characteristic. Tamil contains, it is true, a plural form of the third person neuter of the verb; but the use of this neuter plural verb is ordinarily restricted to poetry, and even in poetry the singular number both of neuter nouns and of the verbs that correspond is much more commonly used than the plural. It should be remarked also, that the third person neuter of the Tamil future, or aorist, is altogether destitute of a plural. In this particular, therefore, the Tamil verb is more decidedly Scythian in character than the noun itself. Max Müller supposes that a Dravidian neuter plural noun, with its suffix of plurality, is felt to be a compound (like animal-mass for animals, or stone-heap for stones), and that it is on this account that it is followed by a verb in the singular. The explanation I have given seems to me preferable. The number of all Dravidian nouns, whether high-caste or caste-less, was originally indefinite: the singular, the primitive condition of every noun, was then the only number which was or could be recognised by verbal or nominal inflexions, and plurality was left to be inferred from the context. As civilisation made progress, the plural made its appearance, and effected a permanent settlement in the department of high-caste or masculine-feminine nouns and verbs; whilst the number of caste-less or neuter nouns, whether suffixes of plurality were used or not, still remained generally unrecognised by the verb in the Dravidian languages. Even where the form exists it is little used. It is curious that in this point the Greek verb exhibits signs of Scythian influences, or of the influences of a culture lower than its own, viz., in the use of the singular verb for the neuter plural.

The Dravidian languages ordinarily express the idea of singularity or oneness, not by the addition of a singular suffix to nouns and pronouns, or by the absence of the pluralising particle (by which number is still left indeterminate), but by prefixing the numeral adjective one. Thus *māḍu,* Tam. ox, does not mean exclusively either an ox or oxen, but admits of either meaning according to circumstances; and if we wish distinctly to specify singularity, we must say *oru māḍu,* one or a certain ox. Europeans in speaking the Dravidian dialects use this prefix of singularity too frequently,

misled by their habitual use of an indefinite article in their own tongues. They also make too free a use, in Tamil, of the distinctively plural form of neuter nouns, when the objects to which they wish to refer are plural. Occasionally, when euphony or usage recommends it, this is done by Tamilians themselves, but as a general rule the neuter singular is used instead of the neuter plural, and that not in Tamil only, but also in almost all the languages of the Scythian group.

Another important particular in which the Indo-European languages differ from the Scythian is, that in the former the plural has a different set of case-terminations from the singular, by the use of which the idea of plurality is not separately expressed, but is compounded with that of case-relation; whilst in the latter family the plural uses the same set of case-terminations as the singular, and plurality is expressed by a sign of plurality common to all the cases, which is inserted between the singular, or crude form of the noun, and the case-terminations. I call it a sign of plurality, not a noun denoting plurality, for in many instances only a fraction of a word, perhaps only a single letter, remains. In the Indo-European languages, each inflexion includes the twofold idea of number and of case. Thus there are a genitive singular and a genitive plural, each of which is a complex idea; but there is no inflexion which can be called genitive, irrespective of number; and in many instances (this of the genitive being one) there is no apparent connection between the case-termination of the singular and that which is used in, and which constitutes, the plural.

In those few cases in which the sign of number and the sign of case seem to have been originally distinct, and to have coalesced into one, the sign of case seems to have preceded that of number *e.g.*, the Gothic plural accusative *ns* is derived from *n* or *m*, the sign of the accusative singular, and *s*, the sign of plurality. When the Scythian family of languages is examined, it is found that each of their case-signs is fixed and unalterable. It expresses the idea of case and nothing more, and is the same in the plural as in the singular, with the exception of those few trivial changes which are required by euphony. The sign of plurality also is not only distinct from the case-sign, but is one and the same in all the cases. It is an unalterable postposition—a fixed quantity; and it is not post-fixed to the case-sign, much less compounded with it, as in the Indo-European languages, but is prefixed to it. It is attached directly to the root itself, and followed by the signs of the different cases.

In the Dravidian languages a similar simplicity and rigidity of structure characterises the use of the particles of plurality. They are added directly to the crude base of the noun (which is equivalent to the nominative singular) and are the same in each of the oblique cases as in the nominative. The signs of case are the same in the plural as in the singular, the only real difference being that in the singular they are suffixed to the crude noun itself, in the plural to the pluralising particle, after the addition of that particle to the crude noun. The only exception to this rule is in Tuḷu, in which *a*, the sign of the genitive, keeps its place in the singular, as in the other dialects, but is weakened to *e* in the plural.

In Hungarian, *hāz*, a house, is declined as follows:

SINGULAR.		PLURAL.	
Nom.	*hāz.*	Nom.	*hāzak.*
Gen.	*hāz-nak.*	Gen.	*hāz-ak-nak.*
Dat.	*hāz-nak.*	Dat.	*hāz-ak-nak.*
Acc.	*hāz-at.*	Acc.	*hāz-ak-at.*

In Tamil, *manei*, a house, is declined as follows:—

SINGULAR.		PLURAL.	
Nom.	*manei.*	Nom.	*manei-gaḷ.*
Acc.	*manei-(y)-ei.*	Acc.	*manei-gaḷ-ei.*
Inst.	*manei-(y)-āl.*	Instr.	*manei-gaḷ-āl.*
Conj.	*manei-(y)-ōḍu.*	Conj.	*manei-gaḷ-ōḍu*
Dat.	*manei-kku.*	Dat.	*manei-gaḷ-(u)-kku.*
Ablat.	*manei-(y)-il-irundu.*	Ablat.	*manei-gaḷ-il-irundu.*
Gen.	*manei-(y)-inadu.*	Gen.	*manei-gaḷ-inadu.*
Locat.	*manei-(y)-iḍatt-il.*	Locat.	*manei-gaḷ-iḍatt-il.*
Voc.	*manei-(y)-ē.*	Voc.	*manei-gaḷ-ē.*

(See Paradigm of Nouns.)

We here see that the particular signs which are used to express plurality and as exponents of case, in Tamil and Hungarian respectively, are taken from the resources of each language; whilst the manner in which they are used in both languages is precisely the same.

The neuter of Dravidian nouns being identical with the crude base, when the pluralising particle is attached to a neuter noun,

it is attached to it not as a substitute for any suffix of the singular, but directly and without any change: it is attached to it pure and simple. In the case of masculine and feminine nouns, including pronouns, a somewhat different method of pluralisation is necessary. The singular of the masculine and feminine is formed, as has already been pointed out, by the addition to the root of particles denoting a male or a female. Hence, to pluralise those nouns, it is necessary either to add a pluralising particle to the masculine and feminine suffixes, or to substitute for those suffixes an epicene pluralising particle. In all the Dravidian languages the primitive plan of pluralising these two classes of nouns seems to have been that of substituting for the masculine and feminine singular suffixes a suffix of plurality which applied in common to men and women, without distinction of sex. This is the mode which is still used in most of the dialects; but in Telugu it retains its place only in connection with pronouns and verbs, and has disappeared from substantives, which form their plural by means of a neuter suffix.

The classification of Dravidian nouns into rational and irrationals has already been explained; it has also been shown that in the singular, the masculine of rational nouns is distinguished from the feminine. In the plural both those genders are combined; the high-caste particle of plurality, or plural of rational beings, is the same for both genders, and includes men and women, gods and goddesses, without distinction of sex. Irrational or neuter nouns have a particle of plurality different from this, and in general peculiar to themselves. Hence the Dravidian languages have one form of the plural which may be called epicene or masculine-feminine, and another which is ordinarily restricted to the neuter; and by means of these pluralising particles, gender and number are conjointly expressed in the plural by one and the same termination. The masculine-feminine plural expresses the idea of plurality conjointly with that of rationality; the neuter plural, the idea of plurality conjointly with that of irrationality.

Arrangements of this kind for giving combined expression to gender and number are very commonly observed in the Indo-European family; and even the plan of classing masculines and feminines together in the plural, without distinction of sex, is also very common. Thus, the Sanskrit plural in *as* is masculine-feminine; so is the Latin plural in *es*, and the Greek in εs. The chief difference with respect to this point between the Dravidian system and the Indo-European one lies in this, that in the Dravidian languages the masculine-feminine particle of plurality is

carefully restricted to rational beings; whereas in the Indo-European languages irrational and even inanimate objects are often complimented with inflexional forms and pluralising particles which imply the existence, not only of vitality, but even of personality—that is, of self-conscious intelligence. A still closer analogy to the Dravidian system is that which is exhibited by the New Persian. That dialect possesses two pluralising particles, of which one, *ān*, is suffixed to nouns denoting living beings, the other, *hā*, to nouns denoting inanimate objects. The particles employed in Persian are different from those which are used in the Dravidian languages, but the principle is evidently analogous. The Persians specialise *life*, the Dravidians *reason;* and both of them class the sexes together indiscriminately in the plural.

In Telugu some confusion has been introduced between the epicene sign of plurality *ar-u*, and the neuter *lu*. The pronouns pluralise their masculines and feminines regularly by substituting *ar-u* for their masculine and feminine singular suffixes, whilst the substantives and some of the appellative nouns append *lu*, which is properly the neuter sign of plurality, instead of the more correct *ar-u*. Thus the Telugu demonstrative pronoun *vār-u*, they (the plural of *vāṉḍu*, he), corresponding to the Canarese *avar-u*, exhibits the regular epicene plural; whilst *magaṉḍu*, a husband (in Tamil *magan*, a son), takes for its plural not *magaru*, but *magalu;* and some nouns of this class add *lu* to the masculine or feminine singular suffix—*e.g.*, *alluḍu*, a son-in-law, makes in the plural not *alluru*, nor even *alluḷu*, but *allunḍlu*, nasalised from *alluḍlu;* and instead of *vāru*, they, *vāṉḍlu* is colloquially used, a word which is formed on the same plan as the Low Tamil *avangaḷ*, they, instead of *avargaḷ*, or the higher and purer *avar*.

One of the few cases in which the irrational pluralising particle is used in the higher dialect of the Tamil instead of the rational epicene, is that of *makkaḷ* (*maggaḷ*), mankind, people. This is not really, however an exception to the rule, for *makkaḷ* is regarded by Tamil grammarians as the plural of *maga* (from *mag-u*), and the primary meaning of this seems to be child, a naturally neuter noun. Another instance of this anomaly both in Tamil and Canarese, and one to which no exception can be taken, is that of the masculine noun *guru* (Sans.), a teacher. The plural of this word is in Tam. *gurukkaḷ*, in Can. *guru-gaḷu*. Tuḷu also has *gurukuḷu*.

Tuḷu agrees with the other dialects in using *er* as its sign of

plurality in personal nouns, but differs from most of them in using this form occasionally only, and using *gaḷ*, or the shape which *gaḷ* assumes in Tuḷu, as its ordinary plural of personal nouns, as well as of neuters. Thus, the plural pronouns of the third person in ordinary use in Tuḷu are *ākuḷu*, they (*rem*), *mōkuḷu*, they (*prox.*). It uses also *ār'* (Tam. *avar*) for the former, and *mēr'* (Tam. *ivar*) for the latter, but rather as honorific singulars than as plurals. It also uses *nīkuḷu* for you, instead of *īr'*, the latter having come to be used as an honorific singular.

The Ku rational plural is *ngā*, which is properly an irrational one. The pronouns and participial nouns form their rational plural by the addition of *āru*, which is identical with the *ar* of the other dialects. Modern colloquial Tamil seems to have been influenced in some degree by the usage of Telugu, and has adopted the practice of adding the irrational plural to the rational one, thereby systematically forming a double plural *ar-gal*, instead of the old rational plural *ar*—*e.g.*, *avan*, he, and *avaḷ*, she, properly take *avar*, they, as their plural; but the plural preferred by modern Tamil is the double one *avargaḷ*. So also the plural of the second person is properly *nīr*; but the plural which is most commonly used is *nīṅ-gaḷ* (from *nīm*, an older form of *nīr*, and *gaḷ*), which is a double plural like *avar-gaḷ*. Two forms of the epicene plural being thus placed at the disposal of the Tamil people (the classical *nīr* and *avar*, and the colloquial *nīṅ-gaḷ* and *avar-gaḷ*), they have converted the former, in colloquial usage and in prose compositions, into an honorific singular, and the same practice is not unknown in Canarese. This usage, though universally prevalent now, was almost unknown to the poets. I have not observed in the poets, or in any of the old inscriptions in my possession, any instance of the use of the epicene plural as an honorific singular, except in connection with the names and titles of the divinities, whether those names and titles are applied to the gods themselves, or are conferred honorifically upon kings. Even in those cases, however, the corresponding pronoun follows the ordinary rule, and is very rarely honorific. In modern Telugu a double plural, similar to that of the Tamil, has gained a footing—*e.g.*, *vāra-lu* (for *vār-u*), they, and *mīra-lu* (for *mīr-u*), you. In Malayālam, *avar* is still constantly used for the ordinary epicene plural, and *avargaḷ* is used more commonly as an honorific singular. This use of *avargaḷ* is also common in Tamil, and the corresponding *gāru* equally so in Telugu. (Tam. *durei-avargaḷ* = Tel. *dora-gāru*, the gentleman, literally the gentlemen, his honour.) In Canarese, *avaru* is commonly used simply as a plural; *ātanu* is re-

garded as the honorific singular, though *avaru* also is sometimes used in this sense. *nīṅgaḷ* in Tamil and Malayālam is both plural and honorific singular, like Can. *nīvu* and Tel. *mīru*.

Telugu, as has been observed, pluralises masculine and feminine substantive nouns by the addition, not of the rational, but of the neuter or irrational sign of plurality. By a similar inversion of idiom, Gōnd sometimes uses the rational plural to pluralise neuter nouns—*e.g.*, *kāwālor*, crows. Such usages, however, are evidently exceptions to the general and more distinctively Dravidian rule, according to which the neuter pluralising particle is restricted to neuter nouns, and the epicene particle to rational or personal nouns, *i.e.*, masculines and feminines.

We shall now consider in detail the pluralising particles themselves.

1. *Epicene Pluralising Particle.*—This particle is virtually one and the same in all the dialects, and the different forms it has taken are owing merely to euphonic peculiarities. In Tamil nouns, pronouns, and verbs, it assumes the forms of *ar, ār, ōr; ir, īr*: in Canarese and Telugu, *aru, aru; āre, ēru, ri, ru*: in Tuḷu, *er*: in Ku, *āru*: in Gōnd, *ōr*. The lengthened forms include the assimilated demonstrative vowel of the pronoun. The Brahui also forms the second person plural of its verb in *ere, ure*, &c., the third person in *ur* or *ar*. I regard *ar* (not simply *r*) as probably the primitive shape of this pluralising particle, from which the other forms have been derived by euphonic mutation. It is true that *nī*, thou, forms its plural in modern Tamil by simply adding *r;* but this does not prove that *r* alone was the primitive form of the epicene plural, for an older form of *nīr*, you, is *nī-(v)-ir* or *nī-(y)-ir*, from which *nīr* has evidently been derived. It might naturally be supposed that in this case *ir* is used instead of *ar*, through the attraction of the preceding long vowel *ī;* but we also find *ir* used as a pluralising particle in *magaḷir, High* Tam. women, and also a longer form, *īr*, in *magaḷīr;* consequently *ir* has acquired a position of its own in the language, as well as *ar*. All that we can certainly conclude respecting the original shape of this particle is that the final *r*, which is plainly essential, was preceded by a vowel, and that that vowel was probably *a*. May we regard this *a* as identical with the demonstrative *a?* On this supposition, *ar* would be simply an older form of *a(v)ar*, and would mean those persons; *ir* would mean these persons. On the other hand, may we venture to identify *ir* and *īr* with the second numeral *ir* and *īr*, two? *nīr* would on this supposition have

been originally a dual, meaning ye two. It is not impossible, indeed, that the plural may in all languages have been developed out of the dual. In Bornu, we, ye, they, mean literally we two, ye two, they two. The chief difficulty in the way of accepting this as the origin of the Tamil *ir* or *nīr,* you, is that the *ar* of *avar,* they, which is the form of the epicene plural most commonly used, would have to be regarded as a corruption and a mistake, which it does not appear to be. The Canarese rational plural suffix *andar—e.g., avandar-u* (for *avar-u*), *illi,* and *ivandar-u* (for *ivar-u*), *hi* seems to be identical with the Tel. indefinite plural *andar-u, indar-u,* so many, the final *ar* of which is the ordinary suffix of epicene plural. In old Canarese, *ir* is a plural vocative of epicenes.

Tamil and Malayālam have another particle of plurality applicable to rational beings, viz., *mār,* or in High Tamil *mar,* which has a considerable resemblance to *ar,* and is evidently allied to it. It is suffixed to the noun which it qualifies in a different manner from *ar;* for whilst *ar* is substituted for the masculine and feminine suffixes of the singular, not added to them, *mār* is generally added to the singular suffix by idiomatic writers and speakers. Thus in Tamil, *puruṣhan* (Sans.), a man, a husband, when pluralised by suffixing *ar* becomes *puruṣhar;* but if *mār* is used instead of *ar,* it is not substituted for *an,* the masculine singular suffix, but appended to it—*e.g., puruṣhan-mār,* not *puruṣha-mar. mār,* it is true, is sometimes added to *ar—e.g., puruṣhar-mār;* but this is considered unidiomatical. *mār* is also sometimes used as an isolated particle of plurality in a peculiarly Scythian manner—*e.g., tāy-tagappan-mār,* Tam. mothers and fathers, parents; in which both mother and father are in the singular, and *mār* is separately appended to pluralise both. Probably there was originally no difference in signification between *ar* and *mar* or *mār.* In modern Tamil, *mār* is suffixed to nouns signifying parents, priests, kings, &c., as a plural of honour, but it may be suffixed, if necessary, to any class of nouns denoting rational beings. In Malayālam it is used with a wider range of application than in Tamil, and in cases in which an honorific meaning cannot be intended—*e.g., kaḷḷan-mār,* thieves. The antiquity of many of the forms of the Malayālam grammar favours the supposition that in ancient Tamil, which was apparently identical with ancient Malayālam, *mar* or *mār* may generally have been used instead of *ar,* as the ordinary pluralising particle of high-caste nouns.

A few traces of the use of the particle *mār,* as the ordinary

sign of epicene plurality, survive in classical Tamil. *mar*, which is evidently equivalent to *mār*, forms the epicene plural of a few nouns —*e.g.*, *eṇmar*, eight persons. As *ar* is older than *ār* (the latter being euphonised from *avar* by the coalescence of the vowels), so in like manner it may be concluded that *mar* is older than *mār*. This *mar* again seems to have been derived from *var*, or to be an older form of it, *m* and *v* being sometimes found to change places. When the Tam. *nālvar*, four persons, *eivar*, five persons, are compared with *eṇmar*, eight persons, it is evident that *mar* is equivalent to *var*, and probable that the use of *m* for *v* is an euphonic change. *nālmar* would be impossible in classical Tamil; *eṇmar* is not only possible, but euphonic.

var is a very common formative of epicene appellative nouns in Tamil and Malayālam, and often appears as *avar*, in which case we cannot but regard it as the pronominal *avar*, they, used as a plural formative—*e.g.*, *viṇṇavar*, Tam. the heavenly ones, from *viṇ*, heaven, with *avar* affixed. Compare this form with participial nouns like *śeydavar*, Tam. they who did, from *śeyd-*(*u*), having done, and *avar*, they, and the identity in origin of the *avar* of *viṇṇavar* and that of *śeydavar* will be evident. This *avar*, again, seems to have been abbreviated into *var*, like the Telugu *avaru*, they, into *vāru*. The *v* of *eivar*, five persons, might be regarded as simply euphonic, as a soft consonant inserted to prevent hiatus, but this explanation is inadmissible in the case of *nālvar*, four persons, there being no hiatus here to be provided against. This *var* being identical in use with *avar*, it may safely be concluded to be identical with it in origin; and if *var* is a pronominal form, an abbreviation of *avar*, may not *mar* be the same? The example of the lengthening of *ar* into *ār* (*i.e.*, the substitution of the plural pronoun itself in an euphonised form for the bare particle of plurality) would naturally lead to the lengthening of *var* into *vār* (the origin of the *v* being by this time forgotten); and when once *mar* had established itself instead of *var*, this also would naturally be lengthened into *mār*. Thus *tagappan-mār* would come to be used instead of *tagappan-vār*. This suffixing of the plural formative to the singular noun, which seems so irregular, may be compared with the mode in which the singular is still honorifically pluralised by the addition of the plural pronoun—*e.g.*, *tagappan-avargaḷ*, father, and especially with the still more common *tagappan-ār*, forms which, though used as singular, are grammatically plurals. *tagappan-mār* is invariably used as a plural, but it seems not improbable that it is identical in origin with *tagappan-ār*.

In this explanation of *mār* I have followed a suggestion of Dr Gundert; but I find myself unable to follow him also in supposing the Tamil verbal terminations *mar, mār, manār,* to be identical in origin with the pluralising particles *mar, mār,* though I admit that at first sight it seems impossible to suppose them to be otherwise. These are poetical forms of the future tense only, which do not make their appearance in any other part of the verb, and the *m* they contain will be found, I think, on examination, to have a futuric, not a pronominal signification. It appears to be identical with *b* or *v,* the sign of the future, and there appears no reason why *m* should not be used instead of *v* or *b* in this instance, as well as in others that have already been pointed out. The impersonal future of *en,* to say, in classical Tamil is *enba.* When the personal terminations of the third person plural are suffixed to the root, we find 'they will say' represented indifferently by *enbar,* or *enmar, enbār, enmār,* or *enmanār.* The force of the future, according to Tamil grammarians, being conveyed by each of these forms in *m,* precisely as by each of the forms in *b,* I conclude that this future *m* must be regarded as independent of the *m* of the pluralising particle, and the resemblance between the two, however complete, to be after all accidental. Dr Gundert suggests that the final *ār* of *enmanār,* preceded by *an,* may be explained by a comparison of it with *tagappan-ār,* a form already referred to, and here I am disposed to coincide with him.

We have now to inquire whether *ar, ār, mar,* and *mār,* the Dravidian plurals of rationality, appear to sustain any relation to the plural terminations, or pluralising suffixes, of other languages. It might at first sight be supposed that the formation of the plural by the addition of *r* to the singular which characterises some of the Teutonic tongues, is analogous to the use of *r* or *ar* in the Dravidian languages. In the Icelandic the most common plural is that which terminates in *r*—sometimes the consonant *r* alone, sometimes the syllables *ar, ir, ur*—*e.g., konungur,* kings. A relic of this plural may be traced in the vulgar English childer, for children. The same plural appears in the old Latin termination of the masculine plural in *or* which is found in the Eugubian tables—*e.g., subator* for *subacti,* and *screhitor* for *scripti.* Compare also *mas,* the termination of the first person plural of verbs in Sanskrit, with *mar,* the corresponding termination in Irish, answering to the Doric μες *(mes)* and the ordinary Greek μεν *(men).* In these cases however, the resemblance to the Dravidian plural *ar* is perhaps rather apparent than real; for the final *r* of these forms has been hardened from an older *s,* and the *s* of the Sanskrit nominative

singular is hardened in some of the Teutonic tongues into *r*, equally with the *as* or *s* of the plural; whilst there is no evidence, on which we can rely, of the existence of a tendency in the Dravidian languages to harden *s* into *r*, and therefore no evidence for the supposition that the Dravidian epicene *ar* has been derived from, or is connected with, the Sanskrit masculine-feminine *as*. It should also be noted that the Irish *mar* is a compound of two forms, *ma*, the representative of the singular of the personal pronoun I, and *r*, the hardened equivalent of the plural suffix *s*; and that, therefore, it has no real resemblance to the Dravidian *mar*, which is entirely and exclusively a plural suffix of the third person.

There is more probability perhaps of the Dravidian plural suffixes being related to the pluralising particles of some of the Scythian languages. The Turkish plural suffix, which is inserted, as in the Dravidian languages, between the crude noun and each of the case-terminations, is *lar* or *ler*—*e.g.*, *ān-lar*, they. Dr Logan says, but on what authority does not appear, that *nar* is a plural suffix in Kōl. Mongolian nouns which end with a vowel are pluralised by the addition of *nar* or *ner*, a particle which is evidently related to, or identical with, the Turkish *lar* or *ler*: and the resemblance of this Mongol suffix *nar* to the Dravidian *mar*, both in the final *ar* and in the nasal prefix, is remarkable. It is well known that *m* evinces a tendency to be softened into *n* (witness the change of the Sanskrit *mama*, my, into *mana* in Zend); and in this manner it may perhaps be supposed that the Dravidian *mar* may be allied to the High Asian *nar*. The Tamil *iḷeiñar* (*iḷei-ñar*), young people, a plural appellative noun, formed from *iḷei*, youth, exhibits a form of pluralisation which at first sight seems very closely to resemble the Mongolian *nar*. Nay, *nar* is actually used in this very instance instead of *ñar* by some of the poets, and it is certain that *ñ* and *n* often change places. Unfortunately we find this *ñ* or *n* in the singular, as well as the plural; which proves it to be inserted merely for euphony in order to prevent hiatus, and therefore *iḷeiñar* must be re-divided, and represented not as *iḷei ñar*, but as *iḷei-(ñ)-ar* or *iḷei-(n)-ar*, equivalent to *iḷei-(y)-ar*. The resemblance of the final syllable *nār*, of the Tamil verb *enmanār*, already commented on, to the Mongolian plural suffix *nar*, seems more reliable, and yet that also seems to disappear on further examination.

Turkish, besides its ordinary plural *lar* or *ler*, uses *z* as a plural suffix of the personal pronouns, as may be observed in *biz*, we, and *siz*, you; and the Turkish terminal *z* corresponds to the *r* of some other Scythian languages. Thus *yāz*, Turkish, summer, is

in Magyar *yār* or *ñār* (compare the Tamil *ñāyiṟ-u*, the sun). It would almost appear, therefore, that the Turkish suffix of plurality has undergone a process of change and comminution similar to that of the Tamil, and that the Turkish *z* and the Tamil *r* are remotely connected, as the last remaining representatives or relics of *mar*, *nar*, and *lar*.

Though I call attention to these and similar Scythian correspondences, I wish it to be understood that I do so only in the hope that they will be inquired into more thoroughly, and the existence or otherwise of a real relationship between them and the Dravidian forms with which they correspond ascertained. I attribute much more weight to the resemblance between the Dravidian languages and those of the Scythian group in the use they make of these particles of plurality, and the manner in which they connect them with the case-sign than to any resemblance, however close, that can be traced between the particles themselves. We should look, I think, not so much at the linguistic materials used by the Scythian languages and the Dravidian respectively, as at the use they severally make of those materials.

2. *Pluralising Particles of the Neuter.*—There are two neuter pluralising particles used by the Dravidian languages:—

(1.) *The Neuter Plural Suffix gaḷ, with its Varieties.*—It has already been noticed that *gaḷ* is occasionally used in Tamil and Canarese as the plural suffix of rational nouns and pronouns; and that the corresponding Telugu *lu* is still more systematically used in this manner. Nevertheless, I have no doubt that it was originally and is essentially a suffix of the neuter plural. This suffix is in both dialects of the Tamil *gaḷ*—*e.g.*, *kei-gaḷ*, hands, with only such changes as are required by Tamilian rules of euphony. In accordance with one of those rules, when *g*, the initial consonant of *gaḷ*, is doubled, or preceded without an intermediate vowel by another consonant, *gaḷ* is regularly hardened into *kaḷ* or *kkaḷ*. Thus *kal-gaḷ*, stones, is changed by rule into *karkal*. *gaḷ* is occasionally lengthened in Tamil poetry into *gāḷ*. In Malayālam this particle is generally *gaḷ*, *kaḷ*, or *kkaḷ*, but sometimes the initial *k* coalesces with a preceding nasal and becomes *ṅ*—*e.g.*, *niṅ-ṅaḷ*, you, instead of *nim-kaḷ*, in Tamil *nīṅ-gaḷ*. In modern Canarese we have *gaḷ-u*, in ancient *gaḷ*, as in Tamil. The three southern idioms are in perfect agreement with respect to this particle, but when we advance further north we shall find its shape considerably modified.

In Telugu the corresponding neuter plural suffix is *lu*, of which the *l* answers, as is usual in Telugu, to the lingual *ḷ* of the other

dialects: *l-u*, therefore, accords with the final syllable of the Canarese *gaḷ-u*. The only real difference between the Telugu and the Tamil-Canarese consists in the omission by the former of the initial consonant *k* or *g*. Traces, however, exist, in Telugu, of the use of a vowel before *lu*. Thus, in *guṟṟālu*, horses, the *long ā* is derived from the combination of the short final *a* of the inflexional base *guṟṟa* and a vowel, evidently *a*, which must have preceded *lu*. We thus arrive at *al-u* as the primitive form of the Telugu plural; and it is obvious that *al-u* could easily have been softened from *gal-u*. Conjecture, however, is scarcely needed, for in some nouns ending in *n-u*, of which the Tamil equivalents end in *m*, the old Dravidian pluralising particle in *gaḷ* is exhibited in Telugu almost as distinctly as in Tamil. Thus, *kolan-u* a tank (Tamil *kuḷam*), takes as its plural *kolan-kul-u*, a word cited in this form by Nannaya Bhaṭṭa (Tamil *kuḷaṅ-gaḷ*), and *gon-u*, the name of a species of tree, forms its plural in *gon-gul-u*. When *kul-u* and *gul-u* are compared with the Tamil-Canarese forms *kaḷ*, *gaḷ*, and *gaḷ-u*, it is obvious that they are not only equivalent but identical. An illustration of the manner in which the Telugu *lu* has been softened from *gal-u*, may be taken also from colloquial Tamil, in which *avargal*, they, is commonly pronounced *avāḷ*; *Pirāmaṇargaḷ*, Brahmans, *Pirāmaṇāḷ*. *k* or *g* is dropped or elided in a similar manner in many languages of the Scythian family. Tuḷu, though locally remote from Telugu, follows its example in many points, and amongst others in this. It often rejects the *k* or *g* of the plural, and uses merely *ḷu*, like Telugu. It uses the full form *kuḷu* more rarely.

The same form of the pluralising particle appears in the languages of some of the tribes of the north-eastern frontier—languages which possibly form a link of connection between the Dravidian and the Tibetan families. In the Miri or Abor-Miri dialect, *nō*, thou, forms its plural in *nōlu*, you; and in the Dhimāl, *nē*, thou, is pluralised into *nyēl*, you. The pronoun of the Mikir is pluralised by adding *li*—*e.g.*, *na-li*, you, whilst substantives have no plural form. In the Dhimāl, substantive nouns are pluralised by the addition of *galai*, which is possibly the origin of the pronominal plural *l*, though this particle or word, *galai*, is not compounded with, or agglutinated to, the noun, but placed after it separately. Though it is used as a separate word, it does not seem to retain any signification of its own independent of its use as a postposition. The resemblance of *galai* to the Tamil-Canarese *gaḷ* or *gaḷu*, is distinct and remarkable. The pluralising particle of the Naga also is *khala*,

It is not an uncommon occurrence to find one portion of a much-used prefix or suffix in one language or dialect of a family, and another portion of it in another member of the same family. Seeing, therefore, that the Telugu has adopted the latter portion of the particle *kaḷ*, *gaḷ*, or *gaḷu*, and omitted the initial *ka*, *ga*, or *k*, we may expect to find this *k* used as a pluralising particle in some other Dravidian dialect, and the final *ḷu* or *ḷ* omitted. Accordingly, in Gōnd we find that the plural neuter is commonly formed by the addition of *k* alone—*e.g.*, *nai*, a dog, *naik*, dogs (compare Tamil *nāykaḷ*, pronounced *nāygaḷ*). The Seoni-Gōnd forms its plural by adding *nk*—*e.g.*, *neli*, a field, *nelnk*, fields. The Ku dialect uses *ngā*, and also *skā*, of all which forms *k* or *g* constitutes the basis.

k is sometimes found to interchange with *t*, especially in the languages of High Asia. This interchange appears also in the Gōnd pluralising particle; for whilst *k* is the particle in general use, the pronouns of the first and second persons form their plurals, or double plurals, by the addition of *t* to the nominative—*e.g.*, *amat*, we, *imat*, you. The same interchange between *k* and *t* appears in Brahui. Though a separate word is usually employed by Brahui to denote plurality, a suffix in *k* is also sometimes used; but this *k* is found only in the nominative plural, and is replaced by *t* in the oblique cases.

When we turn to the grammatical forms of the Finnish family of languages, we find some tolerably distinct analogies to this Dravidian plural suffix. Compare with the Dravidian forms noticed above the Magyar plural is *k* or *ak*; the Lappish in *k*, *ch*, or *h*: also the *t* by which *k* is replaced in almost all the other dialects of the Finnish family; and observe the reappearance of the sound of *l* in the Ostiak plural suffix *tl*. In Ostiak, the dual suffix is *kan*, or *gan*; in Samoïed-Ostiak, *ga* or *ka*; in Kamass, *gai*. Castren supposes these suffixes to be derived from the conjunctive particle *ka* or *ki*, also; but their resemblance to the Dravidian signs of plurality is worth noticing. Even Armenian forms its plural in *k*—*e.g.*, *tu*, thou, *tuk*, you; *sirem*, I love; *siremk*, we love. In Turkish also, *k* is the sign of plurality in some forms of the first person plural of the verb—*e.g.*, *ïdum*, I was, *ïduk*, we were. *t*, on the other hand, is the sign of the plural in Mongolian, and in Calmuck is softened into *d*. Even in Zend, though a language of a different family, there is a neuter plural in *t*. Thus, for *imāni* (Sans.), these things, Zend has *imat*.

In those instances of the interchange of *t* and *k*, in which it can be ascertained with tolerable clearness which consonant was

the one originally used and which was the corruption, *t* sometimes appears to be older than *k*. Thus, the *Doric* τῆνος (*tēnos*) is in better accordance with related words, and therefore probably older than the Æolian κῆνος (*kēnos*), the origin of ἐ-κεῖνος (*e-keinos*). The Semitic pronoun or pronominal fragment *ta*, thou (preserved in *attā* and *antā*), is also, I doubt not, a more accurate and older form than the equivalent or auxiliary suffix *kā*. In several of the Polynesian dialects, *k* is found instead of an apparently earlier Sanskrit or præ-Sanskrit *t*. On the other hand, as Dr Gundert points out, *k* sometimes appears to be older than *t*, particularly in Greek—*e.g.*, compare Gr. τις (*tis*) with Sans. *kas*. If, in accordance with a portion of these precedents, where *k* and *t* are found interchanged, *t* is to be regarded as older than *k*, it would follow that *kaḷ*, the Dravidian plural suffix now under consideration, may originally have been *taḷ*. I cannot think that the Dravidian *gaḷ* has been derived, as Dr Stevenson supposed, from the Sanskrit *sakala* (in Tamil *śagala*), all. *kal*, the base of *sa-kala*, has been connected with ὅλ-ος (*hol-os*); but *el*, the root signifying 'all,' which is found in all the Dravidian languages—Tel. *ella*; Tam.-Mal. *ellā*, *ellām*, *ellāvum* (the conjunction *um* intensifies the meaning)—if it were related to any Indo-European word at all, which is doubtful, would be connected, not with the Gr. ὁλ (*hol*), Heb. *kol*, Sans. *sar-va*, &c., but with the Germanic *alla*, Eng. *all*. The Dravidian *taḷa*, one of the meanings of which is a heap, a quantity, would suit very well; but even this derivation of *kaḷ* is destitute of evidence. The suppositious Dravidian *taḷ* may be compared with the Ostiak plural suffix *tl*; but in the absence of evidence it is useless to proceed with conjectural analogies.

The New Persian neuter plural, or plural of inanimate objects, which corresponds generally to the Dravidian neuter plural, is *hā*, a form which Bopp derives with much probability from the Zend. It may here be mentioned, though I do not attach any importance to a resemblance which is certainly accidental, that the Tamil plural *gaḷ* sometimes resembles *ha* in the pronunciation of the peasantry—*e.g.*, *irukkiṟārgaḷ*, they are, is vulgarly pronounced *irukkiṟāha*.

(2.) *Neuter Plural Suffix in a.*—In addition to the neuter plural in *gaḷ*, with its varieties, we find in nearly all the Dravidian languages a neuter plural in short *a*, or traces of the use of it at some former period. *gaḷ*, though a neuter plural suffix, is occasionally used, especially in the modern dialects, as the plural suffix of rationals; but in those dialects in which *a* is used, its use is invari-

ably restricted to neuters, and it seems therefore to be a more essentially neuter form than *gaḷ* itself.

We shall first examine the traces of the existence and use of this suffix which are contained in Tamil. *gaḷ* is invariably used in Tamil as the plural suffix of uncompounded neuter nouns; but *a* is preferred in the classical dialect for pluralising neuter compounds, that is, appellative nouns, or those which are compounded of a base and a suffix of gender, together with demonstrative pronouns, pronominal adjectives, and participial nouns. Even in the ordinary dialect, *a* is generally used as the suffix of the neuter plural in the conjugation of verbs.

The second line in one of the distichs of Tiruvaḷḷuvar's "Kuṛaḷ" contains two instances of the use of *a* as a neuter plural of appellative nouns—*e.g., āgula nīra piṟa,* vain shows (are all) other (things). The first of these three words is used adjectivally; and in that case the final *a* is merely that which remains of the neuter termination *am,* after the regular rejection of *m;* but the next two words, *nīra* and *piṟa,* are undoubted instances of the use of *a* as a suffix of the neuter plural of appellatives. The much-used Tamil words *pala,* several, or many (things), and *śila,* some, or some (things), (from *pal* and *śil*), though commonly considered as adjectives, are in reality neuter plurals—*e.g., piṇi pala,* diseases (are) many; *pala-* (*v*) *-in-pāl,* the neuter plural gender, literally the gender of the many (things). This is the case also in poetry in Malayālam. The use of these words adjectivally, and with the signification, not of the collective, but of the distributive plural, has led some persons to overlook their origin and real meaning, but I have no doubt that they are plurals. So also *alla,* not, is properly a plural appellative. It is formed from the root *al,* not, by the addition of *a,* the plural suffix, and literally means things that are not, and the singular that corresponds to *alla* is *al-du,* not, euphonically *andru,* literally a thing that is not. In the higher dialect of Tamil, all nouns of quality and relation may be, and very frequently are, converted into appellatives and pluralised by the addition of *a*—*e.g., ariya* (Kural), things that are difficult, *difficilia.* We have some instances in High Tamil of the use of *a* as the plural suffix even of substantive nouns—*e.g., poruḷa,* substances, things that are real, realities (from the singular *porul,* a thing, a substance); also *poruḷana* and *poruḷavei*—with the addition of *ana* and *avei* (for *ava*), the plural neuters of the demonstrative pronouns.

The neuter plural of the third person of the Tamil verb, a form which is used occasionally in ordinary prose as well as in the classical

dialect, ends in *ana*—*e.g.*, *irukkindrana*, they (neut.) are. *ana* is undoubtedly identical with *ava* (now *avei*), the neuter plural of the demonstrative pronoun, and is possibly an older form than *ava*. It is derived from the demonstrative base *a*, with the addition of *a*, the neuter plural suffix, and an euphonic consonant (*n* or *v*) to prevent hiatus—*e.g.*, *a*-(*n*)-*a* or *a*-(*v*)-*a*. Sometimes in classical Tamil this *a*, the sign of the neuter plural, is added directly to the temporal suffix of the verb, without the addition of the demonstrative base of the pronoun—*e.g.*, *mīṇḍa*, they (neut.) returned, instead of *mīṇḍana*. This final *a* is evidently a sign of the neuter plural, and of that alone.

Possibly we should also regard as a sign of the neuter plural the final *a* of the High Tamil possessive adjectives *ena*, my (things), *mea; nama*, our (things), *nostra*. The final *a* of *ena* would, on this supposition, be not only equivalent to the final *a* of the Latin *mea*, but really identical with it. These possessive adjectives are regarded by Tamil grammarians as genitives; and it will be shown hereafter that *a* is undoubtedly the most essential sign of the genitive in the Dravidian languages. The real nature of *ena* and *nama* will be discussed when the genitive case-terminations are inquired into. It should be stated, however, under this head, that Tamil grammarians admit that *ena* and *nama*, though, as they say, genitives, must be followed by nouns in the neuter plural—*e.g.*, *ena keigaḷ*, my hands; and this, so far as it goes, constitutes the principal argument in favour of regarding the final *a* of these words, not as a genitive, but as the ordinary neuter plural suffix of the high dialect.

In Malayālam, the oldest daughter of Tamil, and a faithful preserver of many old forms, the neuter plurals of the demonstrative pronouns are *ava*, those (things), and *iva*, these (things). The existence, therefore, in Tamil and Malayālam of a neuter plural in short *a*, answering to a neuter singular in *d*, is clearly established. In addition to *ava* and *iva*, *avattrugaḷ* and *ivattrugaḷ* are regularly used in Malayālam, like the double plural *aveigaḷ*, *iveigaḷ*, in Tamil.

Canarese appears to have originally agreed with Tamil in all the particulars and instances mentioned above; but the neuter plural in *a* is now generally hidden in that dialect by the addition of euphonic *u*, or the addition of *avu*, they, neuter (corresponding to the Tamil *avei*), to the base. Thus *pira*, Tam. other (things), is in Canarese *heravu*. The neuter plural of the demonstrative pronoun is not *ava*, as it is in Malayālam, and as it must have been in primitive Tamil, but *avu*. Though, however, the nominative is *avu*, all the oblique cases in the ancient Canarese reject the final *u* before

receiving the case-suffixes, and must have been formed from the base of an older *ava*—*e.g.*, *avara* (*ava-ra*), of those things.

The Telugu plural neuters of the demonstratives are *avi*, those, *ivi*, these, answering to the singular neuters *adi* and *idi*. The oblique forms of the same demonstratives (or rather the bases of those oblique forms), to which the case-terminations are suffixed, are *vā* remote, and *vī* proximate (*vāṭi*, *vīṭe*), which are evidently formed (by that process of displacement peculiar to Telugu) from the primitive bases *ava* and *iva*, like *vāru*, from *avaru*, and *vīru*, from *ivaru*. The neuter plural of the Telugu verb is formed by suffixing *avi* or *vi*.

Dr Gundert calls my attention here to the natural and easy transition from one vowel to another apparent on comparing the Malayālam and old Tamil *ava* with the modern Tamil *avei*, and finally with the Telugu *avi*. So also Malayālam and old Tamil *illa*, none, is *illei* in modern Tamil. Final *a* constantly lapses in the Dravidian languages into a weaker sound.

In Gōnd the singular demonstratives are *ad* and *id;* the corresponding plurals *av* and *iv*. If Telugu and Gōnd were the only extant dialects of the Dravidian family, we should naturally conclude that as *d* is the sign of the neuter singular, so *v* is the sign of the neuter plural. When the other extant dialects, however (Tamil, Malayālam, and Canarese), are examined, we perceive that this *v* is not a sign of plurality, nor a sign of anything but of abhorrence of hiatus; and that it is merely an euphonic link between the preceding and succeeding vowels. Telugu and Gōnd must therefore yield to the overpowering weight of evidence which is adducible in proof of this point from their sister dialects. Nor is there anything opposed to analogy in the supposition that Telugu has changed the *a*, which was the sign of the neuter plural of its pronouns and verbs, into *i*, and then, to represent the idea of plurality, adopted a consonant which was used originally merely to prevent hiatus. In the case of *avaru*, they, *illi*, converted into *vāru*, and *ivaru*, they, *hi*, converted into *vīru*, *v*, though only euphonic in its origin, has become an initial and apparently a radical; and the old initial and essentially demonstrative vowels *a* and *i* have been thrust into a secondary place. The conversion, therefore, of *ava* into *vā*, and of *iva* into *vī* (*vāṭi*, *vīṭi*), the oblique forms of the Telugu plural demonstratives, is directly in accordance with this analogy; and thus Telugu cannot be considered as opposed to the concurrent testimony of the other dialects, which is to the effect that *v* is merely euphonic, and that *a* is the sign of the neuter plural of the demonstrative pronouns.

I remarked it as a curious irregularity, that in Tuḷu *v* had become the sign of the neuter singular instead of *d*—*e.g.*, *avu*, it. Dr Gundert says that the *v* is not written. The word is written *au-u*, and he considers it merely a softened pronunciation of *adu*, so that there is no irregularity here after all. It is written *avu*, however, in Brigel's Grammar.

If short *a* be, as it has been shown to be, a sign of the neuter plural inherent in the Dravidian languages, and most used by the oldest dialects, we have now to inquire into the relationship which it apparently sustains to the neuter plural suffix of some of the Indo-European languages. I know of no plural in any of the Scythian tongues with which it can be compared; and we appear to be obliged to attribute to it, as well as to *d*, the suffix of the neuter singular, an origin which is allied to that of the corresponding Indo-European forms. In the use of *a* as a neuter plural suffix, it is evident that the Dravidian family has not imitated, or been influenced by, the Sanskrit, and that it was not through the medium of Sanskrit that Indo-European influences made their way into this department of the Dravidian languages; for the Dravidian neuter plural *a* differs widely from the Sanskrit neuter plural *āni*, and it is as certainly unconnected with the masculine-feminine plural *as* (softened in modern Sanskrit into *ah*). It is with the short *a*, which constitutes the neuter plural of Zend, Latin, and Gothic, that the Dravidian neuter plural *a* appears to be allied. Compare also the Old Persian neuter plural *ā*.

It will be evident on recapitulating the various particulars that have been mentioned in this section, that grammatical gender has been more fully and systematically developed in the Dravidian languages than in perhaps any other language, or family of languages, in the world. Properly speaking, there is no such thing as gender in the Scythian languages. Gender appears in the Indo-European languages in the pronouns and pronominals, but not in the verb. In the Semitic languages the verb distinguishes between the masculine and feminine in the singular; but in the plural, as in the verb of the Indo-European languages, gender is ignored. In the Dravidian languages, on the other hand, not only is there a full equipment of sex-denoting pronouns, but there is the same development of gender in the verb also. We have verbal forms—without the necessity of using the separate pronouns as nominatives—for expressing *he is, she is, it is, they (persons) are, they (things) are*. This is a refinement of expressiveness in which the Dravidian languages appear to stand alone. Sanskrit is far less highly developed

in this particular, so that if there were any borrowing, the Dravidian family must have been the lender, not the borrower. Probably, however, neither borrowed from the other, but both inherited elements of greater antiquity than either, which the Dravidian family has best preserved, and turned to best account. See Introduction.

SECTION II.—FORMATION OF CASES.

Principles of Case-Formation.—The Indo-European and the Scythian families of tongues originally agreed in the principle of expressing the reciprocal relations of nouns by means of postpositions or auxiliary words. The difference between those families with respect to this point consists chiefly in the degree of faithfulness with which they have retained this principle.

In the Scythian tongues, postpositions, that is, appended auxiliary words, have generally held fast their individuality and separate existence. In the Indo-European tongues, on the contrary, the old postpositions or suffixes have been welded into combination with the roots to which they were appended, and converted into mere technical case-signs or inflexional terminations; whilst in the later corruptions to which those languages have been subjected, most of the case-terminations have been abandoned altogether, and prepositions, as in the Semitic tongues, have generally come to be employed instead of the older case-signs. It cannot reasonably be doubted that the case-terminations of the primitive dialects of the Indo-European family were originally postpositional words, which were added to the root to express relation, and at length blended into an inseparable union with it, through that love of composition by which every member of the family was characterised. In most instances the root and the original signification of those postpositions are now unknown, or they are ascertained with difficulty by means of analogy and comparison.

Both in Greek and in Latin we find some postpositions still used in a manner which illustrates the conversion of a portion of this class of words into case-endings—*e.g.*, in Latin *nobiscum*, and in Greek such words as ἄγρόθι (*agrothi*), in the country; ἅλαδε (*halade*), to the sea; and οὐρανόθεν (*ouranothen*), from heaven. The postpositional auxiliary words used in these instances are appended to their bases in a truly primitive manner. If there is any difference between them and the usage of the Scythian postpositions, it consists in this—that in most of the Scythian tongues θι (*thi*), δε (*de*), θεν (*then*), would be written as separate words,

One of the Greek postpositions quoted above, δε (*de*), signifying direction to a place, has been supposed to be allied to *de*, the dative of the Manchu; and the Greek θεν (*then*) has been conjectured to be allied to the Tartar ablative *din* or *den*. One may well be doubtful whether any such connection can be established; but in the manner in which the particles are appended to their bases a distinct analogy may be observed.

On turning our attention to the Dravidian languages, we find that the principle on which they have proceeded in the formation of cases is distinctively Scythian. All case-relations are expressed by means of postpositions, or postpositional suffixes. Most of the postpositions are, in reality, separate words; and in all the Dravidian dialects the postpositions retain traces of their original character as auxiliary nouns. Several case-signs, especially in the more cultivated dialects, have lost the faculty of separate existence, and can only be treated now as case-terminations; but there is no reason to doubt that they were all postpositional nouns originally. The dialect of the Tudas shows its want of literary cultivation in the paucity of its case-signs. There is no difference in it between the nominative, genitive, and accusative.

There is another point in which the Scythian principles of case-formation differ materially from the Indo-European. In the Indo-European family the case-endings of the plural differ from those of the singular. It is true, that on comparing the case-terminations of all the members of the family, some traces have been discovered of the existence of an original connection between the singular and the plural terminations of some of the cases; but in several instances—*e.g.*, in the instrumental case—no such connection between the singular and the plural has been brought to light by any amount of investigation; and it may be stated as a general rule that the languages of this family appear to have acted from the beginning upon the principle of expressing the case-relations of the singular by one set of forms, and the case-relations of the plural by another set. On the other hand, in all the languages of the Scythian group, the same case-signs are employed both in the singular and in the plural, without alteration, or with only such alterations as euphony is supposed to require. In the singular, the case-postpositions are appended directly to the nominative, which is identical with the base; in the plural they are appended, not to the nominative or base, but to the particle of pluralisation which has been suffixed to the base. In general, this is the only difference between the singular case-signs and those of the plural. The only exception of importance

is, that in some of the Scythian tongues, especially in the languages of the Finnish family, the included vowel of the case-sign differs in the two numbers: it is generally *a* in the singular and *e* in the plural—a change which arises from the "law of harmonic sequences," by which those tongues are characterised, and which reappears, but little modified, in Telugu and Tuḷu. It has already been remarked that in Tuḷu the *a* of the singular becomes *e* in the plural.

When the Dravidian languages are examined, it is found that they differ from those of the Indo-European family, and are, in general, in perfect accordance with the Scythian group, in their use of the same signs of case in the plural as in the singular. The only exceptions are the truly Scythian one apparent in Tuḷu, in the change in the case-sign vowel, mentioned above, from *a* in the singular to *e* in the plural, and the equally Scythian exception apparent in Telugu, in which the dative case-sign is either *ki* or *ku*, according to the nature of the vowel by which it is preceded or influenced; in consequence of which it is generally *ki* in the singular and *ku* in the plural. This identity of the singular and plural case-endings in the languages of the Scythian group, as well as in those of the Dravidian family, will be found greatly to facilitate the comparison of the case-signs of one language of either of those families with those of the other.

Number of Declensions.—There is only one declension, I conceive, properly so-called, in the Dravidian languages, as in the Scythian family generally.

Those varieties of inflexional increments which have been called declensions by some scholars, both native and European, especially with reference to Canarese, Tuḷu, and Telugu, appear to me to constitute but one declension; for there is no difference between one so-called declension and another with respect to the signs of case. Those signs are precisely the same in all: the difference which exists relates solely to suffixes of gender, or to the euphonic and inflexional increments which are added to the bases before the addition of the case-signs.

On proceeding to analyse the case-formation of the Dravidian languages, we shall follow the order in which they have been arranged by Dravidian grammarians, which is the same as that of the Sanskrit. The imitation of Sanskrit in this particular was certainly an error; for whilst in Sanskrit there are eight cases only, the number of cases in Tamil, Telugu, &c., is almost indefinite. Every post-position annexed to a noun constitutes, properly speaking, a new case; and therefore the number of such cases depends upon the

requirements of the speaker and the different shades of meaning he wishes to express. In particular, the "inflexion" or inflected form of the base, or oblique case, as it is sometimes called, which has sometimes a possessive, sometimes a locative, and sometimes an adjectival signification, ought to have had a place of its own. So also the social and conjunctive case. (See the Inflexion and the Instrumental Case.) Notwithstanding this, the usage of Dravidian grammarians has restricted the number of cases to eight; and though there are not a few disadvantages in this arrangement, it will conduce to perspicuity to adhere to the ordinary usage in the analysis on which we are about to enter. Tamil grammarians, in following the order of the Sanskrit cases, have also adopted or imitated the Sanskrit mode of denominating them—not by descriptive appellations, as dative or ablative, but by numbers. They have affixed a number to each case in the same order as in Sanskrit—*e.g.*, first case, second case, &c., to eighth case. Though a nominative, or first case, stands at the head of the Dravidian list of cases, the only cases, properly so called, which are used by these languages, are the oblique cases.

The Nominative—Absence of Nominative Case-terminations.—In the Scythian languages in which nouns are inflected, as in the Dravidian, the nominative is not provided with a case-termination. With regard to Japanese, this is expressed by saying that the noun has no nominative. The Dravidian nominative singular is simply *peyar-ē,* the noun itself—the inflexional base of the noun—without addition or alteration; but it necessarily includes the formative, if there be one. The nominative plural differs from the nominative singular only by the addition to it of the pluralising particle. There are three apparent exceptions to this rule, or instances in which the nominative might appear to have terminations peculiar to itself, which it is desirable here to inquire into.

(1.) The neuter termination *am* might at first sight be supposed to be a nominative case-sign. In Sanskrit, *am* is the most common sign of the nominative neuter; and in Tamil also, all nouns ending in *am* (in Telugu *am-u*), whether Sanskrit derivatives or pure Dravidian words, are neuter abstracts. In Sanskrit the accusative of the neuter is identical with the nominative, but in the other cases *am* disappears. In Tamil, *am* is discarded by all the oblique cases of the singular without exception: every case retains it in the plural, but in the singular it is used by the nominative alone. This comprises the sum total of the reasons for regarding *am* as a termination of the nominative. On the other hand, though *am* disappears in

Tamil from the oblique cases in the singular, it retains its place in every one of the cases in the plural. The particle of plurality is regularly suffixed to *am*, and the signs of case are then suffixed to the particle of plurality; which is a clear proof that, whatever *am* may be, it is not a mere termination or case-sign of the nominative. The Telugu regards *am* or *am-u* as part of the inflexional base, retains it in each case of *both* numbers alike, and suffixes to it in the singular the case-signs, in the plural the particle of plurality.

Ancient Canarese uses *am* in the nominative and accusative singular of nouns ending in *a*, and discards it in the plural. In that dialect a tree is *maram*, as in Tamil; but the plural nominative, trees, is not *maraṅgaḷ* (*maram-gaḷ*), but *maragaḷ*. Modern Canarese appears to make no use of *am* whatever, either in the singular or the plural, but it is evident that the final *vu* of many Canarese nouns is a softened form of *m*. Compare Tam. *maram*, a tree; Can. *maravu*.

Neuter nouns borrowed from Sanskrit by Tamil ordinarily retain (in the nominative alone, in the singular) the *am* of the Sanskrit nominative singular: this *am* is used in every one of the cases in the plural; so that even in Sanskrit derivatives *am* is regarded in Tamil, not as a case-sign, but as a portion of the inflexional base.

Whatever be the origin of the Tamil *am*, considered (as I think we must consider it) as a formative, not as a nominative case-sign, it does not appear to have been borrowed from Sanskrit, in which it is used for so different a purpose; and I believe it springs from a source altogether independent of Sanskrit. We find it added to many of the purest Dravidian roots, and by the addition of it many verbs of that class are converted into nouns. Thus *nil-am*, Tam. the ground, is from *nil*, to stand, *āṛ-am*, Tam. depth, is from *āṛ*, to be deep. See "Derivative Nouns," in the section on "The Verb." The best explanation of the origin of this *am* is probably that suggested by Dr Gundert, viz., that it is an obsolete demonstrative pronoun meaning 'it.' I am doubtful whether the Tamil demonstrative adjectives *anda*, that, *inda*, this, &c., and the demonstrative adverbs *angu*, there, &c., have originated in this supposed demonstrative pronoun *am*, because of the existence of equivalent forms (*āṇḍu*, *īṇḍu*, &c.), in which the nasal *m* or *n* is evidently an euphonic insertion; and also because the Tuḷu proximate demonstrative pronoun *indu* or *undu*, it, can clearly be identified with the unnasalised *idu* proximate, and *udu* intermediate, of Tamil and Canarese. (See section on "Euphonic Nunnation.") In the case, however, of *am*, the suffix of so many Dravidian neuter nouns, the

supposition that this was an ancient form of the demonstrative pronoun, regularly formed from the demonstrative root *a*, that, appears best to suit the use to which it is applied. It cannot indeed be regarded as a perfectly satisfactory explanation of the particle; for, given a supposed demonstrative *am*, formed from the demonstrative base *a*, it cannot fail to be asked, What, then, is the origin of the *m* of this suppositious *am*? Still, without being able to answer this question, we may readily suppose that a demonstrative *am*, it, was at one time current as an equivalent to *ad-u*. A parallel instance will then enable us to see how it came to be used as a suffix to nouns. In Tamil poetry *adu*, it, is frequently appended to neuter nouns as a sort of suffix of emphasis—*e.g.*, we may either say *pon*, gold, or *ponnadu* (*pon*, gold, *adu*, it). The only difference is that *adu* is separable from the word to which it is affixed, whereas wherever *am* was affixed, it seems to have adhered. The oblique cases of the Tamil reflexive pronouns, *tān, tām*, are also suffixed to nouns in Tamil poetry instead of the oblique cases of those nouns themselves—*e.g., marandanei* (*k*) (instead of *marattei*) *kaṇḍēn*, I saw the tree (*accus.*). The reflexive seems here to be used in a demonstrative sense. Though we do not now find a neuter demonstrative pronoun in *am* or *an* holding an independent position of its own in any of the Dravidian languages (as is the case with the neuter demonstrative *ad-u*), yet we may pretty safely conclude that such a form once existed. An evident trace of this ancient demonstrative *am* (or *an*, which would be quite equivalent to it) is found in the existence of the interrogative particles, or rather nouns, Tam. *en, ēn*, Tel. *ēmi*, what, why. If the interrogative *edu*, what, leads us necessarily to *adu*, that, may it not be regarded as almost equally certain that the interrogative *em* or *en*, what, points to a demonstrative *am* or *an*, that? Whatever be the origin of the neuter formative *am*, we must assign the same origin to the *an* which is sometimes substituted for it. Thus we may say in Tamil either *kaḍam* or *kaḍan*, debt; *uram* or *uran*, strength. When *adu* is appended to neuter nouns in Tamil as a separable formative, it can keep its place, if euphony is supposed to require it, in the oblique cases as well as in the nominative, and to it the case-signs may be affixed. This is also the case with the formative *an*, and herein it differs in use, if not in origin, from *am*. Thus *kaḍam* in Tamil loses *am* in the accusative, takes *attu* instead, and thus forms its accusative *kaḍattei*; whereas *kaḍan* retains *an*, and has *kaḍanei* for its accusative. In Malayālam *an* sometimes alternates with *ar* as a formative of nouns —*e.g., uḷan* or *uḷar*, being, equivalent to the more common *uḷava*; *uḷan-āgu*, to be born. I find a corroboration of this supposition of

the original identity of *am* and *adu* in the use of *attu*, Tam., *ad*, Can., and *ti*, Tel., as inflexional increments or signs of the oblique cases of nouns, all these increments being, as it appears to me, only the different shapes which *adu* or *adi* takes in construction. In the inflexion of singular nouns in Tamil, *attu*, as in the example given above, is regularly used instead of the *am* of the nominative, from which we may conclude the identity of both *am* and *attu* (*adu*) in signification, and probably in origin, as different forms of the same demonstrative.

(2.) In Canarese the crude form of the personal pronouns is occasionally used instead of the nominative—*e.g.*, *nā*, instead of *nānu*, I, and *tā*, instead of *tānu*, self; and hence it might be supposed that the final *n* or *nu* of those pronouns constitutes a nominative termination. This supposition, however, is inadmissible; for in all the oblique cases, without exception, the final *n* or *nu* retains its place, and it is to it that the signs of case are added. Consequently it is evident that *n* is not a sign of the nominative, but a formative, which has been compounded with the inflexional base, or annexed to it, though it is capable of occasional separation from it.

(3.) In all the Dravidian languages, the quantity of the included vowels of the personal pronouns in some of the oblique cases (and in Tamil, Malayālam, and Canarese in all the oblique cases) differs from the quantity of the same vowels in the nominative. In the nominative the vowel is invariably long, in the oblique cases generally short—*e.g.*, in Canarese we find *nānu*, I, *nanna*, my; *nīnu*, thou, *ninna*, thy; *tānu*, self, *tanna*, of one's self. This is the only instance in these languages in which there is a difference between the nominative and the oblique cases of such a nature as almost to constitute the nominative a case by itself. In this instance, however, it is uncertain whether the nominative has been lengthened for the sake of emphasis, and we are to seek the true form of the root in the oblique cases, or whether the nominative is the true base, and the shortening of the quantity of the vowel in the oblique cases, prior to the addition of postpositions, has arisen from the euphonic tendencies of the language. Telugu shortens the root-vowel in the accusative only. In Tamil the shortened form, without any inflexional addition, is often used as a possessive—*e.g.*, *nin*, thy, from the obsolete *nīn*, thou—a usage which is in accordance with the ordinary Dravidian rule that the inflected form of every noun, or the basis of the oblique cases, is to be regarded as of itself a possessive or adjective. See "Roots: Internal Changes."

Before proceeding to consider the oblique case-signs *seriatim*,

it is necessary to inquire into the changes which the base sustains prior to receiving the suffixes.

Inflexion or Inflexional Base of the Oblique Cases.—In a very large number of instances that form of the Dravidian noun which constitutes the crude base, and which is used as the nominative, constitutes also the inflexional base. The nominative of this class of nouns and the base of the oblique cases are identical; and the case-signs are added to the base or nominative without any link of connection, whether inflexional or euphonic, beyond the ordinary *v* or *y*, which is inserted to prevent hiatus between concurrent vowels. In a smaller number of instances (a number which constitutes, however, a very large minority), the base or nominative undergoes some alteration before receiving the addition of the terminations, or case-signs, of the oblique cases.

In the solitary instance of the personal pronouns, as pointed out under the preceding head, the nominative sustains a curtailment (viz., by the shortening of the quantity of the included vowel) on becoming the inflexional base, or base of the oblique cases: but in all other instances the alteration which the base sustains consists in an augmentation, which is sometimes optional and sometimes necessary; and it is to this augmented form (augmented by the addition of some inflexional increment) that the case-signs are attached. This Dravidian rule may be illustrated by Hebrew. In Hebrew the personal and other suffixes of substantives and verbal nouns are attached, not to the base or nominative, but to the construct state—*i.e.*, the state in which a noun stands when it is qualified by a subsequent noun. Just so in the Dravidian languages, in that large class of nouns in which the inflexional base of the noun, or its adjectival form, differs from the crude form or nominative, the signs of case are attached, not to the crude, natural form of the noun, but to the altered, inflected form—viz., to that form which a Dravidian noun assumes when it qualifies or is qualified by a subsequent noun, or when it stands to such noun in the relation of an adjective. This inflected form of the noun is frequently used by itself, without the addition of any case-termination, and when so used it has sometimes a locative, sometimes a possessive or adjectival force. Tamil grammarians hold that the inflexion is not a case-sign, though they cannot but admit that for almost every purpose for which the possessive or locative case-signs are used, the oblique case, or inflected form of the noun, may be used instead. They admit that it is used

adjectivally: but it appears to me that its use as an adjectival formative is a secondary one, and that it was originally, like many other adjectival formatives in various languages, a sign of the possessive or locative. Its use eventually as the inflexional basis of all the cases is in perfect harmony with this view of its origin, and testifies to the existence of a period in the history of the language when each of the postpositions of case was known and felt to be a substantive, which required to be united to its base by a sign of localisation or relationship. At present, however, it is our object to seek out and arrange the various increments which are used for forming the inflexional base of the oblique cases, without reference to the other uses to which those increments are put.

(1.) *The inflexional increment 'in' with its dialectic varieties.*—The particle *in* constitutes the inflexion of certain classes of noun in Tamil-Canarese; and the corresponding Telugu particles are *ni* and *na*. All these particles are, I believe, virtually one and the same. Tamil uses *in* in the singular and in the plural alike; and its original signification has been forgotten to such a degree that it is now often used merely as an euphonic link of connection between the base and its case-signs. For this reason its use both in Tamil and in Canarese is optional. In Telugu the corresponding particles are used only in the singular; and where they are used, their use is not euphonic merely, but is intended to constitute the *inflexion*. Ku, which in this respect is more nearly allied to Tamil than Telugu is, and more regular, uses *ni* as the inflexion of the plural as well as of the singular of all classes of nouns.

When *in* is used in Tamil as the inflexion of the neut. sing. demonstratives *adu*, that, *idu*, this, it is apt to be confounded with *an*, a termination which those pronouns often take, especially in the oblique cases, instead of *u*. Instead of *adu* and *idu*, we may say in Tamil *adan* and *idan*. In the nominative these forms are very rarely used; but the accusative, *adan-ei*, is more common, and the dative, *adaṟku* (*adan-ku*), still more so. *id-in-āl*, through this, *ad-in-āl*, through that, and cases similarly formed, must therefore be carefully distinguished from *idan-āl* and *adan-āl*. The *an* of the latter is a formative, which is probably of the same origin as the *am* of many neuter nouns (that *am* being often convertible into *an*); whereas *in* is an inflexional increment, and was probably a case-sign of the locative originally.

The use of *in* as an inflexional increment effects no alteration in the meaning of the case-sign which is suffixed to it. Where it is

not followed by a case-sign, it is generally found to be used as a mode of expressing the genitive; but where a case-sign follows, it is merely euphonic, and its use is optional. Thus, we may say either *keiyāl* (*kei-*(*y*)*āl*), with the hand, or *keiyin-āl* (*kei-*(*y*)*-in-āl*); either *kālāl*, with the foot, or *kālināl* (*kāl-in-āl*). In the first of these instances (*kei-*(*y*)*-in-āl*), *y* is used to keep the initial vowel of *in* pure, in accordance with the ordinary rule of the language; from the use of which, in this instance, it is evident that *in*, though merely euphonic in its present application, was in its origin something more than a mere euphonic expletive.

in is not only attached as an inflexional increment to the crude base of Tamil nouns, but it is appended also to other inflexional increments, viz., to *attu*, and to the doubled final *ḍ* and *ṟ* of certain classes of nouns. Thus, by the addition of *attu* to *mara-m*, a tree, we form *marattu*, the inflexional base of the oblique cases, by suffixing to which *āl*, the sign of the instrumental case, we form *marattāl*, by a tree; but we may also attach *in* to *attu*, forming *attin* (*att-in*), a doubled and euphonised increment—*e.g.*, *marattināl* (*mara-attu-in-āl*). As *in* when standing alone, without the suffix of any case-sign, has acquired the force of the genitive, so also has the double increment, *attin*—*e.g.*, *marattin* signifies of a tree. In Tamil, *in* is the inflexion of all nouns except those which end in *am*, or in *ḍ-u* or *ṟ-u*: in Canarese *in* is much more rarely used than in Tamil; but where it is used, its use is rather euphonic and optional than inflexional, and it cannot be used by itself to express the force of the genitive. As in Tamil *guruvil*, in a priest, and *guruvinil* are identical, so we may say in Canarese, either *guruvalli* or *guruvinalli*. In Malayālam the use of *in* before *il*, as in the last instance now adduced, is found, Dr Gundert says, only in pedantic poetry. Before the other inflexional increments it is common enough.

In Telugu the corresponding particles *ni* and *na* constitute the inflexion, or natural genitive of certain classes of nouns, and are also attached as inflexional increments to the base before suffixing the case-signs—*e.g.*, *dīniki* (*dī-ni-ki*), to it, *tammuniki* (*tammu-ni-ki*), to a younger brother, *guruva-na-ku*, to a spiritual teacher. These increments are attached only to the singular in Telugu. They constitute the singular inflexion—*i.e.*, the genitival or adjectival base of the noun; and though their use is now in many connections optional and merely euphonic, they doubtless contributed at the outset to grammatical expression; nor are they to be regarded as the inflexion of masculine nouns and pronouns alone, though they

are chiefly used by them, for *dāniki*, to that, *dīniki*, to this, are neuters. The Telugu *ni*, and the Tamil-Canarese *in*, are doubtless identical in origin. The change in the position of the vowel is in accordance with the change of *il*, Tam. the negative particle, into *lē* in Telugu, and of *uḷ*, Tam. within, into *lō* in Telugu. It also corresponds to the change of the position of the vowel which is apparent when *in*, the Latin preposition, is compared with the corresponding Sanskrit preposition *ni*.

It will be seen that *in* is used not only as an inflexional increment, but as a genitive, an ablative, and a locative. We cannot be in error, therefore, I think, in regarding *in* in all these instances as one and the same particle, though in different connections it is used for different purposes, nor in concluding that originally it had only one meaning, and was used for only one purpose. A comparison of the various case-signs or increments appears to show that *in* was originally an equivalent form for *il*, and as *il* means 'here,' or a house (*e.g.*, *kō-v-il*, Tam. God's house, a temple), it seems evident that the first use of *il* in the inflexion of nouns must have been as a sign of the locative. It appears probable therefore that its equivalent *in* must also have had at first a locative signification. Dr Gundert says, "The oblique cases would all seem to be modified forms of the locative, as expressing something happening in or about the noun, whilst the nominative pronounces its totality." *in* being used in so many connections and in so general a way, in course of time it came to be regarded in some connections as merely an inflexional increment, that is as an optional suffix to the base, and lastly, as little better than an euphonic expletive, which might be prefixed (its original meaning now having become obscured) to any case-sign, and even to *il*, its own earliest shape.

(2.) *The inflexional increments 'ad' and 'ar.'*—The particles *ad* and *ar* are extensively used by Canarese as inflexional increments. Their use exactly resembles that of *in* in the same language, though each is restricted to a particular class of words. *in* is used as an increment of the base in connection with nouns which end in *u*—*e.g.*, *guru*, a priest; and *ad* and *ar* are used in connection with neuter nouns and demonstratives, and with those alone. In the Canarese genitive case-endings, *ara*, *ada*, *ina*, and *a*, it will be seen that the real and only sign of the genitive is *a*, the final vowel of each; and therefore Dr Stevenson erred in comparing *ara* or *ra* (properly *ar-a* or *ad-a*) with the New Persian *rā*. *ad* and *ar* are prefixed to the signs of case, not by the genitive only, but

by three cases besides—viz., by the accusative, the instrumental, and the locative. Thus we may say not only *idara* (*id-ar-a*), of this, and *marada* (*mar-a-da*), of a tree, but also *idaralli* (*id-ar-alli*), in this, and *maradinda* (*mar-ad-inda*), by a tree. Consequently *ad* and *ar*, whatever be their origin, do not appear to be signs of case, in so far as their use is concerned, but are used merely as increments of the base, or inflexional bonds of conjunction between the base and the case-signs, like *in*, *ni*, &c. Moreover, Canarese differs in its use of these increments from Telugu and Tamil in this, that it never suffixes them alone without the addition of the case-signs, and never gives them the signification of genitives or adjectival formatives.

ad and *ar* are evidently related. Are they also identical? Both are increments of the neuter alone; and where Canarese uses *ar*, *Tuḷu* uses *t*. *d* and *r* are known to change places dialectically, as in the southern provinces of the Tamil country, in which *adu*, it, is pronounced *aṟu;* and the Canarese increment *ad* is certainly, and *ar* probably, identical with that very word—viz., with the Tamil-Canarese demonstrative *adu* or *ad*, it. Dr Gundert thinks *ar* derived, not from *adu*, but from *an*, the equivalent of *aṟu*. I do not feel sure of this; but it is certain that *n* changes into *ṟ* before *k*—*e.g.*, *adaṟku*, Tam. to that—and that *n* and *ṟ* are sometimes found to change places—*e.g.*, comp. *piṟ-agu*, afterwards, with *pin*, afterwards.

Though Tamil has not regularly adopted the unchanged form of this demonstrative, *adu*, as an inflexional increment of the base in the declension of nouns, it makes use of it occasionally in a manner which perfectly illustrates the origin of the Canarese use of it. In classical Tamil, as I have already mentioned in discussing the origin of the increment *am*, the neuter demonstrative may optionally be added to any neuter noun in the singular, not for the purpose of altering the signification, but merely for the improvement of the euphony, and for the purpose of meeting the requirements of prosody. *adu* may thus be added even to the nominative—*e.g.*, we may not only write *pon*, gold, but also poetically *ponnadu*, gold, etymologically gold-that—*i.e.*, that (which is) gold. It is much more common, however, and more in accordance also with the Canarese usage, to use *ad-u* in the oblique cases; in which event it is inserted between the base and the case-sign, so as to become virtually (yet without losing its proper character) an inflextional increment—*e.g.*, instead of *ponnei*, the accusative of *pon*, gold, we may write *ponnadei* (*ponn-ad-ei*).

We may possibly connect with the Canarese *ar*, and therefore with *ad*, and ultimately with the neuter demonstrative itself, the euphonic consonant *r*, which is used in Telugu in certain instances to separate between a noun of quality used as an adjective and the feminine suffix *ālu*—*e.g.*, *sogasu-r-ālu*, a handsome woman. This would be quite in accordance with the peculiar Telugu usage of employing the neuter demonstrative singular in place of the feminine singular. I should prefer, however, to regard this *r* as used simply to prevent hiatus.

(3.) *The inflexional increment 'ṭi.'*—In Telugu *ṭi* or *ti* is the most common and characteristic inflexional increment of neuter singular nouns, and it is used in Telugu, like the corresponding *attu* in Tamil, not merely as an increment of the base, but as the inflexion, with the signification of the possessive case or of that of an adjective, as the context may require. Two instances of the use of this increment will suffice out of the very numerous class of neuter nouns which form their singular inflexion by the addition of *ṭi* or *ti* (or rather by the combination of that particle with their last syllable)—*e.g.*, *vākili*, a doorway, inflexion *vākiṭi*; *nuduru*, the forehead, inflexion *nuduṭi*. In these instances of the use of *ṭi* or *ti*, the inflexional increment appears to be substituted for the last syllable; but it is certainly to be considered as an addition to the word—as a particle appended to it; and the blending of the increment with the base, instead of merely suffixing it, has arisen from the euphonic tendencies of the language.

I have no doubt that the suffixed particle which constitutes the Telugu inflexional increment was originally *ti*, not *ṭi*—the dental, not the lingual. This would account for the circumstance that *ṭ* alone follows words of which the final consonant is *r* or *l*; for on the addition of the dental *t* to *r* or *l* both consonants dialectically coalesce and become *ṭ*; the hard cerebral being regarded as euphonically equivalent to the two soft letters. In no case in Telugu is there a double *ṭ* in the inflexional increment. *tolli*, antiquity, forms its inflexion not in *tolṭi* or *tolliṇṭi*, as might have been expected, but in *toṇṭi*. Here, however, it is not the increment that is euphonised, but the final *l* of the base. Compare the Tamil *tondru*, antiquity, from the root *tol*. *ti* is evidently the equivalent of the Tamil *dru*, an euphonised form of *du*. The dental *ti* is used instead of the cerebral *ṭi*, as the inflexion of nouns ending in a pure vowel or in *yu* after a pure vowel— *e.g.*, *vāyu*, the mouth, inflexion *vāti*; *chē*, the hand, inflexion *chēti*. This circumstance proves that it was the dental *ti* which was originally used in all cases. The

dental *t*, on being appended to consonants, changes naturally into the lingual; whereas the lingual rarely, if ever, changes into the dental. If we now conclude, as I think we undoubtedly may, that the Telugu inflexion was originally *ti*, not *ṭi*, this inflexional increment may at once be connected with the Telugu neuter demonstrative, *adi*, in the same manner as the Canarese *ad* and the Tamil *attu* are connected with the Tamil-Canarese neuter demonstrative *adu*. Though the identification of the inflexion and the neuter singular demonstrative could not easily be established from Telugu alone, or from any one dialect alone, yet the cumulative argument derived from a comparison of all the dialects has great force. An important link of evidence is furnished by the inflexion which follows.

(4.) *The inflexional increment 'attu' or 'attru'* (*aṟṟu*).—All Tamil nouns which end in *am*, whether Sanskrit derivatives or pure Tamil roots, reject *am* in the oblique cases in the singular, and take *att-u* instead; and it is to this increment that the various case-signs are suffixed—*e.g.*, the locative case-sign *il* is not added to *āṛam*, depth, but to the inflexional base *āṛ-attu*, so that in the depth is not *āṛam-il*, but *āṛ-att-il*. This rule admits of no exception in the ordinary dialect of the Tamil; but in the poetical dialect, which represents more or less distinctly an older condition of the language, *attu* is sometimes left unused, and the case-sign is added directly to the crude base—*e.g.*, instead of *kay-attu-kku*, to the depth (from *kayam*, depth), *kaya-kku* is used in the Chintāmaṇi. When the increment *attu* is not followed by any sign of case, but by another noun, like the other inflexion *in*, and like the corresponding Telugu inflexion *ṭi*, it has ordinarily the force either of the genitive or of an adjective, sometimes that of a locative, which is perhaps the first use to which it was put—*e.g.*, *kuḷ-attu mīn* may mean as a genitive, the fish of the tank as a locative, the fish in the tank, or as an adjective, tank fish. This inflexion, like *ad* and *ar* in Canarese, and *ṭi* or *ti* in Telugu, is used in connection with the singular alone. *am*, the formative of the base, which is used only by the nominative in the singular, is retained in the plural, not in the nominative only, but in all the oblique cases. To it the sign of plurality is appended, and the case-sign follows the sign of plurality—*e.g.*, *maraṅgaḷil* (*maramgaḷ-il*), in trees.

There are in Tamil a few naturally plural (neuter) pronominals and nouns of relation [*e.g.*, *avei*, those (things); *sila*, few; *pala*, many; *ellā*, all; compare Mal. *silava*, *palava*, *ellāva*] which receive in their oblique cases the inflexional increment *aṟṟu*, pro-

nounced *attru*. Thus, from *ellām*, all, which is properly *ellā-v-um* or *ellā-um* (*um* being the conjunctive and intensitive particle 'even,' and *ellā-um*, or *ellām*, signifying even all, all together), the locative which is formed by the Tamil is *ellāvattrilum* (*ellā-(v)-attr'-il-um*), in all, literally, even in all. So also *avei*, they (neuter), forms its accusative, not by adding *ei*, the accusative case-sign, to *avei*, but by inserting *attru*, and adding *ei* thereto—*e.g.*, *avattrei* (*av-attr-ei*), them; in which instance *ei* (for *a*), the sign of the plural, is rejected, and its place is supplied by *attru*, the inflexional increment of this class of plurals.

It is evident that the Tamil increments, *attu* and *attru*, are virtually identical. The difference in use is slight, and in pronunciation still slighter; and in general *attru* is pronounced exactly like *attu* by the vulgar. We may therefore conclude that they are one and the same, and on examining Telugu we find additional confirmation of their identity. In Telugu, *avi*, they (neuter), answering to the Tamil *avei*, forms its inflexion in *vāṭi* (for *avaṭi*). This Telugu (supposititious) *avaṭi* is evidently identical with the Tamil *avattru*. The *ṭi* of this inflexion is certainly the same as the *ṭi* of Telugu nouns substantive: and if there is no difference in Telugu between the *ṭi* which forms the inflexional increment of neuter singular nouns and demonstratives and the plural inflexion *ṭi* of such words as *vāṭi*, we may also conclude that there is no real difference between the singular *attu* and the plural *attru* of the Tamil.

Whence did the *ṟ* which is included in *aṟṟu* or *attr-u* take its rise? We see its origin, I think, in Canarese; for in the ancient dialect *ar* or *r* forms the inflexional increment of every one of the plural pronominals which take *aṟṟu* in Tamil—*e.g.*, *avara* (corresponding Tam. *avaṟṟu*), of those things; *ellavara* (Tam. *ellāvaṟṟu*), of all things; *kelavara* (Tam. *silavaṟṟu*), of some (things). The Canarese *r* is probably, as we have seen, derived from, and originally identical with, *d*, or *t*; and hence Tamil in doubling *ṟ* gives it the sound *ttr*. Thus, not only the Tamil increment *att-u*, but also *aṟṟ-u*, seems to be derived from the same origin as the Canarese *ad* or *ar*, and the Telugu *ṭi*—viz., from the neuter singular demonstrative. Both these inflexions have been formed also by the same process; for *aṟ*, when doubled, becomes *aṟṟ-u* (*attr-u*), as naturally as *ad*, when doubled, becomes *att-u*; and in each case the doubling arises from the adjectival use to which the suffixed pronoun is put. It is a recognised rule of Tamil that when a noun ending in *d-u* is used adjectivally, the *d-u* may either become *d-in*

or *tt-u*—*e.g.*, from *erud-u*, an ox, is formed either *erud-in* or *erutt-u*, of an ox. So also *ad-u*, it, which is now generally inflected by the addition of *in*, seems to have been inflected formerly as *att-u*. *adu* is vulgarly pronounced in the oblique cases as *attu* by the bulk of the northern Tamilians. The majority of the natives of Madras, for instance, use *attei* (*attu-ei*) as the accusative of *adu*, that, instead of *adei*; and in the neuter singular pronominal suffixes to the verb the same pronunciation is not only commonly heard, but is often written—*e.g.*, instead of *irukkiṟadukku*, to its being (the dative of *iru-kkiṟ-adu*, it is, the being, or that which is), Madras Tamilians write *irukkiṟattukku*; in which compound *attu* is evidently used as the neuter demonstrative singular instead of *adu*. It is also deserving of notice, that the feminine singular suffix of a large class of appellative nouns, which is *di* or *adi* in Telugu, and which has been shown to be identical with the neuter demonstrative, is in Tamil *tti* or *atti*. I explain in this way the Tamil neuter singular preterites in *ttru*, like *āyittru* (*āyiṟṟu*), it becomes. This was *āyidadu*, which was abbreviated into *āyiddu* = *āyittu* (compare the corresponding change in Canarese), and this was euphonised into *āyittru*.

Two instances will suffice to illustrate the identity of the Tamil *attu* and the Canarese *ad*, and thus supply the only link that is wanting to the perfect identification of *attu* with the Telugu *ti*, and of both with *adu*. The Tamil *pūrv-att-il*, in ancient times, is compounded of *pūrv-am* (Sans. deriv.), antiquity, *att-u*, the inflexional increment, and *il*, the sign of the locative. Compare this with the corresponding Canarese *pūrv-ad-alli*, in which it is evident that *ad* is used in the same manner as *att-u*, and perfectly agrees with it in signification. Again, the Tamil *āyirattondru*, a thousand and one, is formed from *āyiram*, a thousand (the inflexion of which is *āyirattu*), and *ondru*, one. When this is compared with the corresponding Canarese word *sāvirad-ondu*, from *sāvira*, a thousand (equivalent to the Tamil *āyira*)—inflexional form *sāvir-ad*—to which *ondu*, identical with *ondru*, is appended, it is evident that the Canarese increment *ad'* and the Tamil *att'* are one and the same; and also that in this instance the Canarese *ad'* is used for precisely the same purpose as the Tamil *att'*, viz., as an inflexional increment with an adjectival signification.

(5.) *The formation of the inflexion by means of doubling and hardening the final consonant.*—Tamil nouns ending in *ḍ-u* and *ṟ-u* form the basis of their oblique cases by doubling the final *ḍ* and *ṟ*: and the doubled *ḍ* becomes by rule *ṭṭ*, and the doubled *ṟ*, *ttr* (though

spelled *ṟṟ*)—*e.g.*, from *kāḍ-u*, a jungle, is formed *kāṭṭ-*(*u*)*-kku*, to a jungle; from *āṟ-u*, a river, *āttr-il* (*āṟṟ-il*), in a river. This inflexion, like all others, is supposed by Dr Gundert to have been originally a locative. I am doubtful of the propriety of this theory in this instance, and prefer the following explanation.

This doubling of the final consonants of such nouns is to be regarded, I think, as a sign of the transition of the meaning of the first noun to the succeeding one, just as when intransitive or neuter verbs ending in *ḍ-u* or *ṟ-u* acquire by doubling their vowels a transitive signification—*e.g.*, from *ōḍ-u*, to run, is formed *ōṭṭ-u*, to drive; from *tēṟ-u*, to become clear, comes *tēttr-u* (*tēṟṟ-u*), to clarify, to comfort. Properly speaking, therefore, this doubling of the final is an adjectival formative, rather than an inflexional or case-sign basis; but in this, as in many other cases, the same form appears to be used in two different connections, in consequence of the case-sign which is appended to the doubled final having originally been a noun, and still retaining in compounds the force of a noun.

In Telugu the final consonant of nouns of this class is hardened, but not doubled, to form the inflexion or basis of the oblique cases—*e.g.*, the inflexion of *ēṟ-u*, a river, is not *ēṭṭi* (*ēṟṟi*), but *ēṭi*, of a river; and that of *nāḍu*, a country, is *nāṭi*, of a country. In some instances Telugu corresponds more closely to Tamil in forming the inflexion of nouns in *ṟṟ* by changing that into *ṟt*—*e.g.*, *aṟṟu*, the neck; inflexion of the same *aṟti*. If we regarded Telugu alone, we should consider these examples, not as instances of the doubling of a final *ḍ* or *ṟ*, but rather as instances of the incorporation of *ṭi*, the usual inflexional suffix, with those finals; and we should suppose this view to be confirmed by the circumstance that Telugu does not, like Tamil, double the final *ḍ-u* or *ṟ-u* of intransitive verbs on converting them into transitives, but adds a formative *chu*. Nevertheless, the Tamil rule is so clear and express, and so evidently founded upon grammatical reasons, and the Telugu words in question, *nāḍi*, &c., so exactly agree with the Tamil, that we cannot but recognise in them the operation of the same principle, though somewhat disguised. In other and parallel instances, though the Telugu hardens, it does not double—*e.g.*, from *pāḍ-u*, Tam. and Tel. to sing, Tamil forms *pāṭṭ-u*, a song, Telugu *pāṭ-a*. The final *i* of such Telugu inflexions as *nāṭi*, of a country (from *nāḍ-u*), instead of *nāṭ-u*, which Tamil would lead us to expect, is owing, I have no doubt, to the influence of *ṭi*, which is the ordinary suffix of the inflexion of neuter nouns.

(6.) *The inflexional increment 'i.'*—The inflexion of the plural

of the Telugu epicene demonstrative pronoun consists in *i*—*e.g.*, *vāru* (from *avaru*), those persons; inflexion *vāri*, of them, their. The final *u* of *vār-u* is merely euphonic, but the *i* of *vāri* is certainly an inflexional increment; and possibly the final *i* of the singular masculine demonstrative inflexional *vāni* is not to be regarded as a portion of *ni*, the ordinary inflexional increment of Telugu masculine nouns, but is identical with the final *i* of *vāri*. A small class of Telugu nouns form their singular inflexion also in *i*—*e.g.*, *kāl-i*, of a foot, *tēr-i*, of a car. What is the origin of this *i*? I think we are guided to a true idea of its origin by comparing it with the possessive pronoun *vāridi*, Tel. that which is theirs, which in Ku also is *ēvāridi*. When *vāridi* is compared with the Tamil possessive *avaradu*, the meaning of which is exactly the same, we see that in each language the termination is that of the neuter demonstrative pronoun, which is *adu* in Tamil, *adi* in Telugu; and we also see that the penultimate *i* of *vāridi* is derived by attraction, according to Telugu usage, from the succeeding *i*, which is that of the neuter demonstrative singular *adi*. The final *i* of *vāri* may therefore be regarded as an abbreviation of *adi*, or at least as derived from it.

(7.) *Telugu plural inflexional increment in 'a.'*—In Telugu *a* constitutes the plural inflexion of most colloquial pronominals, and of all substantive nouns without exception. *l-u*, properly *l*, is the pluralising particle of all neuter nouns in Telugu, and of the majority of rational ones. The inflexion is effected by changing this *l-u* into *la*, or to speak more correctly, by suffixing *a* to *l*—the final vowel of *lu* being merely euphonic; and it is to this incremental *a*, as to *ni* and *ṭi*, the singular inflexions, that all the case-signs are appended—*e.g.*, *kattulu*, knives; inflexion *kattula;* instrumental *kattula-chēta*, by knives. I have no doubt that this inflexional increment *a* is identical with *a*, one of the Tamil-Canarese signs of the genitive, of the use of which as a genitive in the singular as well as in the plural, we have an illustration even in Telugu, in the reflexive pronouns *tan-a*, of self, *tam-a*, of selves. This increment also, therefore, is to be regarded as a genitive in origin, though in actual use merely an inflexion; and I have no doubt that each of the Dravidian inflexions proceeds from some case-sign.

Before leaving this subject, I should briefly refer to one which bears some relation to it, viz.:—

Euphonic links of connection between the base and the inflexion, the base and the case-signs, or the inflexion and the case-signs.

In Tamil the dative case-sign *ku* is generally preceded by an

euphonic *u*, and through the influence of this *u* the *k* is doubled. Thus, from *avan*, he, is formed not *avanku*, to him, but *avanukku* (*avan-u-kku*). The personal pronouns, both in the singular and in the plural, make use of an euphonic *a* in this connection, instead of *u*—*e.g.*, from *nān* (or rather from a weakened form, *ẹn*), *I*, is formed the inflexion *en;* and this takes as its dative not *enku* or *enukku*, to me, but *enakku* (*en-a-kku*). In the higher dialect of Tamil the dative case-sign *ku* is often directly attached to the noun, especially in those instances in which the noun terminates in a liquid or semi-vowel—*e.g.*, we find in that dialect not *avarukku* (*avar-u-kku*), to them, but *avarku*. In ancient Canarese also, the dative case-sign was invariably attached in this manner. In Malayālam the personal pronouns require the insertion of an euphonic vowel, as in Tamil, between the inflected base and the case-sign. Thus, to thee, is *enikk'*, *inikk'*, *enakk'*, *ninakk'*, or *niṇakk'*. To us *namukku*, *namakku*. Some of these forms are rarely used.

Whenever concurrent vowels meet in Tamil *v* and *y* are used, as has already been shown, to prevent hiatus; and accordingly they are used between the final vowel of nouns and those inflexions or case-signs which begin with vowels—*e.g.*, *naḍuvil* (*naḍu-*(*v*)*-il*), in the middle; *vaṛiyil* (*vaṛi-*(*y*)*-il*), in the way. Compare this with the use of *v* for a similar purpose in Magyar—*e.g.*, from *lō*, a horse, and *at*, the sign of the objective case, is formed not *lōat*, but *lōvat*, precisely as would be done in Tamil. *v* and *y* are used by Canarese in the same manner as by Tamil; but in Telugu, as has already been shown, *n* is used as a preventive of hiatus instead of *v*.

The way has now been prepared for the investigation of the Dravidian oblique cases, and of the signs of case properly so called.

The Accusative or 'Second' Case.—In the Indo-European languages the case-sign of the accusative of neuter nouns is identical with that of the nominative case. This identity has arisen, I conceive, not from the nominative being used as an accusative, but *vice versā* from the accusative being used as a nominative. The accusative case-suffix is a sign of passivity, or of being acted upon; and it appears to have been suffixed to masculine and feminine nouns to denote that in that instance they were to be regarded not as agents, but as objects. Subsequently, I conceive, it was adopted, because of this signification, as a general characteristic of the neuter, objective, or dead class of nouns, and so came to be used as the nominative, or normal case-ending of nouns of that class.

In the Dravidian languages, on the other hand, that which was in its origin a formative termination of abstract neuter nouns, seems

to have been adopted as an accusative case-sign. The old Canarese accusative case-sign *am* seems to be identical with, and is probably derived from, the *am* which is so largely used as a formative by Dravidian neuters. Notwithstanding this, the use of the nominative, or rather of the simple, unformed base, as the accusative of neuter nouns, is the ordinary and almost universal colloquial usage of Tamil-Malayāḷam, and is often found even in classical compositions. The accusative case-termination may be suffixed whenever it appears to be desirable to do so, either for the sake of euphony or to prevent ambiguity; but it is rarely employed except when it is required for those purposes. When this case-termination is used without necessity, it sounds stiff and unidiomatic; and this is one of the peculiarities by which the Tamil of foreigners is marked. Tamil-Malayāḷam masculine and feminine nouns and their corresponding pronouns invariably take the accusative case-suffix when they are governed by active verbs. This probably proceeds from the principle that it is more natural for rational beings to act than to be acted upon; and hence when they do happen to be acted upon—when the nouns by which they are denoted are to be taken objectively—it becomes necessary, in order to avoid misapprehension, to suffix to them the objective case-sign. On the other hand, the difference between the nominative and the accusative of neuter nouns is often allowed to pass unnoticed, because such nouns, whether they act or are acted upon, are alike destitute of personality and inert. Whether the accusative is used as the nominative, as in the Indo-European languages, or whether, as is often the case in the Scythian tongues, the nominative is used for the accusative, the principle involved appears to be one and the same. In Telugu the use of the nominative for the accusative is confined to things without life. In the case of irrational animals, as in that of rational beings, the accusative must be expressed. As far as things without life are concerned, Telugu adheres to the ordinary Dravidian rules. The dialect of the Tudas uses the nominative for the accusative and genitive in the case of all nouns, except the personal pronouns. The use of the nominative of neuter nouns for the accusative is not unknown to the North Indian vernaculars, and is one of those particulars in which those vernaculars appear to have participated in Dravidian or non-Aryan influences.

(1.) *Accusative case-signs ei, e,* and *a.*—The only sign of the accusative which Tamil recognises is *ei*, which is suffixed to both numbers and to all genders; though, as has been mentioned, the accusative of neuter nouns is often identical with the nominative or

base. Examples, *avan-ei*, him, *avaḷ-ei*, her, *ad-ei*, it. The accusative case-sign of Malayāḷam is *e*, which evidently represents the Tamil *ei*. In ancient Malayāḷam, Dr Gundert says, *a* is often used instead. Canarese ordinarily uses either *a* or *annu* as its accusative case-sign; but in some instances (*e.g.*, *nanna*, me, *ninna*, thee), *a* seems to have been converted into *na*. This *a* seems to be equivalent to the Malayāḷam *e* and the Tamil *ei*, into which the Canarese short *a* is often found to change by rule.

The Tamil-Malayāḷam accusative case-sign *e* or *a* may be compared with *he* or *e*, the dative-accusative of Hindi pronouns; with the Gujarāthi dative-accusative singular *e;* and with the preponderance of the vowel *e* which is observed in the dative-accusatives of the Bengali and Sindhi. Compare also the Brahui dative-accusative *ne* or *e*, and the Malay *e*. On pushing the comparison amongst the Scythian tongues, not a few of their accusative case-signs are found to resemble the Tamil accusative. Thus the Wotiak accusative is formed by adding *ā* to the root—*e.g.*, *ton*, thou, *ton-ā*, thee. The Turkish accusative is *ī* or *yī;* the Mongolian *ī* after a consonant: *djī*, instead of the Turkish *yī*, after a vowel. The Turkish *ī* is doubtless a softened form of the Oriental Turkish accusative case-sign *nī*, from which it has been derived by the same process by which the Turkish dative case-sign *eh* or *yeh* is undoubtedly derived from the old Oriental Turkish *gā* or *ghāh*. It would therefore appear that the Scythian accusative originally contained a nasal; and in accordance with this supposition we find in the Calmuck pronouns an accusative case-sign corresponding to the Oriental Turkish *nī*—*e.g.*, *bida-nī*, us from *bida*, we, and also *na-maï*, me, and *dzi-maï*, thee, from the bases *na* and *dzi*. With this we may again compare the Brahui dative-accusative *ne* or *e*. *nī* being evidently the basis of the Turkish and Mongolian sign of the accusative, if the Dravidian *ei* or *e* be allied to it (though this can hardly be regarded as probable), this *ei* or *e* must originally have been preceded or followed by a nasal; and in investigating the other Dravidian accusative case-signs we shall discover some reasons for surmising this to have been actually the case.

(2.) *Accusative case-signs am, annu, anna, nu,* &c.— *am* is the characteristic sign of the ancient Canarese accusative, and is used in connection with nouns and pronouns alike—*e.g.*, *avaḷ-am*, her. The more modern form of the Canarese accusative is *annu*—*e.g.*, *avaḷ-annu*, her; and this *annu* is evidently identical with the older *am*. *am* has in other instances besides this evinced a tendency to change into *an;* for 'he' is *avam* in ancient Canarese, though *avan* in

Tamil. The change of the old Indo-European *m*, the sign of the accusative in Latin and Sanskrit, into the Greek ν (*n*) is also a parallel case. The ancient Canarese case-sign *am* no sooner changed into *an*, than it would irresistibly be impelled to euphonise *an* by the addition of *nu*. Even in Tamil, *maṇ*, earth, is commonly pronounced *maṇṇu*, and the corresponding Telugu word is *mannu* by rule. Hence we seem to be quite safe in deriving *annu* directly from *an*, and *an* from *am*. Another form of the Canarese accusative case-sign is *anna*, instead of *annu*, or simply *nna* or *na*—*e.g.*, *na-nna*, me. The final *u* has in this instance been changed into *a*, through the attractive force of the primitive *an;* or perhaps the entire euphonic appendage *nu* has been rejected, and the original case-sign *an* been softened to *a*, whilst the final *n* of the base has been doubled to augment or express the objectivity of the signification.

The Tuḷu accusative case-sign is *nu* or *n'*, which is evidently identical with the case-signs of the Telugu and Canarese. Compare the various accusatives of 'this'—old Can. *idam*, modern Can. *idannu;* Tuḷu *unden;* Tel. *dīni*. Probably the whole of these case-signs are altered forms of the old Can. *am;* and this particle, as has already been suggested, under the head of the nominative, appears to have been originally a singular neuter demonstrative pronoun. When the Gōnd accusative differs from the dative it is denoted by *ūn*.

In Telugu the neuter accusative is often the same as the nominative, as in the other Dravidian dialects; but when the noun denotes animals, or things possessed of life, whether rational or irrational, the accusative must be expressed by the addition of a sign of case. The accusative case-sign may optionally be suffixed, as in Tamil, to nouns denoting things without life; but whether the noun denote a thing without life, or a being possessed of life, whether it be singular or plural, the sign of case must be suffixed to the inflexion, genitive, or oblique case basis, not to the nominative. When the inflexion is the same as the nominative, the noun to which the case-sign is attached is still regarded as the inflexion, so that in theory the rule admits of no exceptions. The sign of the accusative in Telugu is *nu* or *ni*. When preceded by *i* it is *ni*—*e.g.*, *iṇṭi-ni, dom-um ;* where it is preceded by any other vowel it is *nu*—*e.g.*, *biḍḍa-nu, puer-um*. A similar *ni* or *na* is used in Telugu (but not so systematically as the corresponding *in* in Tamil) as an euphonic inflexional increment; and *na* or *ni* is also a sign of the locative in Telugu. Probably those locative and genitive suffixes were originally, and are still to be regarded as one and the same ;

but the sign of the accusative, though nearly identical in sound, proceeds apparently from a different source. Comparing it with the Canarese, and especially with the Tuḷu, accusative *nu* or *n'*, we can scarcely avoid the conclusion that, though in sound it is identical with the ordinary inflexional augment, it is to be regarded as a relic of the Canarese accusative case-sign *annu* or *aṁ*. The suffixes of the accusative of the Telugu personal pronouns can be explained on this supposition alone. The inflexions of those pronouns are essentially different from their accusatives, and incapable of being confounded with them; and the accusatives of those pronouns take of necessity, and not merely for euphony, the nasal suffixes *nu* or *nnu* in the singular, and *mu* or *mmu* in the plural. Thus, whilst *nā*, of me, is the inflexion of *nēnu*, I, its accusative is *nanu* or *nannu*, me; the accusative of the second person is *ninu* or *ninnu*, thee, and their plurals are *mamu* or *mammu*, us, *mimu* or *mimmu*, you, whilst the inflexions of those plurals are *mā* and *mī*. When these accusatives are compared with the Canarese and Tuḷu, especially with *yanan,'* me, and *ninan'*, thee, in the latter, their virtual identity, and therefore the origin of them all from the ancient Canarese *am*, can scarcely be doubted.

We may now proceed to compare this accusative case-sign *am*, *an*, *annu*, *nu*, or *na*, with the Gujarāthi dative-accusative *ne*, with the Panjābi *nu* or *num*, and also with the Brahui *ne* or *e*, and the Turkish and Mongolian *nī* or *ī*. In the Finnish tongues the greater number of singular accusatives are formed by suffixing *en*, *an*, &c., which are also used as signs of the genitive: in the plural there is rarely any difference between the nominative and the accusative. Ascending further towards the source of the Scythian tongues, we find in the language of the Scythian tablets at Behistun an unquestionable link of connection with the Dravidian. The pronoun of the second person singular in that language is *nī*, thou, of which *nin* is the accusative; and when this is compared with the Tuḷu *nin-an'*, thee, we cannot fail to be struck with the closeness of the resemblance.

We should also notice the extensive use of *m* or *n* as an accusative case-sign in the languages of the Indo-European family. In Sanskrit, Latin, and Gothic, *m* predominates, in Greek *n*; but these consonants are virtually identical, like the *m* of the ancient Canarese and the *n* of the modern. A similar form of the accusative being extensively prevalent, as we have seen, in the Scythian tongues, it would be unreasonable to derive the Dravidian case-sign from the Indo-European. In this instance it would be safer

to conclude that both families have retained a relic of their original oneness.

If, as appears highly probable, the old Dravidian accusative in *am* is identical in origin with the *am* which is used as a sort of nominative neuter, or rather neuter formative, and if this *am* was originally a demonstrative pronoun, formed from the demonstrative base, *a*, we seem to find in the Dravidian languages, not only a relic of their original relationship with other families of tongues now widely divergent, but an index to the original meaning of the neuter accusative case-sign *m* or *n*, wherever found, and an explanation of the identity of the singular neuter accusative case-sign in so many Indo-European languages with the singular nominative case-sign *am*. Being a formative of neuter nouns, a class of nouns which more commonly denote things that are acted upon than things that act, it would naturally come to be used as an accusative case-sign—that is, as a sign of objectivity.

It only remains to inquire whether the Tamil-Malayālam accusative case-sign *ei*, *e*, or *a*, cannot be connected with the Canarese *am*, *annu*, and *na*. On comparing the ancient Canarese accusative *ninnam*, thee, with the more modern *ninna*, it can scarcely be doubted that the latter is derived from the former by the ordinary process of the softening away of the final nasal. Through this very process the final *am* of many substantive nouns has been softened to *a*—*e.g.*, *maram*, ancient Can. a tree, *mara* or *mara-vu*, modern Can. If, then, the sign of the accusative in *ninna*, thee, is not *na*, but *a* (instead of *am*), as is probably the case, there cannot be any difficulty in deriving from it the Tamil accusative case-sign *ei*, for the change of *a* into *ei* takes place so frequently that it may almost be considered as a dialectic one—*e.g.*, compare old Tamil *ila*, not, with the modern Tamil *illei*.

(1.) *The Instrumental or 'Third' Case, properly so called.*—Different particles are used by different Dravidian dialects as suffixes of the instrumental case. In Telugu the most classical instrumental is identical with the inflexional locative, and consists in changing *ṭi* or *ti*, the inflexion, into *ṭa* or *ta*—*e.g.*, *rā-ta*, with a stone, from *rā-yi*, a stone, the inflexion of which is *rā-ti*. This form of the instrumental was probably a locative in its original signification, and at all events it is identical with an old form of the locative—*e.g.*, *iṇṭa*, in a house, from *illu*, a house, of which the inflexion is *iṇṭi*. The more commonly used instrumental of Telugu is formed by the addition to the inflexion of any noun of *chē* or *chēta*, which is itself the instrumental form of *chē-yi*, the hand, signifying by the

hand (of)—*e.g.*, *nippu-chēta*, by fire, literally by the hand of fire. The inflexion, or genitive, without the addition of any special suffix, is also occasionally used in Telugu, as in High Tamil, to denote the instrumental case, as well as the ablative of motion, and the locative. The particle *na* is also sometimes suffixed to neuter nouns to denote all three ablatives.

The old Canarese instrumental suffix *im* is evidently identical in origin with *in*, the suffix of the Tamil ablative of motion, originally a locative. It has already been seen how easily *m* changes into *n*: and both in Canarese and in Tamil there is so close a connection between the ablative of motion and the instrumental, that the case-sign of the one is very often used for the other, especially by the poets—*e.g.*, *vāḷ-in āya vaḍu*, Tam. a wound inflicted by a sword, not from a sword. In Canarese also the ablative of motion is denoted more frequently by the suffix of the instrumental than by its own suffix. Through a similar tendency to confound these cases, the case-sign of the instrumental has disappeared from Latin, Greek, &c., and the sign of the ablative has come to be used instead. Even in English, by, originally a locative (*e.g.*, close by), is used at present to form the ablative, or more properly the instrumental.

The instrumental case-sign in modern Canarese is *inda*, evidently an euphonised form of *an*, as are also the old Canarese suffixes *indam* and *inde*. The instrumental suffix of the Tuda is *edd*. Dr Pope connects this with *erd*, past tense of *er*, to be; but as he states that *end* is sometimes used instead of *edd*, I should prefer to consider *edd* derived from *end* by the same process by which *ondu*, one, in the other dialects, has become *odd* in Tuda, and *end*, identical with the Canarese *inda*, used by the Tudas' Baḍaga neighbours. The instrumental case-sign of the Tuḷu is *ḍ' du*, which Dr Gundert derives from a locative noun *eḍe* = *iḍei*, Tam. a place, to which the oblique case-sign or inflexion *du*, answering to the Canarese *da*, is added. I suspect the Tuḷu *ḍ' du* has the same connection with the Canarese *inda* as the Tuda *edd* appears to have.

In Tamil and Malayālam the suffix of the instrumental is *āl*; in High Tamil *ān* also. *āl* is the case-sign of the ablative or instrumental in Gōnd, though in Telugu, which is spoken between the Tamil country and the country of the Gōnds, a different case-sign is used. This suffix *āl* may possibly be derived from, or allied to, *kāl*, Tam. a channel. In some dialects channel is a compound word (Tam. *kālvāy*; Tel. *kālava*; Can. *kālive*), and the only meaning of *kāl* is a foot. This meaning is contained in Tamil, but that of a channel, which Tamil contains also, suits better the supposed use

which is made of *kāl*, as a sign of the instrumental case. *kāl* may have lost its initial *k* in the same manner as *kaḷ* or *gaḷ*, the neuter sign of plurality, is known to have done in Telugu and Tuḷu, in which it has become *l-u*, by corruption from *kal-u* or *gal-u*. Compare also the corruption of *avargaḷ* to *āḷ* in the colloquial Tamil *avāḷ*, they. Here both *g* and *r* have disappeared. Compare also the disappearance of *k* from the Canarese *kammāranu* instead of *karmakāranu*.

In the Indo-European family of languages there are no signs of the instrumental case which at all resemble those that we have noticed in the Dravidian family. The only analogies which I have noticed (and probably they are illusory) are those which exist between the case-sign of the Tamil-Malayālam and the corresponding case-signs of the Finnish tongues. Compare *āl* with the instrumental suffix of the Magyar, which is *al* in the singular, *el* in the plural; and with *alla, ella,* &c., the instrumental suffixes of the Finnish proper, and which are euphonically augmented forms of *al* and *el*.

A secondary or periphrastic mode of forming the instrumental case, which obtains in the Dravidian languages, as also in the northern vernaculars, is by means of the preterite verbal participle of the verb to take, and the accusative or abstract nominative of any noun—*e.g., kattiyei* (*k*) *koṇḍu*, Tam., with a knife, literally having taken a knife: compare the corresponding Bengali *churi diyā*, with (*i.e.*, having taken) a knife. Various participles besides *koṇḍu* are used instead of the instrumental in Tamil and Malayālam, as knowing, doing, seeing, considering, putting, saying, &c.; but *koṇḍu*, taking, is the one most commonly used. This has arisen from the repugnance of the Dravidian (as of the Scythian) languages to continue to make use of any inflexional form after it has ceased to express its original meaning, and has become a mere technical sign. When that has taken place, as in the instance of the Tamil *āl*, those languages are often found to abandon the old form, or let it fall gradually into disuse, and to adopt some word or phrase instead which has a distinct meaning of its own, and the use of which recommends itself at once to the intelligence of the speaker.

(2.) *The Conjunctive or Social Case.*—Dravidian grammarians have arranged the case system of their nouns in the Sanskrit order, and in doing so have done violence to the genius of their own grammar. The Dravidian ablative of motion and the locative are evidently one and the same case, though represented as different by

grammarians in deference to Sanskrit precedents; and the Dravidian social ablative, as some have called it, or rather, as it should be termed, the conjunctive case, though it takes an important position in the Dravidian languages, has been omitted in each dialect from the list of cases, or added on to the instrumental case, simply because Sanskrit knows nothing of it as separate from the instrumental. The conjunctive, or social, stands in greater need of a place of its own in the list of cases in these languages than in Sanskrit, seeing that in these it has several case-signs of its own, whilst in Sanskrit it has none.

The instrumental is best rendered in English by the preposition by, by means of; the force of the conjunctive is that of the preposition 'with,' in the sense of the Latin *cum*, or together with. Sometimes the English preposition 'with' is used in either sense —*e.g.*, I cut it *with* a knife, I went *with* him; but in the Dravidian languages the former 'with' would be represented by the sign of the instrumental case, the latter by that of the conjunctive—*e.g.*, *katti-(y)-āl*, Tam. by a knife, *avan-ōḍu*, with him. Though Sanskrit and the Indo-European languages generally are destitute of this case, Latin evinces a tendency towards it in such forms of *nobiscum*. Whilst most of the Scythian tongues have a regularly formed conjunctive case equally with the Dravidian; and *den*, the conjunctive case-sign of Calmuck, may even be compared (though doubtless the resemblance is accidental) with the Tamil conjunctive case-sign *uḍan*.

The Tamil and Malayālam conjunctive case-signs are *oḍu* and *ōḍu* (when emphasised, *ōḍē*); also *uḍan*. *ōḍu* is evidently a lengthened form, probably a verbal noun, from *oḍu*; and the root meaning of *oḍu*, as is appparent from its derivative *oṭṭu*, adhesion, is to touch, or rather to touch so as to adhere. The particle *oḍu*, or *ōḍu*, thus denotes the closest kind of junction, and is appropriately used as the sign of the conjunctive case. *Uḍan* or *uḍanē*, the other sign of the case in Tamil, is pronounced *oḍan*; and in the Canarese *oḍanē*, the initial *o* is written as well as heard. The final *an* being one of the ordinary formative particles of Tamil nouns, it appears probable that the root is *oḍ'*; and if so, *uḍan* and *oḍane* are identical in origin, as in use, with *oḍu* and *ōḍu*. *Uḍan* is still used poetically as a noun signifying conjunction, and commonly as an adjective with the meaning of joint—*e.g.*, *uḍan-pangāḷi*, Tam. a joint sharer; as an adverb, *uḍanē* means immediately. The Tamil verb *toḍu*, to touch, with its derivative *toḍar*, to follow, seems to me to be closely allied to *oḍu*, to adhere to.

The Telugu conjunctive case-sign is *tōḍu,* of which *tō* is an abbreviated form. This *tōḍu* appears to resemble the Tamil *ōḍu,* and the Tel. adverb *tōḍanu, tōḍenē,* at once; it still more closely resembles the Tam. Can. *oḍanē.* The resemblance, however, does not amount to identity; for if the Telugu words into which *tōḍu* enters in various shapes are compared, it will be found that the Tel. *tōḍu* is identical, not with the Tamil *ōḍu,* but with *tōṛa* (as in *tōṛamei,* companionship), the radical form of which is doubtless *toṛ-u,* a verb, of which the original meaning, probably 'to be together with,' survives in Tamil only in the verbal nouns *toṛudi,* a collection, and *toṛu,* a cow-stall. I quite agree with Dr Gundert in thinking that *oḍu* and *toṛu* cannot be identified; but I still think them allied, through their common point *toḍu.* The Tamil *ōḍu* and the Tel. *tōḍu* (the lengthened forms of *oḍu* and *toḍu* = *toṛu*) are certainly not identical, and yet it is difficult to suppose the resemblance between them altogether accidental. I admit, however, that different postpositions for the different signs of case may be freely selected for use in the various dialects, just as Tamil and Malayālam use *il,* here, house, as the sign of the locative, whilst Tel. prefers *lō* = *uḷ,* within.

Tuḷu has a case, which Brigel, in his "Tuḷu Grammar," calls the communicative, which is used with some of the meanings of a dative, but which on the whole seems to have more of the force of a conjunctive. The case-sign is *ḍa* or *ṭa,* and this particle seems naturally to connect itself, both in sound and signification, with *oḍu,* the Tam.-Mal. sign of the conjunctive.

The Dative or 'Fourth' Case.—In the North Indian dialects one and the same postposition or suffix is used more or less regularly as a sign of case both by the dative and by the accusative. In the Dravidian languages, with the exception of the Gōnd, not only is the difference between the dative and the accusative essential and strongly marked, but there is less discrepancy amongst the various Dravidian dialects with respect to the particular suffix used to denote the dative, than with respect to any other case-sign. The accusatives, instrumentals, ablatives, and genitives, of the various dialects, exhibit material differences; but in all the dialects of this family—in the rudest as well as in the most polished—there is but one suffix of the dative.

The dative is formed in Tamil by suffixing *ku* (in construction *kku*) ; in Malayālam *kku* ; in Telugu *ku* or *ki,* according to the nature of the preceding vowel—*i.e., ki* after a word ending in *i, ku* in all other connections; in old Canarese *ge* or *ke*; in the modern dialect *ge* or *kke,* and in construction *ige;* Tuḷu, *ku, gu, k', g';*

Tuda, *k* or *g*, generally the latter. From a comparison of these forms it is obvious that the guttural *k* or *g* (generally followed by a vowel) constitutes the most essential part of this suffix; and that, as the vowel seems to have been added chiefly for the purpose of helping the enunciation, it is of little moment what vowel in particular appears to be used for this purpose.

In the primitive Indo-European tongues we discover no trace of any such dative suffix or case-sign as the Dravidian *ku;* but *kō*, the dative-accusative of the Hindi (in Bengali *kē*, in Sindhi *khē*), resembles the Dravidian *ku* so much that it seemed to me highly probable that some relationship existed between them. Two recent writers, however, seem to have proved that the Gaurian *kō* has been derived from Sanskrit; and if this be the case, its relationship to the Dravidian *ku* cannot be maintained. Dr Trumpp, in his "Sindhi Grammar," derives the Sindhi *khē* and the Bengali *kē* from the Sanskrit locative *kr' tē*, for the sake of, in regard to. This form became in Prakrit first *kitē*, then *kiē*. It was then contracted into *kē*, which in Sindhi, by reason of the elided *r*, became *khē*. He derives the Hindi and Hindustani form of this postposition *kō* by a similar process from the Sanskrit *kr'tam*, which is used adverbially with the same signification as the locative *kr'tē*. In Prakrit, and still more in the modern dialects, the neuter is changed into the masculine. In accordance with this rule, we have first *kitō*, then *kiō*, and then the more modern contracted form *kō*. He thinks *kōm* and *kaum* formed from *kō* by the addition of an euphonic *anusvāra*, to which the modern tongues have taken a great fancy. Dr Trumpp argues also that the fact that the Arian vernaculars, which border immediately on the Dravidian idioms, have not adopted the use of *kō* as a sign of the dative, shows that it is improbable that the dialects more to the north have been indebted for this form to the Dravidian idioms.

Mr Beames, in his "Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India" (Introduction, p. 48), attributes to the *kō* of the Hindi, &c., a different origin; but the origin he assigns to it is as distinctively Sanskritic, and equally far removed from relationship to the Dravidian case-sign. He says, "It is demonstrable from actual written documents that the modern Hindu *kō* is a pure accusative or objective, and was in old Hindu *Kauṉ* which is the usual and regular form of the Sanskrit *kam*, the accusative of nouns in *kah;* so that there does not appear to be the slightest reason for connecting it with anything but the cognate forms in its own group of languages." Though the derivation of the Hindi *kō*

from the Dravidian *ku* cannot now be maintained, it does not follow that the Dravidian form must be supposed to be derived from the Hindi one. The Dravidian *ku*, being found in every dialect of the family, however cultivated or however rude, has an antiquity of its own, greatly surpassing that of the change of *kauṉ* into *kō* in Hindi. Probably none of the written documents referred to by Mr. Beames can pretend to an antiquity equalling that of the Syrian Christian inscription, in the Tamil of the period, on the Malabar coast, which has been ascertained to have been written in 774 A.D., and in which we find *ku* used as a dative (*e.g.*, *nagarattu*KKU, to the city) precisely as it would be at the present day. All that can be said is that this resemblance of *kō* to *ku* is one of those cases of remarkably close resemblance which do not amount to, but which might readily be mistaken for relationship.

The Singhalese dative is *ghai*; in the Oraon, a Dravidian dialect strongly tinctured with Kolarian elements, it is *gai*; in Tibetan *gya*; in the language of the Bodos, a Bhutān hill tribe, it is *kho*, nearly identical with the Hindi. The suffix of the dative in the various languages of the Turkish family seems closely to correspond to the Dravidian dative. The forms of this suffix found in the Oriental Turkish are *ke, ka, ge, ga, ghah,* and also *a*. The Osmanli Turkish dative is *yeh* or *eh*, the initial *k* or *g* of the older dialect having been softened into *y*, and then discarded. The Manchu *de* and the Mongolian *dou* are possibly allied to the Tartar *ke*; for it has already been remarked that the change of *k* into *t* or *d*, or *vice versā*, is not an uncommon one in this group of tongues, and that even amongst sister dialects belonging to the same family or sub-genus, the pluralising particle in one dialect is *ek*, and in another *et*. In the Finnish family of languages the Turko-Dravidian dative reappears; though the Finnish proper has *le*, not *ke*. In the Irtish and Surgutish dialects of the Ostiak the suffix of the dative is *ga*, corresponding to the Oriental Turkish *ga* or *ge*. The ordinary Ostiak has also *a*, softened, as in the Oriental Turkish itself, from *ga*. Compare also the Mordvin *adessive* suffix *va* or *ga*. The Cheremiss illative, which denotes motion into a place, is *śka, ske,* &c., but in adverbs and certain postpositions this is replaced by *ke, ka,* &c., signifying direction. The origin of this particle is considered identical with that of the particle *ke* or *ge*, which is used to form a social ablative. The syllable *ka* or *ki* is also a part of the case-sign of the ordinary ablative and the superlative. The Japanese sign of direction is *ve, he, ye, e*—*e.g.*, *Yedo-ve*, Yedo-wards.

Interesting and remarkable analogies have been brought to

light by the Scythian tablets of Behistun. We learn from those tablets that a dative suffix which is almost identical with the Dravidian, and also with the Turkish and Ostiak, was used by the oldest Scythian dialect of Central Asia of which any remains are extant. The dative case-sign or suffix which is most largely used in the Scythic tablets is *ikki* or *ikka*. Mr Norris noticed the resemblance of this suffix to the Magyar genitive-dative *nek* and the Telugu genitive postposition *yokka*; but its resemblance to the dative suffix of the Telugu and of the other Dravidian dialects is still closer. The Tamil *ku* becomes, as we have seen, *akku* or *ukku* in construction; the Canarese *ge* becomes *ige*; and the Malayālam *ukku* or *kku* becomes *ikku*; which last form of the suffix is identical with the Scythian of Behistun. Compare, *e.g.*, the cuneiform Scythian *nī-ikka* or *nī-ikki*, to thee, with the corresponding Malayālam *nina-kku*, the Telugu *nī-ku*, and the Tuḷu *ni-kk'*.

It has thus been shown that the principal languages of the Scythian family accord very exactly with the Dravidian languages in the use of *ka, ki, ku*, or some related particle, as the suffix of the dative. It may be noticed also, that in the language of the Malays there is a prefix, *ka*, which signifies 'towards'. 'To a place,' however, in Malay, is *datan*. It is difficult to determine whether the Finnish dative suffix *le* has any connection with *ke*. It certainly seems to resemble much more closely the Tibetan, Pushtu, and Marāṭhi dative suffix *lā* which *lā* is evidently equivalent to the New Persian *ra*. Compare, *e.g.*, the Marāṭhi *tu-la*, to thee, thee, with the corresponding Persian *to-ra*.

Malayālam alone of all the Dravidian dialects appears to possess two suffixes of the dative, viz., *kku*, which is the suffix most largely used, and *innu, nu* or *u*, which is occasionally used in the dative singular only. This *innu* is evidently a compound form, and seems to be euphonised and softened from *in-ku*. Tamil is fond of adding to the base of nouns which are to be declined the euphonic increment *in* (originally a locative), before suffixing the signs of case. The same practice prevails in Malayālam also. Consequently, this exceptional Malayālam dative is not *inna*, but *nu*, or simply *u*; and the doubled *n* which sometimes precedes it (*e.g.*, *avannu*, to him) may only be an euphonic compensation for the loss of the *k*. The *k* or *g* of *ka* or *ga* has been softened away in some dialects of the Turkish and Ostiak, precisely as I suppose it has been in Malayālam. Dr Gundert prefers to derive this peculiar dative case-sign *innu* from the possessive case-sign *inadu*. The Malayālam *endre*, my, is, I doubt not, to be resolved into *enadu*,

and therefore *marattindre*, of a tree, into *marattinadu*. This *marattindre* again may have been softened into *marattinu*, just as the Mal. *ninnu*, standing, *innu*, to-day, are softened from the Tam. *nindru* and *indru*. Dr Gundert supposes, therefore, that in this form of the dative we have a relic of the possessive. He is doubtful, however, himself of the validity of this explanation, as *nu* is as common in old Malayālam as *nnu*—*e.g.*, *avanu*, to him, as well as *avannu*. Here he thinks it most probable that the *ku* has been simply dropped. If the expression "softened away" were used instead of dropped, this explanation would be equivalent to mine, which is that *innu*, being a dative, is more likely to be a softened form of *inku*, which is in itself a true dative, than that it should be a softened form of *inadu*, which is in itself a possessive.

Can a purely Dravidian origin be discovered for the Dravidian dative case-suffix *ku*? The locative suffixes *il* and *in* can be explained *ab intra*; but I doubt whether *ku* is capable of an *ab intra* explanation. The only suggestion I can offer is as follows:—Looking at such nouns of direction as *vadakku*, north, and, *kiṛakku*, east, we find the final *ku*, though a dative or directive in signification, indistinguishable in form from the *ku* which is one of the commonest formatives of verbal nouns, and from the *ku*, possibly the same *ku*, which is a sign of futurity in the oldest form of the Tamil verb. Can it be that in all three connections the *ku* is the same, and that the root idea in each case was transition? This does not explain how *ku* came to mean transition; but it may indicate the direction in which inquiry may be made.

The Ablative of Motion or 'Fifth' Case.—This case appears to have been included in the list of cases by Dravidian grammarians out of deference to the grammatical principles of the Sanskrit. It is true that if we look at the construction and meaning of a Dravidian sentence, the *signification* of an ablative of motion will be found to exist, and it will be found to be expressed much more clearly even than in Sanskrit; but a distinction is to be drawn between the existence of a case and the existence of a case-sign, or regular technical suffix of case. The Dravidian languages have undoubtedly an ablative of motion, and a great many other ablatives besides; but I doubt whether they have any case-suffix which belongs exclusively to the ablative of motion.

On comparing the suffixes of the ablatives of motion (which are also used sometimes in an instrumental sense) with those of the locatives in the various dialects of this family, no real difference is apparent between the one class and the other, or at least

no adequate reason appears for regarding them as distinct and independent suffixes; for whatever difference does exist is to be attributed, not to the signs of case, but to the verbs or verbal participles which are annexed to them. The object of the ablative of motion is to furnish an answer to the question *whence?* and this answer is obtained in the Dravidian tongues by suffixing to a noun of place the sign of the locative, and annexing to that sign a verb of motion. By this means the locative is converted into what is called the ablative, without changing its case-suffixes, and the idea of a change of place is thus naturally and necessarily educed. Native Tamil grammarians appear to hold that *il*, the ordinary suffix of the ablative, and *il*, the most largely used sign of the locative in the colloquial dialect, though written and pronounced alike, are different particles with different significations. I am persuaded, however, that this view is erroneous; and that a natural system of case classification would determine that the Dravidian languages have no ablative, properly so called, but only a variety of locative and instrumental suffixes, which are capable of becoming ablatives by the addition of appropriate verbs.

In Tamil, the suffixes which are used in forming the 'fifth' case, or ablative of motion, are *il* and *in*. *il* (Tel. *illu*) signifies by itself a house, a place—*e.g.*, *kō-(v)-il*, a temple, God's house; its primitive meaning, however, appears to have been 'here,' 'in this place'; and it is therefore well suited for becoming a sign of the locative. Accordingly it has a place in the list of locative suffixes, as well as in those of the ablative; and in the colloquial dialect it is used as a sign of the locative far more frequently than any other particle. The other suffix, *in*, is identical, I conceive, with *im*, the old Canarese sign of the instrumental: it is used as an instrumental in Tamil also; but probably both *im* and *in* were previously locative suffixes. In old Canarese the proper suffix of the ablative is *attaṇim* (other forms of which are *attaṇindam* and *attaṇinde*), which is itself formed from the demonstrative adverb *aṭṭaṇa* (identical with *attal-u* or *atta*, there, or *attal*, that side), by the addition of *im*, the old instrumental suffix, meaning originally 'here,' from which *inda*, the more modern suffix, is derived; and this *inda*, though the ordinary sign of the instrumental, is also ordinarily used, with the addition of a verb of motion, as the sign of the ablative.

Whilst I think that not only *il*, but also *in* and *im* were originally locative suffixes, it is more difficult to determine whether *il* and *in* were originally identical in sound and significa-

tion, as well as in application. In every instance in which *il* is used in Tamil, *in* may be substituted for it poetically; and it is almost exclusively by the poets that *in* is used. Moreover, in Telugu, *illu,* a house, identical with *il,* is euphonised into *in,* in the inflexion *iṇṭi,* of a house. On the other hand, if we regard *in* as originally a locative, it will be found to have a far wider range of analogies than *il,* and may therefore be surmised to have sprung from a different root. In Finnish and Magyar we find *an, en,* and still more frequently *in,* used as signs of the locative. Even in Sanskrit we find *in* used as a locative case-sign of pronouns of the third person—*e.g., tasmin,* in him; and though this *in* is supposed to have been euphonised from *i,* yet in the Latin locative preposition *in* and the Greek ἐν (*en*), corresponding to the Sanskrit *ni,* we find the existence of a remarkable analogy. *il,* on the other hand, has no apparent affinities out of the pale of the Dravidian family.

It seems probable that *in,* one of the signs of the locative in Tamil, is identical with *in,* a sign of the genitive, or inflexional increment, in Tamil-Canarese; and if so, a new and very wide range of affinities is disclosed, as will be seen when the case-signs of the genitive are inquired into.

The Tamil *il* and *in* agree in this, that when they are used as suffixes of the ablative, they both require to be followed by verbs of motion. In the spoken dialect of the Tamil, the verb of motion is preceded by the verbal participles *nindru,* standing, or *irundu,* being. The use of these participles strengthens the supposition that *il* and *in* are properly to be regarded as locatives. In the higher dialect, however, they are ordinarily dispensed with, and *il* or *in* is followed by a verb of motion alone—*e.g., malei-(y)in viṛum aruvi,* the cataract which falls from the mountain. In this expression the idea of "motion from a place" is plainly implied in the aoristic relative participle *viṛum,* which falls; and hence *in,* whatever it may have been in origin, acquires the force of a sign of the ablative of motion.

In Canarese the compound ablative suffixes *attaṇim* and *deseyinda* are not so commonly used as *inda,* the terminal member of the second compound suffix; and though *inda* is described to be the sign of the instrumental, I have no doubt that it is identical with *im* and *in,* and a locative in origin. The first member of the Can. compound *dese* means a point of the compass (Sans. *diś,* Tam. *tiśei*). *inda* is not only used by itself to form the ablative, but is also allied to *alli* or *illi,* the sign of the loca-

tive, for the purpose of denoting the ablative. Compare the Canarese *allinda* or *illinda*, from, with the corresponding Tamil compound *il-irundu* or *il-nindru*. In Telugu the particle *na*, which corresponds to the Tamil *in* and the old Canarese *im*, is more distinctively a locative than an ablative of motion. This particle is *ni* after *i*; and if this is its normal form it may at once be identified with the Tamil *in*. The Telugu ablative of motion is ordinarily formed by means of the verbal participle *nuṇḍi* or *nuñchi* alone, without the aid of any such suffix as *na*, or *ni*, *il* or *in*; consequently this ablative seems to have still less of the character of an independent case than in Tamil. On further examination, however, it comes into accordance with the Tamil ablative. *nuṇḍi* or *nuñchi* is regarded by Mr Clay, and I think correctly, as formed from *uṇḍi*, having been, the past participle of *uṇḍu*, to be, to which is prefixed the *n* of the locative case-sign, the full form of which is *na* or *ni*. Thus *paralōkamu-nuṇḍi vachchenu*, he came from heaven, should be divided *paralōkamu-n'-uṇḍi vachchenu*: literally, "he, having been in heaven, came." *uñchi* is not found in the classics in this connection, and being the past participle of a transitive verb derived from the same root (meaning to place), its use as the suffix of the ablative of motion would be somewhat inappropriate. On the other hand, the use of *uṇḍi* in this connection is perfectly in accordance with the use in the Tamil ablative of motion of the corresponding form *irundu*, having been, or *nindru*, having stood, to which also *in*, the true case-sign, originally a case-sign of the locative, must be prefixed.

The Tuḷu ablative of motion, which is also used as an instrumental, is *ḍ' du* or *ḍ' d'*. The corresponding form of the Tuda is *edd*, which is also pronounced *end*; and as this is probably identical with the Canarese *inda*, it seems possible that the Tuḷu *ḍ' d'* may have had the same origin.

The Genitive or 'Sixth' Case.—The genitive or possessive case is formed in the Dravidian languages in various ways, and by means of various suffixes, each of which requires to be examined separately. The Tuda dialect uses the nominative for the genitive, as for the accusative.

(1.) *The abbreviated pronominal genitive.*—The personal pronouns of the Tamil form their inflexion, or ordinary genitive, by shortening the included vowel of the root—*e.g.*, *nī* (properly *nīn*), thou, *nĭn*, thy; *nām*, we, *năm*, our. This shortened form has the force of a genitive in Tamil without any suffix or addition whatever, though it is often strengthened by the addition of a

suffix in the other dialects—*e.g.*, in Canarese it requires to have a genitive suffix appended to it, and of itself it is merely an inflexional basis. In the Scythian of the Behistun tablets the nominative of the pronoun of the second person is long—viz., *nī*, whilst the inflexional form and enclitic possessive *nĭ* is short, precisely as in Tamil-Canarese.

We shall best, I think, understand the origin and force of this peculiar form of the genitive of personal pronouns, by considering it as a pronominal adjective. Every Dravidian noun of quality or relation becomes an adjective on being prefixed to a noun-substantive for the purpose of qualifying it; and ordinarily the only changes which it undergoes on becoming an adjective are such petty euphonic changes as are intended to facilitate the combined enunciation of the two words. The change in the quantity of the personal pronoun to which I have referred, appears to have this origin. I regard it as simply euphonic, and euphony is certainly promoted by this conversion of a long vowel into a short one prior to the addition of the case-suffixes, or of the governing substantive. We find apparently a similar euphonic shortening of the quantity of the vowel of the root, on the conversion of the abstract noun into an adjective. See the section on "Numerals"—*e.g.*, *āṟu*, Tam. six, *ăṟubadu,* sixty; *ēṟu,* seven, *ĕṟubadu,* seventy. There is room, however, as we shall see, for supposing that the process which has actually taken place may have been the reverse of this—viz., that the shorter form of these numerals is the radical one, and that the longer has been euphonically lengthened.

(2.) *The neuter inflexional genitive.*—The neuter inflexions *attu, attru, ṭi, ti,* &c., are largely used in forming the genitive in Tamil and Telugu.

The various suffixes which are used to form the inflexion were originally, I conceive, signs of the locative case; but in process of time they have come to convey more commonly either a possessive or an adjectival signification, according to the connection; and in many cases, as has been shown, they have shrunk into inflexional increments of the base, or have become mere euphonic links of connection between the base and the case-suffix. Dr Trumpp considers the inflexion or formative of the North Indian vernaculars originally a genitive. The inflexion which is now under consideration is in Tamil *attu,* and is used by the singular of neuter nouns alone, *aṟṟu,* pronounced *attru,* is occasionally used by neuter pronominal plurals. The same inflexion—for I believe I have shown it to be the same—is in Telugu *ṭi* or *ti.*

The inflexional suffixes being, as I conceive, first locative then possessive suffixes in their origin, their adjectival use naturally flowed from their use in forming possessives. There is sometimes little difference in signification between the locative, the genitive, and the adjective; and in several languages besides the Dravidian the adjectival formative either appears to have been derived from the possessive suffix, or to be identical with it. Thus, as we have already shown, in Tamil, it matters little whether *kuḷattu mīn* (from *kuḷam,* a tank, and *mīn,* fish) be translated adjectivally tank fish, or genitivally the fish of the tank, or locatively the fish in the tank. The adjectival rendering is ordinarily the more natural one, but if a few words be added to the compound expression, so as to bring out the full force of the inflexional suffixes, it will be evident that those suffixes must have been signs of case originally, and that their adjectival use is secondary to their use as signs of the possessive or locative. Thus, when we say in Tamil, *i-(k)-kuḷattu mīn perugittru,* to render the sentence, this tank fish has increased, would not only be barbarous, but would partly fail to express the meaning, which is, the fish of this tank have increased. In this instance it is evident that the suffix *attu* is used as a sign of the genitive, though capable of acquiring in certain connections the force of an adjectival formative. This same suffix *attu* has sometimes in Tamil and Malayālam the force of a sign of the locative, properly so called, like the corresponding inflexional suffixes in Telugu; and when used as a suffix of the locative, it is governed by a verb, not by a noun; from which it is certain that it must be regarded as a case-suffix in origin. It is here to be noted that though *attu* may have had at first a locative signification, yet in such phrases as those given above, it is clear that it is not used as a locative. It has a locative signification only when the governing word is a verb. In these instances the governing word is a noun; *attu* is therefore used as a possessive.

Max Müller appears to derive the genitive from the adjective, not the adjective from the genitive. He says ("Lectures," p. 110), "It can be proved etymologically that the termination of the genitive is, in most cases, identical with those derivative suffixes by which substantives are changed into adjectives."

I have already mentioned the connection which subsists between the inflexional suffix *attu* and *adu,* it, the neuter singular demonstrative pronoun. It is deserving of notice in this place that *adu* (the very same demonstrative, I doubt not) is one of the recognised suffixes of the possessive case in Tamil, and is occa-

sionally used as a possessive in the other dialects also. Thus we may say in Tamil *either marattu* (*k*)*-koppu* (from *maram*, a tree, and *koppu*, a branch), the branch of a tree, or *marattinadu koppu* (*mar'-attin-adu*). *mara-madu* may also be used, though not in ordinary use, because ineuphonic; but the possessive case-sign *adu* is quite as frequently suffixed to the crude form of the noun, or the nominative, as to the oblique form—*e.g.*, *vāṛei-*(*y*)*-adu paṛam*, the fruit of the plantain, is as common as *vāṛei-*(*y*)*-in-adu paṛam*, and is even more elegant.

I have no doubt of the identity of the *adu* of *vāṛei-*(*y*)*-adu* and the *attu* of *marattu* in origin. The old crude base of *maram*, a tree, is *mara*, as found in Canarese, the final *am* or *m* being a formative; and on *adu*, the sign of the possessive (originally a demonstrative), being added to *mara*, we shall have *maradu*, of a tree (in Canarese *marada*); of which the *d* has only to be doubled (as it is colloquially by the Tamil people, many of whom say *attu* for *adu*), when the word becomes *marattu*, the very form in which we now find it. In old Canarese we find this form *attu* alternating with *adu* and *atu* in the possessives of the personal pronouns—*e.g.*, instead of *ninnadu*, thine, we sometimes find *ninatu* or *ninattu*. In Telugu, the inflexional suffixes *ṭi* and *ti* are used without any additional particle as signs of the possessive or genitive even more frequently than in Tamil. The postposition *yokka* is but seldom added to it, and needs not ever be added. In Telugu also the connection subsisting between this suffix and the neuter demonstrative pronoun is still more obvious than in Tamil. *adi*, it, is systematically suffixed in Telugu to nouns and pronouns to convert them into possessives (*e.g.*, *vāridi*, their or theirs), and the relation subsisting between *adi* (or *di*, as it is in some instances) and *ṭi* or *ti* is very close. In Canarese the corresponding particles *ad* and *ar*, though used as inflexional increments of the base, prior to the addition of several of the signs of case to certain classes of nouns, have not now of themselves a possessive signification. Their present use is purely euphonic, and does not contribute to grammatical expression. Nouns in which *ar* and *ad* are introduced form their possessives in *ada* and *ara*; and in these forms the final *a* is that which contains and conveys the possessive signification. *ad* and *ar* have only the same incremental or euphonic force in *ad-a* and *ar-a*, that *in* has in *in-a*, which is a corresponding Canarese possessive.

(3.) *The neuter demonstrative genitives.*—*adu*, it, and its euphonically lengthened equivalent *ādu*, are often used, especially

in classical Tamil, as signs of the possessive, and they are ranked by native grammarians amongst genitive case-signs. *adu* is the neuter singular demonstrative (derived from *a*, the remote demonstrative base, and *d*, the sign of the neuter singular). Its meaning when standing alone is invariably that of a demonstrative pronoun, but by usage it has acquired the signification of a genitive or possessive, when annexed to any noun as a suffix. *avan-adu* is literally 'he+that,' that is, 'he+that which belongs to him,' but by usage it means 'his property,' his. This use of *adu*, as a possessive suffix, is derived from its use as the formative of nouns of possession.

By the addition of this demonstrative to any noun or pronoun (generally it is added to the inflexion—in the case of pronouns it is always to the inflexion that it is added) a compound noun of possession or relation is formed, which, like all Dravidian nouns of relation, is capable of being used as an adjective; and it seems to have been the use of nouns with this termination as possessive adjective which has led to *adu* and its equivalents being regarded as signs of the possessive case. The noun to which *adu* is appended may be used, and often is used, without any addition or modification, as the nominative of a verb or of a sentence. Thus, *enadu*, Tam. (from *en*, my, and *adu*, that), signifies properly that (which is) mine; and this compound possessive may either be used adjectivally—*e.g.*, *enadu kei*, my hand, literally the hand that is mine (in which instance *adu* is called by grammarians a genitive case-sign); or it may be used as a possessive noun, and as such it becomes the nominative of a verb—*e.g.*, *enadu pōyittru*, mine (or my property) is gone. Thus *adu* which at first meant 'that,' became secondly the formative of a possessive noun (*avan-adu*, that which is his, literally he+that), thirdly the formative of a possessive adjective (*avan-adu, his*), and lastly a sign of the possessive case generally, signifying 'of' or 'belonging to.' Another reason for regarding the genitive case-sign *adu* as originally and properly the formative of a noun or adjective of possession, is that it cannot be followed indiscriminately by any kind of noun, but by neuter nouns alone, and properly by the neuter singular alone. Thus we may say *enadu kei*, my hand, but not *enadu keigaḷ*, my hands; except indeed in the colloquial dialect, in which the singular is used for the plural more frequently than in the higher dialect or by the poets.

The higher dialect would prefer in this instance *ena keigaḷ*—*ena* instead of *enadu*—*i.e.*, *mea*, instead of *meum*. *adu* is not only

a formative, therefore, but is distinctively a neuter singular formative, employed to give a possessive signification to the noun to which it is suffixed. Like all other nouns, these possessive nouns in *adu* are capable of being used as adjectives, by being prefixed without alteration to other nouns; and when so prefixed, *adu* came to be used and regarded as a possessive case-sign. This explanation seems to account for all the phenomena, and therefore is probably the true explanation. In Malayālam, this use of *adu* as a possessive case-sign, though common in the ancient poetry, has nearly disappeared from the popular dialect. It is scarcely discernible except in *tanadu, enadu* (from which come *tandre* and *endre,* its, my). The old Canarese possessive pronouns, answering to the Tamil *enadu,* &c., are *ennadu, ninnadu, tannadu,* mine, thine, its. These take also the shape of *ninatu,* &c., and also *ninattu,* &c.

A similar use of the neuter singular of the demonstrative as a possessive suffix obtains in Telugu also—*e.g., nādi,* mine, literally that (which is) mine, from *nā,* my, and *adi,* that, a form which is exactly equivalent to the Tamil *enadu.* Telugu uses a similar suffix to form a plural possessive to correspond with *enadu* or *nādi,* viz., *vi,* which bears the same relation to *avi,* those (things), which *di* does to *adi,* that (thing)—*e.g., vārivi,* theirs or the (things which are) theirs. In this respect Telugu acts more systematically than spoken Tamil. It is not so fond, however, of using these possessive nouns adjectivally as the Tamil, and therefore *di* and *vi* have not in Telugu come to be regarded as case-signs of the genitive. The Canarese and the Tamil not only form neuter possessive nouns and adjectives by adding to them the neuter demonstrative, but they form also masculine and feminine possessives, or possessive appellatives, of both numbers, by adding the masculine and feminine formatives to the genitive case or inflexion of nouns and pronouns. In the Tuda dialect, *ad,* the demonstrative base, appears sometimes to be added to the first of two nouns, when it is used adjectivally. All the Dravidian dialects agree in appending the demonstrative possessive suffixes to the inflexion, not to the nominative, as a general rule, wherever the nominative differs considerably from the inflexion. When nouns receive in Tamil a double inflexional increment—*e.g., attu* and *in* (in combination *attin*), the possessive suffix is added to this double increment—*e.g., mar'-attin-adu koppu,* the branch of a tree.

(4.) *The possessive suffix 'in', and its varieties.*—*in* in Tamil

and *ni* in Telugu, and corresponding particles in the other dialects, are not only used as inflexional augments of the base and euphonic bonds of connection between the base and the case-signs, but also as suffixes of the possessive and as adjectival formatives. I have no doubt that *in* and *ni*, of themselves and originally, were locative suffixes, and that every other use to which they have been applied grew out of their use as signs of the locative. As Max Müller says (p. 229), "A special case, such as the locative, may be generalised into the more general genitive, but not *vice versā*." Native Tamil grammarians do not include *in* amongst their case-signs, but describe it as a formative augment or adjectival increment alone: but on comparing its use in Tamil with its use in the other dialects, I am convinced that it was originally a sign of the locative, then adopted as a sign of the genitive, and that it is still to be regarded, notwithstanding its other uses, and its probable origin, as one of the most characteristic of the genitive suffixes.

In Tamil, of all genitive suffixes, *in* is that which is most frequently used. *attu* is used in the neuter singular alone, and *aṟṟu* (*attru*) in the neuter plural alone; but *in* is used in connection with both numbers and with all genders. A similar use of *in* appears in the Malayālam. In Canarese, on the other hand, *in* is used only as an inflexional augment, not as a sign of case. One of the so-called declensions of the Canarese is said by grammarians to take *ina* as its genitive case-sign; but in this instance the final *a* is the real sign of the genitive, as it invariably is in Canarese; and this genitive *a* is found to be preceded by various euphonic increments—*in, ad, ar,* or *v,* according to circumstances. Doubtless the *in* of *in-a,* like the Tamil *in,* was a sign of the locative originally, then of the possessive; but it has long ceased to contribute to grammatical expression, and therefore cannot now be regarded as a sign of case. In Telugu, *na* or *ni,* the dialectic equivalent of *in,* is used as a possessive suffix, as in Tamil, though not so frequently. The only difference in principle is that *ni* is used in Telugu in connection with the singular alone, and might be called a genitive singular case-sign, if the Telugu stood in an isolated position; whereas in Tamil it is used in connection with plural nouns as frequently as with the singular. In Ku, which has special resemblances to the Telugu, *ni* constitutes the inflexion (in reality the genitive) of all classes of nouns, whether singular or plural, precisely like the Tamil *in.* The Gōnd uses as genitive case-signs *na* and *nā, da* and *ā*—forms which are probably allied one to another, as well as to the Brahui *nā,* and to the Telugu and Gōnd *ni* and the Tamil *in,*

Though *in* is not regarded by Tamil grammarians as a sign of the genitive, yet when those particles which are regarded as genetive case-signs are suffixed to any noun, *in* is ordinarily inserted between the noun and those case-signs; so that all auxiliary or additional particles are appended to this incremental *in,* not to the noun itself—*e.g.,* from *adu,* it, is formed not *ad'-uḍeiya,* but *ad'-in-uḍeiya,* of it; from *tambi,* a younger brother, is formed not *tambi-(y)-adu,* but more commonly *tambi-(y)-in-adu,* of a younger brother: and this rule seems to indicate that *in,* whatever its origin, has acquired more of the force of a genitive case-sign than the genitive particles which have subsequently been suffixed to it. The same inference is still more clearly deducible from the circumstance that in a large number of instances, both in the singular and in the plural, each of the case suffixes in succession is appended, not to the crude form of the noun, but to the increment *in.* These case-suffixes are not mere postpositional fragments, but were, or are still, nouns of relation; and *in,* the particle by which they are united to the base, serves as a bond of connection, in virtue, as I conceive, of its signification as a suffix of the genitive. Thus, in the colloquial Tamil *kallinidattil* (*kal*(*l*)*-in-iḍattil*), in a stone, *iḍattil,* the local ablative or locative suffix, literally means 'in the place'; and this suffix evidently requires, or at least desires, the possessive *in* (with the signification 'of' to connect it with the base. Hence *kal*(*l*)*-in-iḍattil* literally signifies 'in the place of (or occupied by) a stone.'

The adjectival meaning of *in,* though not its only or original meaning, is one which is recognised by native grammarians, and which they prove by examples—*e.g., ponnin* (*pon*(*n*)*-in*) *kuḍam,* a golden vessel. This adjectival use of *in* is not only allied to, but is derived from, its use as a suffix of the genitive, and in the illustration which has now been adduced it is evident that *ponnin kuḍam* might be rendered with equal propriety, a vessel of gold. It will be found also in the Indo-European analogies which will presently be adduced, that the similarity or identity of the adjectival formative and the genitive case-sign which is apparent in this instance, has a wider range than that of the Dravidian languages. There is another particle resembling *in*—viz., *am,* with its equivalent *an,* which is occasionally used in Tamil for both those purposes, and, like *in,* it is sometimes appended to the noun itself, and sometimes to the neuter inflexion. We see this fusion of the adjectival and the genitive signification of *am* in such forms as *ālam* (*āl'-am*) *pū,* the banyan flower, or the flower of the banyan, and *āttraṅ karei* (*āttru,* the inflexion of *āṟu,* a river), the river-bank, or the bank of the river. The same adjectival formative is much used in Malayāḷam also—

e.g., mal'-am puli (*mala-am puli*), a mountain tiger, or a tiger of the mountain, a royal tiger. The final *m* of *am* changes by rule into the nasal which corresponds to the first consonant of the word which follows it and with which it is compounded. Hence it changes into *n* when followed by a dental—*e.g., panaṉ-dōppu* (*panei-am-tōppu*), palmyra tope. It must not be supposed, however, that we have here to deal with *an*, the formative suffix of many Tamil nouns. In such words as *adaṟku*, Tam. to it, for *adan-ku, am* is not considered a sign of case or even as an inflexional increment, but (as we have already seen in the section on "The Inflexional Increment") as a formative suffix, found in the nominative (though rarely), as well as in the oblique cases. *am* and *an* agree in this, that both are used as formative particles of nouns. *am*, however, is also used as a genitival or adjectival suffix in Tamil, whereas *an* is not. *am* and *an* are, I believe, identical in origin; so also another pair of particles *in* and *im* (the latter the Canarese form). *am* and *an* I regard as demonstrative pronouns; *in* and *im* as related to or derived from *il*, here, a house, the locative case-sign.

We have now to inquire whether any trace of the genitive case-sign or adjectival formative in *in, ni, am*, or any related form, can be found beyond the circle of the Dravidian dialects. Of all the North Indian vernaculars the Gujarāthi is the only one which contains a form of the genitive resembling that which we have been examining. That language has a genitive suffix in *n* (*nō, nī, nun*), which somewhat resembles the Telugu *ni, nu*, &c. In the language of the Bodos, a Himalayan tribe, the pronominal genitive is regularly formed by suffixing *ni*—*e.g., aṅ-ni*, of me, *naṅ-ni*, of thee, *bi-ni*, of him. In Sanskrit the *n* which precedes the *ah* or *as*, of certain genitives, is undoubtedly euphonic; but both in Sanskrit and in other members of the Indo-European family, we may observe distinct traces of the adjectival or genitival use of a particle of which the consonant *n* is the most essential element. With the Dravidian particle compare *an-a*, the Sanskrit adjectival formative, and *an*, the suffix of appellatives; the Greek possessive suffix ων (*ōn*); the adjectival use of ιν (*in*) in Greek words like λίθιν-ος (*lithin-os*), and of *en*, in the Germanic wood*en;* and also *in*, the Sanskrit suffix of agency, which is preserved in the adjectives of the New Persian. These forms look as if they were reciprocally related; and possibly also there may be some ulterior relationship between them and the Tamilian *in*. There are traces in the Indo-European family of languages themselves of the use of *in* as a distinctively genitival suffix. The Celtic forms its genitive systematically by means of *n, an, en*, &c.: nor is it the genitive plural only of the Celtic dialects which

uses this case-sign (as in the Sanskrit family), but it is employed to form the genitive singular also. It should be noticed too that in the ancient Egyptian *n* (alternating with *m*) was used to express all case relations, but particularly that of the genitive. Compare also the Sanskrit genitive or possessive *mama* (*ma-ma*), of me, my, with the Zend *mana,* the Old Persian *manā,* and the Gothic *meina,* mine, *theina,* thine, *seina,* his; in each of which examples the final *na,* or its Sanskrit equivalent *ma,* resembles the Dravidian *in* or *ni,* not only in sound, but also in the union of an adjectival signification with that of the possessive or genitive case. The Lithuanian goes further than any other Indo-European tongue in resemblance to the Tamil in this point, for it not only uses *n* as a sign of the pronominal possessive (of the first person), but it adopts this genitival *man* as the inflexional base of all the rest of the oblique cases of the same pronoun.

In the languages of the Scythian stock we find a large number of still more essential analogies with the Dravidian genitival suffix *in* or *ni.* Compare both with the Dravidian and with the Indo-European possessives the Mongolian and Manchu *mini* (*mi-ni*), of me, my; and the Mongolian *tchini* and the Manchu *sini* (*si-ni*), of thee, thy. In the languages of the Finnish family, the prevailing form of the genitive is that which corresponds to the Dravidian: it is *n, an, en, un,* &c., not only in pronominal inflexions, but universally. Thus in Mordvin and Cheremiss, the genitive is formed by suffixing *n* or *en*—*e.g., kudo,* a house, *kudo-n,* of a house. The genitive plural of the Mordvin is *nen,* possibly a reduplication of *n,* intended to symbolise the plural—*e.g., kudot-nen,* of houses. The Lappish genitive takes *n* or *en* in the singular, and *i* in the plural. *ē* forms the ordinary possessive suffix of the Magyar. The Finnish proper forms the genitive by suffixing *n, un, in, an,* &c.—*e.g., minā* (*min-ā*), I, *min-un,* of me, my.

The prevailing form of the genitive in the Tartar or High Asian families corresponds to *nen,* the reduplicated suffix of the Mordvin plural, and to its equivalent reduplication in the old Scythian of the Behistun tablets; but whilst the reduplicated suffix is very frequently used, it systematically alternates with the simpler suffix *un* or *in.* The Oriental Turkish forms its genitive by suffixing *ning* or *nin,* or *nīng* or *nīn.* In the Ottoman Turkish the initial nasal is only occasionally used: the genitive plural is uniformly *un̲;* the singular takes *un̲* or *nun̲,* according as the noun to which it is suffixed ends in a consonant or in a vowel. In the Mongolian, the sign of the genitive is *ū* after the consonant *n;* after every other consonant, *ūn;*

and after a vowel *in* or *yin*. The personal pronouns, as has already been observed, form their possessive by suffixing *nu* or *ni*—e.g., *mi-mu*, or *mi-ni*, my. Compare the Mongolian *kōl-ūn*, of the foot, with the ordinary Tamil genitive of the corresponding noun *kāl-in*, of the foot. The Calmuck dialect of the Mongolian forms its genitive by suffixing *u* or *i* to nouns ending in *n*, and *in* or *yin* to all other nouns. The Tibetan postfixes in like manner *i* or *yin*. The Manchu makes much use of a possessive relative suffix *ngge* or *ningge*, signifying 'which has'; but it also forms genitives, properly so called, by suffixing *ni* or *i*. In Japanese *ni* is used generally as a sign of relation, with a still wider variety of meanings than the Tam. *in*. *no*, however, is the ordinary sign of the possessive, and is also used in the formation of adjectives.

In the language of the Scythian tablets of Behistun, the genitive was ordinarily formed by suffixing *na*: the first personal pronoun formed its genitive by suffixing a reduplicated form of this particle, *ni-na*—e.g., *hu-ni-na*, of me; whilst the genitive plural was generally formed by means of the addition of *inna*, probably softened from *ni-na*. The nearest direct resemblance to the Behistun-Scythian genitival *na*, is the Brahui *nā*, and the Gōnd *nā* or *ā*. This interesting record of the speech of the ancient Scythians furnishes us, I think, with a clue to the origin of *nuṉ* or *niṉ*, the Tartar genitive suffix. In the Tartar tongues *nuṉ* is interchangeable with and equivalent to *uṉ*; and *un* or *in* is also interchangeable with *ni* or *nu*; in Mongolian *yin* and *un* are suffixed to substantives, *ni* to the personal pronouns. It appears from the Behistun tablets that *na*, the ordinary genitive suffix, was sometimes euphonically changed into *ni-na*, and that this again was softened into *inna*. I conceive that the Tartar *uṉ* was in this same manner, by the reduplication of the nasal, converted into *nuṉ*; which in Manchu became *ngge* or *ningge*. Possibly also *ni* or *nu* was nasalised by the addition of a final *n* or *ng*, of the use of which we have an instance in point in the final euphonic *n* of the first and second personal pronouns in most of the Scythian languages. A parallel instance of the reduplication of a nasal is apparent in Telugu itself, in the conjunctive or copulative particle. This particle is *um* in Tamil, *ū* in Canarese, and *u* in Telugu; but this Telugu *u* becomes euphonically *nu*, and by reduplication *nunnu* in particular instances.

(5.) *The genitival suffix 'a.'*—This sign of the genitive or possessive claims to be regarded not only as the most distinctively Dravidian suffix, but as the sole original one. It is little used in modern Tamil, though placed first in the list of genitive case-signs

by Tamil grammarians; but if we take all the Dravidian idioms into consideration, in several of which it is the only sign in use, we shall find it more largely used than any other suffix of the genitive—a proof of the accuracy of the Tamil classification.

I conceive this suffix to be identical with *a*, the formative of the most frequently used Dravidian relative participle (see "The Verb"), but totally distinct in origin from *a*, the neuter particle of pluralisation which has already been investigated.

In Canarese *a* is the only sign of the genitive which is ever-used. It is sometimes euphonically lengthened to *ā*, as the Tamil *adu*, of which the same *a* forms the most essential part, is sometimes lengthened to *ādu*. *a* is sometimes preceded by an euphonic consonant, which is inserted between it and the base, to form a link of connection between them, viz., by *v* or *y*, the use of which is purely of an euphonic nature, and by *in*, *ad*, or *ar*, which are inflexional increments of the base, and old petrified locatives or genitives—*e.g.*, *guru-*(*v*)*-a*, of a priest; *kuri-*(*y*)*-a*, of a sheep; *kus-in-a*, of a child; *mar-ad-a*, of a tree; *ad-ar-a*, of that (thing), or of it. When this genitive *a* is added to the abbreviated inflexional form of the Canarese personal pronouns, the final nasal of those pronouns is doubled —*e.g.*, *nanna* (*from nān*, I), of me; *namma* (from *nām*, we), of us. A comparison of these forms with the Tamil and Tuḷu *nama*, of us, our, proves that the doubling of the final nasal arises from an euphonic source. *a* forms the genitive suffix not only of the singular of Canarese nouns and pronouns, but also of the plural, whether the noun belongs to the rational or to the irrational class—*e.g.*, *avar-a*, of them (epicene), *avugaḷ-a*, of them (neuter). These examples prove that *a* is the true Canarese genitive case-sign: and it is also to be noted that this case-sign is never used, like *in* in Tamil, as the common fulcrum of the suffixes of all the oblique cases, but is used solely as a case-sign of the genitive.

In Tuḷu *a* is the only sign of the genitive, as in Canarese. The only difference is that in the plural *a* is weakened to *e*. In many instances in singular nouns *a* is preceded by *d* or *t*; but this consonant is merely the equivalent of the Canarese *ad* or *d*, which has already been referred to; and in the genitive of the personal pronouns *a* is preserved purer in Tuḷu than in Canarese. Thus, instead of the Canarese *nanna*, of me, the Tuḷu has *yan-a* (= *nan-a*), and instead of *ninna*, of thee, it has *nin-a*. The language of the Kotas of the Nilgherry Hills forms all its genitives by suffixing *a*.

In Telugu *a* forms the plural inflexion or genitive of all sub-

stantive nouns without exception. *lu*, the pluralising particle, is changed into *la;* and as the *u* of *lu* is added merely to facilitate enunciation, and *l* alone constitutes the suffix of the plural, it is evident that the *a* of *la* is a suffix of case. As the plural inflexion, *a* constitutes the fulcrum to which the other case-signs, or suffixes of the oblique cases, are added; and as the genitive plural, it expresses the signification of the genitive, without any auxiliary or additional particle. The Telugu personal pronouns use their crude bases adjectivally as their inflexion and genitive. The pronouns of the third person, or the demonstratives, generally form their genitives, both in the singular and in the plural, by adding *i* to the root: in the singular a few of them suffix *ni*, as is done by the greater number of nouns in the singular. One of the Telugu pronouns uses *a*, both in the singular and in the plural, as the sign of the genitive, in complete accordance with the Canarese and Tuḷu. The genitive of the reflexive pronouns *tān-u*, self, *tām-u*, selves, is formed in Telugu by shortening the quantity of the radical vowel and suffixing *a*, as in Canarese—*e.g.*, *tan-a*, of self, *tam-a*, of selves. The adjectival *a* of some Telugu substantives is evidently identical with this genitival *a*—*e.g.*, *ūr-a kavi*, a village poet, or a poet of the village.

In Tamil, though *a* is placed first in the list of genitive suffixes, it is now less used than any other sign of the genitive, and indeed is used only as a classical genitive of the personal and reflexive pronouns—*e.g.*, *nam-a*, our (from *nām*, we), like the Sanskrit *mama*, my, and *tava*, thy. It is difficult indeed, to determine whether this suffix has retained in Tamil any genitival signification whatever. Whether it be attached to a singular or to a plural pronoun, it must be followed by, and be in agreement with, a neuter plural noun; and this circumstance would lead to the conclusion that in Tamil it is used as a suffix of plurality, not as a sign of the genitive. On this supposition, in the words *ena keigaḷ*, my hands, *ena* would signify not *mei*, of me, but *mea*, (the things that are) mine. It would be a pronominal adjective or possessive plural, not a genitive; and the fact that *a* is largely used in classical Tamil as a sign of the neuter plural (*e.g.*, *sila*, few, literally a few things; *pala*, many, literally many things), shows that this supposition would be a very natural one.

On the other hand, *a* was classed with genitive suffixes by the most ancient Tamil grammarians, and those grammarians, who were remarkably well acquainted with the principles of their own language, were perfectly aware that *a* was also a sign of the plural of "irrationals." Moreover, though it is stated by Tamil gram-

marians that the genitive in *a* must always be in agreement with a plural noun, yet they admit that the noun with which it agrees is sometimes singular in form though plural in signification—*e.g.*, the expression *nun-a śīr' aḍi*, thy small foot, occurs in the Chintāmaṇi. They say that foot is here used for feet, and this is certainly true; but it does not follow that *nun-a* determined thereby to be a plural, for the use of the singular with a plural signification, yet with the declensional and conjugational forms of the singular, is a fixed usage of these languages. I think, therefore, that we may confidently regard this *nun-a* as an illustration of the use of *a*, even in Tamil, in connection with the singular. In Tamil, it is true, *a* is ordinarily followed by the neuter plural alone; but in Canarese and Telugu it may be followed by any gender or number; and the *a* of the Tamil *tan-a*, of self, is evidently identical with that of the corresponding Telugu *tan-a;* whilst the *a* of *nam-a*, of us, our, is evidently identical with the Canarese *namm-a*. Hence, as the one *a* is unquestionably a genitive, so must the other have been originally; and thus we are led to the supposition that the Tamil rule which requires *a* to be followed by the neuter plural is merely a secondary, recent, dialectic peculiarity, which has arisen from the influence of its accidental resemblance to the sign of the plural of irrationals. This peculiarity of the genitival *a* in Tamil may be compared with the somewhat parallel case of the use in Hindustani of one possessive suffix rather than another, according to the gender of the noun which follows and governs that to which it is suffixed. Though in grammatical Tamil *a* is always followed by the plural, yet the vulgar in the rural districts commonly use it without discrimination of number, as in Canarese and Telugu. Thus, they will say *nama* (or more commonly, as in Canarese, *namma*) *ūr*, our village; and this confirms the supposition that in Tamil, as in the other dialects, the original use of this *a* was simply that of a suffix of the genitive. In the Ho, a Kōlarian dialect, *a* is a common possessive suffix; and it is also, as in Tamil, an adjectival formative.

We have now to inquire whether there is any other language or family of languages with which this genitive suffix appears capable of being affiliated. There is no direct Scythian analogy for it, and the only affinities which I have observed are Indo-European. The most direct and reliable Indo-European analogy is that which is presented by the personal pronouns, which in some of the Indo-European dialects have a possessive in *a* strongly resembling this Dravidian possessive. If we looked only at the Gothic *meina*, my, *theina*, thy, *seina*, his or its, we should naturally conclude the

sign of the possessive in these words to be, not *a*, but *na* (answering to the old Scythian and Brahui *na*, and to the Telugu *ni*) ; but on comparing the forms which this sign of the possessive assumes in various languages, it appears probable that *a* alone conveys the signification of the possessive ; and that the nasal which precedes it in the Sanskrit *mama*, the Zend *mana*, and the Gothic *meina*, may merely have been inserted euphonically for the purpose of keeping the contiguous vowels pure. Compare *mama*, Sans. my (from *ma, I*), with *tava*, thy (from *tva*, thou) ; and especially compare the Gothic *theina, seina*, with the corresponding Lithuanian possessives *tava-s, sava-s*. In these instances *v* euphonic is used as the equivalent of *n*. The Indo-European pronominal possessive in *a* is exceptional ; for the primitive languages of that family evince an almost perfect agreement in the use of *as*, or some closely related form, as the sign of the genitive singular, and of *sām* or *ām* as the sign of the genitive plural. In the later Teutonic dialects, however, a genitive case-sign in *a* becomes exceedingly common, and is found in the plural as well as in the singular. Thus in the Frisian all plural substantives and such singulars as end in a vowel form their possessive by suffixing *a ;* in the Icelandic all plurals and all masculine and neuter singlars use *a* as their case-sign ; and in the Anglo-Saxon all plurals. Though the oldest Gothic possessives accorded with ordinary Sanskrit forms *as* and *ām*, yet the resemblance between the possessives of some of the Teutonic vernaculars and the Dravidian possessive is deserving of notice. The use of *a* as a sign of the possessive by all *plural* substantives in Telugu is especially remarkable. Has the Dravidian *a* under consideration been softened from *as* (of which, however, there is not the smallest trace or analogical probability), or has it been softened from *na*, the old Scythian suffix ? The latter supposition, though unsupported by evidence, is not an improbable one in itself ; for we have seen that the Gōnd *nā* alternates with *ā*, the Scythian *ni-na* with *inna*, the Turkish *nuṉ* with *unu*.

(6.) *The Malayālam genitive singular suffix 're' or 'de.'*—In most cases this Malayālam genitive takes the shape of *indre* or *inde*, of which *in* is the genitive suffix and inflexional increment, which has already been described. In *en-de*, my, the inflexional base is of itself a genitive, and the addition of *in* is not required ; hence it appears that *de* or *dre* is an auxiliary genitive suffix, like the *adu* which is so often added to *in* in Tamil, and is probably from the same origin. This suffix is written *ṟe ;* but it is always added to *n*, and when it is thus added, the compound is regularly pronounced, not as *nṟe*, but as *ndre* or *nde*. Neither the Tamil nor the Mala-

yālam possesses any other method of producing the sound which is indicated by these letters (a peculiarly euphonic *nd*), but that of conjoining the final *n* of those languages and the hard *ṟ*; which, when pronounced in combination, have the sound of *ndr*, or, as some pronounce it, *ndz*, or more commonly still, *nd*. Thus, from *en*, to say, and *du*, the regular formative of the preterite participle, the Canarese forms *endu*, saying, or having said; and this in Tamil is written *enṟu*; but it would be erroneous to suppose *ṟu* to be the sign of the preterite in Tamil instead of *du*, for *enṟu* is intended to be, and is pronounced, *endu* or *endru*, nearly as in Canarese.

Hence some analogies to the Malayālam *ṟe* (in reality *de*), which might be suggested, appear at once to be illusory. The Malayālam *ṟe* was connected by Dr Stevenson with the Canarese genitive *ra*. It has been shown that *a*, not *ra*, is the genitive suffix of the Canarese, and that the *r* which precedes it is properly *ar*, an inflexional increment (like *ad* and *in*), which is inserted between the root and the case-sign of three cases, besides the genitive, of certain classes of nouns. The Malayālam *ṟe* (de), on the other hand, is suffixed exclusively to the genitive, and no other suffix of case is ever appended to it. Nevertheless, as I connect *de* with the Tamil *adu*, it, and as with this I connect also the Canarese *ad* and its hardened form *ar*, it may be admitted that in this modified and remote manner the Malayālam and the Canarese forms are allied.

Still more illusory is the apparent resemblance of this Malayālam *ṟe* or *de* to the adjectival possessive suffixes of the Hindustani personal pronouns *rā* and *rī* (e.g., *mērā*, meus, *mērī*, mea), to the corresponding New Persian inflexion *rā* (*e.g.*, *to-rā*, thy, thee), and to *ra*, the Gothic genitive plural suffix of the personal pronouns (*e.g.*, *unsara*, our, *izvara*, your), from which the final *r* of our English *our* and *your* has been derived. The Hindustani *r* is supposed by Bopp to be derived from *d*; *mērā*, meus, being derived from the Sanskrit *madīya*, my; but I cannot suppose that the Malayālam form has any connection whatever with the Hindustani and the Persian, except, indeed, on the supposition that the *d* of the Tamil demonstrative neuter singular, *adu*, is remotely connected with the formative *d* of the Sanskrit possessive adjective.

The Malayālam *de*, like the Tamil *adu*, is used as a genitive suffix of the singular alone, a confirmation of the opinion that it is derived from *adu*, which in its original signification is the neuter singular of the demonstrative. In the genitive plural, the Mala-

yālam uses *ude*, answering to the colloquial Tamil *uḍeiya* (from *uḍei*), belonging to, of. Compare the Malayālam *enṟe, endre,* or *ende*, of me, with the corresponding Tamil *enadu*, of me, that which is mine. The Malayālam possessive noun mine, or that which is mine, is *endredu*, from *en-de*, my, and *adu*, it, corresponding to the Tamil *enadu*. This latter *enadu*, however, is not the genitive *enadu*, my, with which I have compared *en-dre*, but a possessive noun in the nominative case; and though I suppose the Malayālam *de* to be itself a corruption from *adu*, yet the demonstrative suffix would be appended a second time, on the origin and true meaning of *de* being forgotten. We see illustrations of this repetition of an ancient suffix in many languages—*e.g.*, *malei-* (*y*) *in-in*. High Tam. from a mountain; and this very demonstrative *adu*, it, is twice used in the Tamil negative participial noun *illādadu*, the thing which is not; in which the first *d*, though a representative originally of the neuter singular demonstrative, has lost its proper signification, and become a mere euphonic link of connection, or technical sign, in consequence of which *d* requires to be repeated.

(7.) *Auxiliary suffixes of the genitive in Telugu and Tamil.*

(i.) In Telugu, *yokka*, or *yoka*, is sometimes appended to the inflexion, or natural genitive, as an auxiliary suffix of case—*e.g.*, from the ordinary possessive *nā*, my, is formed optionally the equivalent form *nā-yokka*, my, of me. This suffix is rarely used, and seems foreign to the idiom of the language; no other pure Dravidian dialect possesses any suffix resembling it. A suffix somewhat resembling *yokka* is found in the Rājmahal and Ūrāon languages, which contain an overwhelming preponderance of Kōl elements, though formed probably upon a Dravidian basis. The possessive suffix of the Rājmahal is *ki*, that of the Ūrāon *ghi*. If these particles are at all connected with the Telugu *yoka*, which seems doubtful, we should be warranted in connecting the whole with the ordinary possessive or adjectival suffix of the Hindustani, the feminine of which is *kī* (masculine *kā*), and through that suffix with the formative *ka* of the Sanskrit possessive adjectives *māmaka*, my, *tāvaka*, thy, *asmākam*, of us, our, &c. A closer analogy to *yoka* is that of the dative postfix of the Mikir, which is *yok* or *ayok*.

(ii.) In Tamil, *uḍeiya* is commonly appended to the inflexion of nouns and pronouns as an auxiliary possessive suffix. *uḍeiya* (*uḍei-* (*y*) *-a*), means belonging to, or, literally, which is the property of, and is derived from the noun *uḍei*, property, possession, by the addition of *a*, the sign of the relative participle, on the addi-

tion of which to any noun it is converted into an adjective. Thus *en-uḍeiya kei,* my hand, means literally the hand which is my property, for *en* of itself signifies my. Through usage, however, there is no difference in signification, or even in emphasis, between *en* and *en-uḍei-(y)-a.* The Malayālam dispenses with *ya* or *a,* the sign of the relative participle, and uses *uḍe* (in Tamil *uḍei*), the uninflected noun itself, as its auxiliary suffix of the genitive. This suffix is still further mutilated in modern Malayālam into *ḍe*—*e.g., putrī-ḍe,* of a daughter. *uḍeiya* is very largely used as an auxiliary genitival suffix in colloquial Tamil, and in some grammars written by foreigners it is classed with the signs of the genitive; but, properly speaking, it is not a case-sign, or suffix of case at all, but the relative participle of an appellative verb used adjectivally, and it is to be compared not with our preposition *of,* but with the phrase, belonging to.

Locative or 'Seventh' Case.—Dravidian grammarians state that any word which signifies 'a place' may be used to express the locative. In each dialect, however, some words of postpositions are so frequently and systematically used for this purpose that they may be regarded as distinctively locative suffixes.

In Tamil, *kaṇ,* an eye, which has also the signification of a place, is given in the grammars as the characteristic suffix of the locative. As a verbal root, *kaṇ* means to see: its secondary signification was, look! its third, there; its fourth, a place: and in consequence of the last meaning it came to be used as a sign of the locative. It is very rarely used, and the use of *kāl* (in Malayālam *kal*), which stands next in the list in the Nannūl, is still more rare. I have no hesitation in saying that the most distinctive sign of the Tamil locative is *il,* a house, a place—literally, this place, here. In colloquial Tamil the most commonly used sign of the locative is *iḍattil,* a compound suffix, which is derived from *iḍam,* the ordinary word for a place, *attu,* the inflexion or basis of the oblique cases (*iḍ'-attu*), and *il,* an older, purer word for a place, which is added to *iḍ-attu* (*iḍ'-att'-il*), as the real sign of the locative, with the meaning of our preposition *in.* The signification of the whole suffix is literally, in the place of, or in the place occupied by; but it is evident that what really distinguishes the locative in this compound is *il,* in—the suffix of a suffix; and that the meaning which the entire compound receives in actual use is simply *in.* In the lowest patois of colloquial Tamil, the locative suffix which is most used is *kiṭṭa,* near, the infinitive of a verb. The higher dialect of the Tamil uses also *uḷ* and *uṟi,* within, among, as signs of the locative.

The ancient Canarese generally used *ōḷ*, corresponding to the Tamil *uḷ*, as its locative suffix; whilst the modern dialect uses *alli* or *illi*, a form which answers to the Tamil *il*. *alli* is properly a noun of place, formed from the remote demonstrative *a*; and its fellow is *illi*, formed from *i*, the proximate demonstrative. These words mean literally that place and this place, or there and here, and their use as locative suffixes appears to betoken a later state of the language than the use of *il* and *uḷ* in Tamil, and of *ōḷ* in Canarese. The locative suffix of the Tuda is *uḷch* or *orzh*, which seems to be simply the Tamil *uḷ* rudely pronounced. *r* and *l* seem generally to become *rzh* in this dialect.

In Telugu the sign of the locative most commonly used is *lō*; another form frequently employed is *andu*. *lō* is more intensely locative in its signification than *andu*; it means within, and is obviously identical with the Canarese *ōḷ*, and the Tamil *uḷ*. *andu* means simply 'in,' and, like the Canarese *alli*, is properly a noun of place. I consider *andu*, the adverbial noun, there, identical with *andu*, the sign of the locative. It is evidently formed from *a*, the remote demonstrative, with the addition of a formative *d*, whilst *indu*, the correlative adverb of place, is derived from *i*, the proximate demonstrative. The Canarese also possesses adverbs corresponding to these, viz., *anta* and *inta*, *antalu* and *intalu*, but uses them chiefly to express comparison, like our adverb *than*. The Telugu locative suffix *andu* (meaning on or in) bears some apparent resemblance to the the Sanskrit *antar*, among, but this resemblance is illusory; for *andu* is derived from *a*, that, by the addition of the neuter formative *du*, which becomes euphonically *ndu*, and corresponds not to the Sanskrit, but rather to *anda*, that, the demonstrative adjective of the Tamil. The Tuḷu locative suffix is *du* or *ḍ'*, *tu* or *ṭ'*, which Dr Gundert conjectures may be derived from *uḍu*, equivalent to *uḷ*, Tam. within, *ōḷ*, Old Canarese, or from *eḍe*, equivalent to Tam. *iḍei* or *iḍam*, place. The nature of the initial vowel of the Tuḷu suffix seems difficult to ascertain. The *ḍ* is sometimes preceded by *o*, sometimes by *a* or *e*; and sometimes it is obliterated, as in *keiṭ'*, in the hand, a form which suggests Telugu analogies. On the whole it seems to me most likely that the Tuḷu locative *ḍu* or *ṭu* has sprung from the same origin as the Can. *alli* and the Tel. *andu*, viz., the adverb of place *there*, one form of which in Tuḷu is *aḍe*, thither (corresponding to *iḍe*, hither, and *oḍe*, whither).

In Telugu the postposition *na*, which becomes *ni* after *i*, is used as a locative suffix in connection with neuter nouns. *ni* (and hence

its equivalent *na* also) is evidently identical with *in*, the sign of the ablative of motion in High Tamil, which I have supposed to be properly a sign of the locative; and probably this *in* is the origin of *in*, the Tamil, and *ni* and *na*, the Telugu, genitival or inflexional suffixes. The genitive is more likely to be derived from the locative than the locative from the genitive. With this Telugu locative *na* we may compare the Ostiak locative *na*, *ne*, the Finnish and Magyar *an* and *en*, and especially the Japanese locative *ni*—*e.g.*, *Yedo-ni*, in or at Yedo.

In Telugu, and in the higher dialect of Tamil, the inflexion or basis of the oblique cases, which has generally the force of a genitive, is sometimes used to denote the locative also. This is the case in Tamil only in those connections in which it is governed by a verb, expressed or implied. In Tamil the inflexion which is chiefly used in this manner is *attu*—*e.g.*, *nilattu*, upon the earth. The Malayālam uses *attu* in a similar manner; and in Telugu a corresponding change from *ti* to *ta* converts the inflexion or obsolete genitive into a locative—*e.g.*, *iṇṭi*, of a house, *iṇṭa*, in a house. The same inflexion in *ta* denotes the instrumental in Telugu, as well as the locative—*e.g.*, compare *chēti*, of a hand, with *chēta*, by a hand; but this form seems to have been a locative originally. This fusion of the meaning of the genitive and locative suffixes corresponds to a similar fusion of the signs of those cases which a comparison of the various Indo-European tongues brings to light. The genitive and locative case-signs are often identical in the Finnish family of languages also. Bearing this in mind, we may conclude that *in* or *ni*, one of the most common inflexional increments in all the dialects, *in*, one of the Tamil possessive and adjectival suffixes, *in*, the sign of the Tamil ablative of motion, and *im*, the Canarese sign of the instrumental, with the various shapes they take, were all originally locatives, and identical with *il*, which we have seen is so exceedingly common as a locative suffix, with the original meaning of *here*.

In all the Dravidian idioms the locative suffixes are used like our *than*, to express comparison. Sometimes the locative alone is used for this purpose: oftener the conjunctive particle is added to it—*e.g.*, *il-um*, in Tamil, *lō-nu*, in Telugu, which compound has the signification of our *even*, *than*.

The Vocative or 'Eighth' Case.—In the Dravidian languages there is nothing which properly deserves to be styled a suffix or case-sign of the vocative. The vocative is formed merely by affixing

or suffixing some sign of emphasis, or in certain instances by suffixing fragments of the personal pronouns. The most common vocative in Tamil is the emphatic ē, which is simply appended to the noun. Sometimes, also, the vocative is formed by substituting ā for the formative of gender—*e.g.*, from *kartan*, Lord, is formed *ḳartā*, O Lord, by converting the final vowel into *āy* (a fragment of the old pronoun of the second person singular)—*e.g.*, from *tangei*, sister, is formed *tangāy*, O sister; or by lengthening the vowel of the pluralising particle—*e.g.*, from *pāvigaḷ* sinners, is formed *pāvigāḷ*, O sinners. Sometimes, again, especially in poetry, rational plurals are put in the vocative by appending to them *īr*, a fragment of *nīr*, you —*e.g.*, *ellīr*, literally *ell-īr*, all ye. Both in Tamil and Malayālam the vocative is often formed by lengthening the final vowel of the nominative—*e.g.*, *tōṛi*, female friend, voc. *tōṛī*. This usage prevails also in Japanese.

In the Indo-European languages the nominative is often used for the vocative, and what appears to be a vocative case-ending is often only a weakened form of the final syllable. In the Dravidian languages, in like manner, the crude root, deprived of all increments, is often used as the vocative.

In Telugu the vocative singular is ordinarily formed by lengthening the final vowel of the nominative (and all Telugu words end in some vowel), or by changing the final *u* into *a* or *ā*. *ara* or *arā*, from the same root as the Tamil pronominal fragment *īr* (viz., *nīr*, ye), is post-fixed as the vocative of masculine-feminine plurals. In addition to these suffixes, various unimportant vocative particles, or particles of exclamation, are prefixed to nouns; some to one number only, some to both. In Canarese the vocative is ordinarily formed by appending *ā*, by lengthening the final vowel of the nominative, or by adding *e* or *ē*. Masculine-feminine plurals form their vocative not only by means of *e* or *ē*, but also by suffixing *ira* or *irā*, from the same source as the Telugu *arā*—viz., the old *nīr* or *īr*, ye. Such being the origin and character of the Dravidian signs of the vocative, it is evident that we cannot expect to find allied forms in any other family of languages.

Compound Case-signs.—As in the Hungarian and other Scythian tongues, and in some of the languages of the Eastern islands, so in Dravidian, two or more case-signs are occasionally compounded together into one. We have already noticed the custom of annexing the various signs of the oblique cases to the inflexion or sign of the genitive; but other combinations of case-signs are

also in use. Thus, there is a combination of the dative and locative—*e.g., vīṭṭukkuḷ* (*vīṭṭukk'uḷ*), colloquial Tam. within the house, in which the locative *uḷ* is combined with the dative or directive *kku,* for the purpose of intensifying *in,* and educing the meaning of 'within'. The higher dialect would in this instance prefer *vīṭṭuḷ,* the simple locative; but *vīṭṭukkuḷ* is also idiomatic. The ablative of motion in each of the Dravidian dialects is generally a compound case, being formed of the locative and a verbal participle, or even of two locatives—*e.g., mane-*(*y*)*-ill-inda,* Can. out of the house, from *illi* or *alli,* the sign of the locative, and *inda,* a sign of the instrumental, which is used also as a sign of the ablative, but, which was, I conceive, a locative originally, and identical with *im,* the Canarese form of the Tamil *in.*

Such compounds may indeed be formed in these languages at pleasure, and almost *ad infinitum.* Another instance of them in Tamil is seen in the addition of the dative to the locative (*e.g., il-ku, iḍattil-ku*), to constitute the locative-directive, which is required to be used in such expressions as, I sent to him. The Malayālam *inikkuḷḷa* (*in-i-kk'* and *uḷḷa*), my, is a compound of the dative of the personal pronoun (which is itself a compound), and a relative participal form of *uḷ,* within; in colloquial Tamil, also, a similar form is used as a possessive.

Possessive Compounds.—The Dravidian languages are destitute of that remarkable and very convenient compound of nouns and pronominal suffixes with a possessive signification which is so characteristic of the Turkish, Finnish, and other Scythian families. See Castren's "Dissertatio de Affixis Personalibus Linguarum Altaicarum."

In Hungarian they form the following compounds of *ur,* master, with the pronominal fragments, used as possessives:—

ur-am,	my master.	*ur-aim,*	my masters.
ur-ad,	thy master.	*ur-aid,*	thy masters.
ur-a,	his master.	*ur-ai,*	his masters.
ur-un-k,	our master.	*ur-ain-k,*	our masters.
ur-at-ok,	your master.	*ur-ait-ok,*	your masters.
ur-ok,	their master.	*ur-ai-k,*	their masters.

These compounds are regularly declined like uncompounded nouns, in the usual way: e.g.—

uramnak (*ur-am-nak*), to my master.
urunknak (*ur-un-k-nak*), to our master.
uraimnak (*ur-aim-nak*), to my masters.
urainknak (*ur-ain-k-nak*), to our masters.

The absence of possessive compounds of this nature in the Dravidian languages, notwithstanding their agreement with the Scythian group in so many other points, is remarkable: it is the only point in which any structural difference of generic or class type appears to exist. In all the Dravidian languages the possessive pronouns are prefixed to nouns, as in the Indo-European tongues, never postfixed, as in the Scythian. There is a class of words in the Dravidian languages compounded of a noun and a personal suffix, called conjugated nouns, or appellative verbs. See the section in which these are explained. That class of words, though it resembles, is not identical with, the Scythian possessive compounds. It is identical, however, with the predicative compounds of the Scythian languages.

SECTION III.—ADJECTIVES, OR NOUNS USED ADJECTIVALLY.

The difference between the Indo-European languages and those of the Scythian group with respect to the formation and use of adjectives, is very considerable.

The agreement of adjectives with the substantives which they qualify, in gender, number, and case, forms an invariable characteristic of the languages of the Indo-European family; whilst in the Scythian languages adjectives have neither number, gender, nor case, but are mere nouns of relation or quality, which are prefixed without alteration to substantive nouns. In this particular the Dravidian languages present no resemblance to the Sanskrit, or to any other member of the Indo-European stock, but are decidedly Scythian in character. Dravidian adjectives, properly so called, like those of the Scythian tongues, are nouns of quality or relation, which acquire the signification of adjectives merely by being prefixed to substantive nouns without declensional change; and, in virtue of that acquired signification, they are called by Tamil grammarians *uri chol*, qualitative words. Participles of verbs, and

nouns with the addition of participial formatives, are also largely used as adjectives in the Dravidian, as in the Scythian, family. Such being the simplicity of the construction of Dravidian adjectives, it will not be necessary to occupy much time in the investigation of this department of grammar. It may suffice to state, *seriatim,* the various modes in which nouns or verbs are used as adjectives, and the formative or euphonic modifications which they undergo on being prefixed to the substantives which they qualify: nor will it be necessary to state *all* the modifications which are discoverable in each dialect, but only those which appear to be most characteristic, or which are peculiarly worthy of remark.

1. The majority of adjectives in all the Dravidian dialects are nouns of quality or relation, which become adjectives by position alone, without any structural change whatever, and without ceasing to be, in themselves, nouns of quality. Thus, in the Tamil phrases *pon aridu,* gold is scarce, and *pon muḍi,* a golden crown, *pon,* gold, is precisely the same in both instances, whether used as a substantive in the first, or as an adjective in the second. In a similar manner, in English and the other modern Indo-European dialects, the same word is often used as a noun in one connection, and as an adjective without addition or change, in another connection—*e.g.,* gold is more ductile than silver; a gold watch. Whilst adjectival nouns of this class undergo in the Dravidian languages no structural change, their combination with the nouns to which they are prefixed is facilitated in certain instances by unimportant euphonic changes, such as the assimilation of the final consonant of the adjective and the initial consonant of the substantive, in accordance with the requirements of Dravidian phonetics (*e.g., poṟ chilei* (for *pon śilei*), a golden image), the softening, hardening, or doubling of the initial of the substantive, or the optional lengthening of the included vowel of the adjectival noun, to compensate for the abandonment of the euphonic final *u*— *e.g., kār,* black, in place of *karŭ,* or *vice versā.* These changes are purely euphonic; they differ in the different dialects, and they contribute to grammatical expression only in so far as they serve to indicate the words which are to be construed together as adjective and substantive. It is only on the ground of the repugnance of the Dravidian ear to certain classes of concurrent sounds that the changes referred to are required by Dravidian rules; and in the majority of instances nouns sustain no change whatever on being used adjectivally.

In the poetical dialects, adjectival formatives are less used than

even in the colloquial dialects; and it is generally the crude ultimate form of the noun of quality which performs the functions of the adjective in classical compositions. Thus, whilst *nalla*, good, and *pala*, many, are commonly used in spoken Tamil, the higher idiom prefers, and almost invariably uses, the crude nouns of quality and relation *nal* and *pal*—*e.g.*, *nal vaṛi*, the good way, and *pan* (for *pal*) *malar*, many flowers.

2. Sanskrit derivatives (neuter nouns of quality) ending in *am* in Tamil, and in *amu* in Telugu, become adjectives when prefixed to other nouns by rejecting the final *m* or *mu*—*e.g.*, *subam*, goodness, and *dinam*, a day, become *suba dinam*, a good day. This, however, is in imitation of a Sanskrit rule, and it flows from the circumstance that when two Sanskrit nouns are formed into a compound, the crude form of the first of the two nouns is used instead of the nominative—*subha* instead of *subham*.

Pure Dravidian nouns ending in *am* or *amu* rarely become adjectives in this manner; and when they do, it may be suspected that it is through imitation of Sanskrit derivatives. In Telugu, final *amu* is sometimes hardened into *ampu*—*e.g.*, from *andamu*, beauty, is formed *andapu* or *andampu*, beautiful. In Tamil, when a noun of this class is used as an adjective, *am* is generally rejected, and *attu*, the inflexions, suffixed instead—*e.g.*, from *puṟam*, externality, is formed *puṟattu*, external. Sometimes also Tamil deals in this manner with Sanskrit derivatives, converting them into adjectives by means of the inflexional *attu*; but in all instances of nouns ending in *am* or *amu*, the most common method of using them adjectivally is that of appending to them the relative participle of the verb *to become* (*āna*, Tam., *ayana*, Tel., or *āda*, Can.), without any change, whether structural or euphonic, in the nouns themselves.

3. Many Tamil nouns ending in *ś-u*, *ḍ-u*, *ṇḍ-u*, or *ṟ-u*, double their final consonants when they are used as adjectives, or when case-signs are suffixed to them—*e.g.*, compare *nāḍ-u*, Tam. the country, with *nāṭṭ-u vaṟakkam*, the custom of the country, or *nāṭṭ-il*, in the country. (See the "Inflexional Increments.") From the corresponding Telugu *nāḍ-u*, the country, is formed *nāṭi*, of the country. In these instances the final consonant of the root is doubled and hardened (or in Telugu hardened only), for the purpose of conveying the signification of an adjective; but in another class of instances the root remains unchanged, and it is the consonant of the formative addition that is doubled.

When Tamil nouns ending in the formative *mbu* are used adjectivally, *mbu* changes into *ppu*—*e.g.*, from *irumbu*, iron, and *kōl*, a rod, is formed *iruppu* (*k*) *kōl*, an iron rod. A similar change sometimes takes place in Telugu, in which *inumu*, iron, becomes, *inupa*—*e.g.*, *inupa peṭṭe*, an iron box. Tamil nouns ending in the formative *ndu* and *du* change in the same manner to *ttu* on being used as adjectives—*e.g.*, compare *marundu*, medicine, and *erudu*, an ox, with *maruttu* (p) *pei*, a medicine-bag, and *eruttu* (p) *podi*, an ox-load. More rarely, nouns ending in the formative *ngu* change into *kku* both in Tamil and Malayālam—*e.g.*, *kurakku-* (p) *-paḍei*, a monkey army, from *kurangu*, a monkey. These changes precisely resemble those which neuter or intransitive verbs ending in *d-u* or *ṛ-u* (or with the formative additions of *mb-u*, *ng-u*, *nd-u*, &c.) undergo on becoming active or transitive, and a similar principle is in each instance apparent in the change; for when nouns of quality are prefixed to other nouns adjectivally, there is a transition of their signification to the nouns which they are intended to qualify, which is analogous to the transition of the action of a transitive verb to the object which it governs. (See "Roots," and also "The Verb.")

4. Each of the inflexional increments, or petrified case-signs, is used for the conversion of substantives into adjectives. These are *in* in Tamil and *ni* in Telugu, *attu* in Tamil and *ṭi* or *ti* in Telugu. In those instances in which *in* in Tamil and *ni* in Telugu are used as adjectival formatives, their use is optional—*e.g.*, in Telugu we can say either *tella*, white, or *tella-ni;* and in Tamil either *niṛal*, shady (literally *shade*, a noun used adjectivally), or (but in the poetical dialect only) *niṛal-in*. So also we may say either *mara* (*k*) *koppu*, Tam. the branch of a tree, or *mar'-attu* (*k*) *koppu*. In Tamil, *am*, an inflexional increment which is apparently equivalent to *in*, is often used as an adjectival formative—*e.g.*, *panan dōppu* (*panei-am tōppu*), a palmyra tope. The same formative is used in Malayālam also—*e.g.*, *malam pāmbu* (*mala-am pāmbu*), a rock-snake.

It has been shown that the inflexions or inflexional augments *attu* and *ṭi* are in reality locative or possessive case-signs, and that they are used to convert substantives into adjectives through the relation subsisting between possessives—*e.g.*, of gold—and adjectives—*e.g.*, golden. In consequence of the frequency of their use in this connection, they have come to be appended even to adverbial forms for the purpose of giving to them an adjectival meaning. Thus, from *monna*, Tel. before, is formed the adjective

monna-ṭi (*e.g.*, *monna-ṭi tīrpu,* the former decision); and in Tamil, from *vaḍakku,* north (perhaps originally a dative), is formed the adjective *vaḍakk'-att-u,* northern (*e.g.*, *vaḍakkattiyān,* a northerner). In these and similar instances it is plain that the so-called adverbs are in reality only nouns used adverbially.

5. Relative participles of verbs, and nouns of quality converted into relative participles by the addition of participial formatives, are largely used as adjectives in all the Dravidian languages. Much use is made of relative participles as adjectives by the languages of High Asia; and in Japanese also participial forms of the verb are used as adjectives. It often happens that the same root is used, or at least is capable of being used, both as a verb and as a noun; and hence, in many instances of this kind in the Dravidian languages, two methods of forming adjectives are practicable, viz., either by prefixing the noun to the substantive which we wish to qualify, or by using one of the relative participles of the related and equivalent verb. The colloquial dialect of Tamil prefers the latter method; the former is preferred by the poets on account of its greater simplicity and brevity. Thus, in Tamil either *uyar,* height (adjectivally 'high'), or the relative participle *uyarnda,* high, literally 'that was high' (from *uyar,* considered as a verb signifying 'to be high'), may be used to express high or lofty—*e.g.*, *uyar malai* or *uyarnda malei,* a lofty hill: but *uyar* would be preferred in poetical compositions, whilst *uyarnda* is better suited to prose and colloquial purposes, and is consequently the form which is commonly used by the Tamil people.

6. The past verbal participle of Telugu verbs is sometimes used adjectivally in Telugu; hence, when Sanskrit neuter nouns in *am* are used as adjectives, *ayi,* 'having become' (the verbal participle), is often annexed to them instead of *ayi-na* (Tam. *āna,* Can. *āda,* that became, that is (the relative participle). It seems evident, therefore, that the final *i* of many Telugu adjectives may be explained as identical with the *i* by which the past participles of verbs are formed—*e.g.*, *kindi,* low, from *kinda,* below—*e.g.*, *kindi illu,* the lower part of the house. The addition of the same *i* (if it be the same) converts substantives also into adjectives—*e.g.*, from *kūn-u,* a hump, is formed *kūni,* hump-backed. (See "Inflexional Increments," 7, *i;* and "The Verb: Nouns of Agency.")

7. A very numerous class of Dravidian adjectives is formed

by the addition to crude nouns of quality of the suffixes of the relative participles, more or less modified. *Uyarnda* is a perfectly-formed preterite relative participle, comprising, in addition to the verbal root, *nd,* the sign of the preterite tense, and *a,* the sign of the relative; and though the idea of time is in this connection practically lost sight of, yet that idea is included and expressed. On the other hand, in the class of words now to be considered, the signs of tense are modified or rejected to correspond with their use as adjectives, and the idea of time is entirely merged in that of relation. It is words of this class which are commonly adduced by grammarians as specimens of qualitative words, or *adjectives;* and, if the name can correctly be used at all in the Dravidian family of tongues, it is to this class that it is applicable. I am convinced, however, that it is more correct to regard these words simply as relative participles; and I class them under this head, immediately after the investigation of the noun, because in most instances the root to which the relative signs are suffixed is used by itself, not as a verb, but only as a noun of quality or relation, or as an appellative.

(1.) Many Tamil adjectives of this class are formed by the addition of *iya* to the root—*e.g.*, *periya,* great, *śiṟiya,* small. The roots of these words are *per-u* and *śiṟ-u;* and as *u* is merely a help to enunciation, I do not say that *u* is changed into *i,* but prefer to say that *iya* is added to the root. I have no doubt that we shall be able to explain each part of this addition grammatically, without having recourse to arbitrary mutations. These adjectives are simply the relative participles of "conjugated nouns." *Iya* (*i-y-a*) is compounded of *ī,* a sign of the preterite tense, and *a,* the sign of the relative participle, with the addition of *y* inserted euphonically. In Telugu, the past participle alone is often used adjectivally without the suffix of the relative as we have already seen; and the *i* with which that participle terminates explains the *i* which precedes the final *a* of such Tamil adjectives as *peri-*(*y*)*-a.* *i* is the sign of the verbal participle, and the addition of *a* or *ya,* transforms it into a relative participle. In classical Tamil compositions, *iya* is generally used instead of *ina,* as the sign of the preterite relative participle of ordinary verbs—*e.g.*, *paṇṇiya,* instead of *paṇṇina,* that made. When the same suffix is added to a noun of quality like *per-u,* great, it converts it into a relative participle, which, with the form of the preterite, contains in it no reference to time, and which may therefore be called an adjective. The suffix *iya* being somewhat archaic, readily loses the idea of time, whereas

that idea is firmly retained by *ida*, *ina*, and the other preterite relative suffixes which are in ordinary use.

A good illustration of the adjectival use of *iya* is furnished by the very roots to which we have referred, viz., *peru*, great, *śiṟu*, small. When these roots are regarded as verbs, their preterite relative participles are *perutta*, that was or became great, *śiṟutta*, that was or became small; in which participles the ideas of time and change are always included: whereas, when *peru* and *śiṟu* are regarded as nouns of quality, they are adapted for general use as adjectives by having *iya* suffixed to them—*e.g.*, *periya*, *śiṟiya* (*per'-iya*, *śiṟ'-iya*). In this shape they mean simply great and small, without any reference to time; and in consequence of *iya* being so purely aoristic, adjectives of this mode of formation are largely used. *periya*, great, *koḍiya*, cruel, may properly be styled adjectives, seeing that they are used as such; but it is a mistake to regard *periya-(v)-an*, or *periya-n*, a great man, *koḍiya-n*, a cruel man, and similar words, as adjectives. They are compounds of adjectives, and suffixes of gender; and are properly appellative nouns, as has been shown under the head of "Gender," and as appears from the manner in which they are used. It is remarkable that *a* or *ia* is postfixed in Kōl also to many adjectives; and that the same participle is a sign of the possessive, as *a* is in Dravidian.

(2.) Some adjectives are formed by simply suffixing *a*, the sign of the relative participle, without the preterite *i*, or any other sign of tense whatever—*e.g.*, *nalla*, Tam. good; *doḍḍa*, Can. great; *pedda*, Tel. great. The examples here given may be, and doubtless are, derived from preterite relative participles (*nalla* from the High Tamil *nalgiya*, and *doḍḍa* from the ancient Canarese *doḍḍida*); but in some instances, *a*, the sign of the relative participle, is appended directly to nouns, without borrowing any portion of the sign of the preterite. We have an instance of this even in colloquial Tamil, viz., *uḍeiya* (*uḍei-(y)-a*), the ordinary colloquial suffix of the genitive, which literally signifies that belongs to, that is the property of, from *uḍei*, property, to which *a*, the sign of the relative participle, is simply suffixed. This mode of forming adjectives from substantives by directly suffixing *a* is very common in the classical dialect of the Tamil, especially in connection with substantives ending in *ei* or *ī*—*e.g.*, from *malei*, a hill, comes *malei-(y)-a*, adj., hilly, or of a hill; from *śunei*, a spring, comes *śunei-(y)-a*, that relates to a spring. So also form *ti*, evil, is formed *ti-(y)-a*, adj., evil. The circumstance that in most of these

examples the signification of the genitive is as natural as that of the adjective, shows how intimately the genitive and the adjective are allied. Nevertheless, as used in these examples, I regard *a* as an adjectival termination, rather than as a sign of the genitive, and as acquiring this force from its being the sign of the relative participle. Indeed, I would define these qualitative words (*malei-(y)-a,* &c.) to be the relative participles of appellative verbs. See that class of words investigated in the section on "The Verb."

This usage, perhaps, explains the origin of the Tamil adjectives *pala,* many, and *sila,* few, viz., from the roots *pal* and *sil* (which are used in their crude state in the poets), and *a,* the sign of the relative participle. It is true that these words are also regarded as neuters plural; and that in some instances they are correctly so regarded appears from the phrase *palavin* (*pala-v-in*) *pāl,* the Tamil designation of the neuter plural, literally the gender of the many (things). But when we look also at such phrases as *pala araśar,* many kings—phrases of constant occurrence, not only in the colloquial dialect, but in the classics—the *a* of this latter *pala* appears to be used, not as a suffix of the neuter plural, or as a sign of plurality of any sort, but as a sign of the relative participle, by the use of which *pal-a* becomes an adjective.

(3.) Many adjectives of this class are formed by the addition to nouns of quality of the sign of the relative participle of the future or aorist, which *um* in Tamil—*e.g., per-um,* great. Native grammarians suppose this adjective to be derived from the abstract noun *perumei,* greatness, by the rejection of the final *ei,* and to all other adjectives of this class they attribute a similar origin. *mei,* however, not *ei,* is the suffix by which abstract nouns are formed (*vide* "The Verb"), and as such it is one and indivisible. It is much better to derive *perum* from *per',* the uneuphonised form of the root *peru,* greatness, great, and *um,* the ordinary relative participle of the aorist, in the same manner as *periya* has been seen to be derived from *per* and *iya,* the relative participle of the preterite. *um* is ordinarily called the relative participle of the future, but this future will be shown, in the part on "The Verb," to be properly an aorist, and as such to be used very indeterminately with respect to time. *Viṇṇil minaṅg-um śuḍar,* Tam., means, not the stars that will shine in the sky, but the stars that shine in the sky, this tense being especially fitted to denote continued existence; and in consequence of this looseness of reference

to time, *um*, the sign of the relative participle of this tense, is better fitted even than *iya* to be suffixed to nouns of quality as an adjectival formative. Hence *perum*, literally that is, was, or will be great, is a more expressive and more classical word for great than *periya*. It has already been shown, in the part on " Sounds," that *peim*, Tam. green, is not a distinct form of adjective, but is softened from *paśum* (*payum*) by a dialectic rule, whilst *paśum* is derived regularly from *paś-u*, greenness, green, and *um*, the particle which is now under consideration.

8. Dravidian nouns of every description may be used adjectivally by appending to them the relative participles of the verb signifying to become, which are in Tamil *āna* and *āgum* (also *uḷḷa*, an equivalent word), in Telugu *agu* and *ayina* (pronounced *aina*), in Canarese *āda*—*e.g.*, *uyarvāna* (*uyarv'-āna*), Tam. lofty, literally that was or has become high or a height. This mode of forming adjectives is especially used in connection with Sanskrit derivatives, on account of their greater length and foreign origin. Such adjectives, however, are phrases, not words ; but they were at one time incorrectly classed amongst adjectives by Europeans who treated of Dravidian grammar.

I may here also again remark, that certain words have been styled adjectives by some European writers, which in reality are appellative nouns, not adjectives, and which acquire the force of adjectives merely from the addition of the relative participles of the verb to become, which have been referred to above. Thus, the Tamil words *nallavan*, a good (man), *nallavaḷ*, a good (woman), *nalladu*, a good (thing), are appellative nouns formed by the suffix to a noun of quality of the formatives of the three genders; and the addition of *āna*, that has become, to any of these words, though it constitutes them adjectives in effect, leaves them in grammatical form precisely what they were before. *Bonus* may either qualify another noun—*e.g.*, *bonus vir*, when it is an adjective, or it may stand alone and act as nominative to a verb, when it is a qualitative noun—*e.g.*, *bonus virtutem amat*. The Tamil *nallavan*, a good (man), can only be used in the latter sense, and therefore is not an adjective at all.

Comparison of Adjectives.—In all the Dravidian dialects, comparison is effected, not as in the Indo-European family, by means of comparative or superlative particles suffixed to, and combined with, the positive form of the adjective, but by a method closely resembling that in which adjectives are compared in the Semitic

languages, or by the simpler means which are generally used in the languages of the Scythian group. When the first of these methods is adopted, the noun of quality or adjective to be compared is placed in the nominative, and the noun or nouns with which it is to be compared are put in the locative and prefixed. It is generally stated in Tamil grammars that it is the ablative of motion which is thus used; but I am persuaded that even when the case-sign is that of the ablative of motion, the signification is purely that of the locative, and that in Tamil *il* and *in* have in this connection the meaning of *in* (*i.e.*, are locatives), rather than that of *from*—*e.g.*, *avattr'-il idu nalladu*, Tam. this is better than those, literally in those things this is good.

The conjunctive particle *um*, and, even, is often added, especially in the colloquial dialect, as an intensive—*e.g.*, *avattr'-il um idu nalladu*, Tam. this is better than those, literally even in those this is good. Very frequently the noun with which comparison is to be made is put in the dative instead of the locative. Sometimes, again, comparison is effected by means of an auxiliary verb. The noun with which comparison is to be made is put in the accusative; it is followed and governed by the subjunctive or infinitive of a verb signifying to see, to show, or to leave; and the phrase is concluded by the subject of the proposition, with the adjective to be compared. Thus, in Tamil we may say *adei-(p)-pārkkilum idu nalladu*, literally even though looking at that, this (is) good, or *adei viḍa idu nalladu*, quitting that, this (is) good, *i.e.*, this is so good as to induce one to abandon that. Such modes of comparison, however, are stiff, cumbrous, and little used except by Europeans; and in the Dravidian dialects, as in those of the Scythian group, direct comparison of one thing with another is ordinarily left to be understood, not expressed. The effect which is aimed at is secured in a very simple manner by prefixing to the positive form of the adjective some word signifying much or very, or by appending to the subject of the proposition a sign of emphasis, or a word signifying indeed—*e.g.*, *id-ē* (or *idu tān*) *nalladu*, Tam. THIS indeed is good. In Telugu and Canarese the conjunctive particles *u* and *ū* are not necessarily required to help forward the former method of comparison, like the Tamil *um*, nor is this particle generally used in the higher dialect of the Tamil itself. The Canarese makes use also of the particles *anta* and *inta*, *antalu* and *intalu* (which, in their origin, are compounds of locatives and demonstratives), to assist in effecting comparison.

In all these dialects the superlative is generally expressed by means of prefixed adverbs signifying much or very, or by the very primitive plan of doubling of the adjective itself—*e.g.*, *periya-periya*, very great, literally great-great. If greater explicitness is required, the method by which it is effected is that of putting the objects with which comparison is made in the plural and in the locative case. Thus, the phrase, the tiger is the fiercest animal, would be expressed in Tamil as follows:—*vilaṅgugaḷil vēṅgei koḍidu*, amongst animals (literally in animals) the tiger is the cruel one. Sometimes, for the purpose of increasing the intensity of the superlative signification, the adjectival noun *ellā*, all, is prefixed to the plural noun which denotes the objects compared—*e.g.*, in (*i.e.*, amongst) all animals the tiger is cruel.

It is evident that the modes of forming the comparative and superlative degrees of adjectives which have now been described, differ greatly and essentially from those which characterise the Indo-European family of tongues. If Dravidian adjectives had ever been compared, like those of the Sanskrit, it is inconceivable that so convenient and expressive a plan should so completely have been abandoned. The Dravidian modes of comparison agree, up to a certain point, with those of the Semitic tongues; but they are in most perfect accordance with the Turkish method, and with the modes of comparison which are employed in the languages of Tartary generally.

Robert de Nobilibus and the Jesuit writers endeavoured to naturalise in Tamil the Sanskrit superlative particle *tama*, but the Tamil adhered resolutely to its own idiom, and the attempt failed.

Postpositions.—It has already been stated that all the Dravidian postpositions are, or have been, nouns. When suffixed to other nouns as postpositions, they are supposed to be in the locative case; but they are generally suffixed in their uninflected form, or in the nominative; and the locative case-sign, though understood, is rarely expressed. It seems quite unnecessary to enter into an investigation of the postpositions in a work of this kind, inasmuch as they are sufficiently explained in the ordinary grammars, and are to be regarded simply as nouns of relation.

COMPARATIVE PARADIGM OF A NEUTER DRAVIDIAN NOUN

Eng. a tree.—Tam. *maram*; Mal. *maram*; (Tel. *gurramu*, a horse);* Can. *mara*; Tuḷu, *mara*; Coorg, *mara*.

	TAMIL.	MALAYALAM.	TELUGU.	OLD CANARESE.	TULU.	COORG.
SINGULAR						
Nom. a tree	*maram.*	*maram.*	*gurramu, gurram.*	*maram.*	*mara.*	*mara.*
Acc. a tree	*marattei, marattinei.*	*marattine, maratte.*	*gurramunu, gurrānni, gurram.*	*maramam, maravam, maranam*	*maronu.*	*marat'na.*
Instr. by a tree	*marattāl, marattināl, marattinān.*	*marattāl.*	*gurramuna, gurrāna.*	*maradim, maradindam.*	*maroḍ'du* (also conj. and ablat.)	*maratiñji.*
Conj. with a tree	*maramoḍu, marattōḍu marattinoḍu.*	*marattōḍu.*	*gurramutō.*	..	do.	..
Dat. to a tree	*marattiṟku*	*marattinnu.*	*gurramunaku, gurrānaku.*	*marake, marakke.*	*maroku.*	*marakk'.*
Com. to or with a tree	..	..	..	..	*maraṭa.*	..
Ablat. from a tree	*marattin.*	*marattilninnu.*	*gurramunuṇḍi.*	*maradattaṇim.*	*maroḍ' du* (also instr. and conj.)	..
Gen. of a tree	*marattinadu, marattinādu* (before a Singular). *marattina* (before a plural).	*marattindre, marattinuḍe.*	*gurramu, gurramuyokka.*	*marada, maradā.*	*marata.*	*marat'ra.*
Loc. in a tree	*marattinkaṇ, marattil, marattinil.*	*marattil.*	*gurramandu, gurramunandu.*	*maradoḷ, maradōḷ.*	*marotu.*	*marat'l'.*
Voc. O tree!	*maramē.*	*maramē.*	*gurramā.*	*mara, marā, marame.*	*marā.*	..

* The declension of the noun *mānu*, properly *mrānu*, a tree, is so irregular in Telugu that I have been obliged to select another word.

COMPARATIVE PARADIGM OF A NEUTER DRAVIDIAN NOUN—*Continued.*

	Tamil.	Malayalam.	Telugu.	Old Canarese.	Tulu.	Coorg.
Plural						
Nom. trees	*maraṅgaḷ.*	*maraṅṅaḷ.*	*gurramulu, gur-rālu.*	*maragaḷ, maraṅ-gaḷ.*	*marokuḷu.*	Neuter Nouns have no plural in this dialect.
Acc. trees	*maraṅgaḷei, maraṅgaḷ inei.*	*maraṅṅaḷe.*	*gurrumulanu, gurrālanu.*	*maragaḷam.*	*marokuḷen'.*	
Instr. by trees	*maraṅgaḷāl, maraṅ-gaḷināl (ān).*	*maraṅṅaḷāl.*	*gurramulandu.*	*maragaḷim.*	*maro-kuḷeḍ'd'* (also conj. and ablat.)	
Conj. with trees	*maraṅgaḷōḍu, maraṅ gaḷinoḍu.*	*maraṅṅaḷōḍu.*	*gurramulatō, gurrālatō.*	..	do.	
Dat. to trees	*maraṅgaḷirku.*	*maraṅṅaḷkku.*	*gurramulaku, gurrālaku.*	*maragaḷge.*	*marokuḷeg'.*	
Com. to or with trees	..	..	..	..	*marokuḷeḍa.*	
Ablat. from trees	*maraṅgaḷin.*	*maraṅṅaḷilninnu*	*gurramulanuṇḍi.*	*maragaḷattaṇim.*	*maro-kuḷeḍ'd'* (also instr. and conj.)	
Gen. of trees.	*maraṅgaḷinadu* (before a singular). *maraṅgaḷina* (before a plural).	*maraṅṅaḷuḍe.*	..	*maragaḷa.*	*marokuḷe.*	
Loc. in a tree	*maraṅgaḷinkaṇ.*	*maraṅṅaḷil.*	*gurramulandu.*	*maragaḷoḷ, mara-gaḷōḷ,*	*marokuḷeḍ'.*	
Voc. O trees!	*maraṅgaḷē.*	*maraṅṅaḷē.*	*gurramulārā.*	*maragaḷir, mara-gaḷirā*	*marokuḷē.*	

PART IV.

THE NUMERALS.

In the Dravidian languages each of the cardinal numbers presents itself to us in a twofold shape. The first and probably the more primitive form is that of numeral adjectives; the second and more largely used is that of numeral substantives, or neuter nouns of number. The numeral adverbs (twice, thrice, &c.), and also the distributive numerals (by twos, by threes, &c.), are formed from the numeral adjectives; whilst the ordinal numbers (second, third, &c.) are formed from the abstract numeral nouns.

In the colloquial dialects the neuter nouns of number are often used, without change, as numeral adjectives—*e.g.*, in Tamil, we may say *iraṇḍu peyar,* two persons, though *iru peyar,* or the still more classical appellative noun *iruvar,* might have been expected to be used. This use of the numeral substantive instead of the numeral adjective is not ungrammatical, but is in accordance with the characteristic Dravidian rule that every noun of quality or relation, though in itself neuter and abstract, becomes an adjective by being prefixed to a substantive noun in direct apposition. The numeral noun *ondru,* Tam., *okaṭi,* Tel., one, is the only numeral which is never used in this manner, even in the colloquial dialects, except in Canarese; the adjectival numerals, *oru, oka,* &c., being invariably prefixed to substantive nouns as numeral adjectives: the same forms are employed also as indefinite articles. In Canarese alone the abstract neuters are used freely as numeral adjectives—*e.g., ondu kei,* one hand. The abstract or neuter nouns of number are sometimes elegantly postfixed, instead of being prefixed, to the substantive nouns which they are intended to qualify—*e.g.,* instead of *nāl' erudu,* Tam. four oxen, we may say not only *nāng' erudu* (using the noun of number *nāngu,* instead of the numeral adjective *nālu*), but also *erudu nāngu,* a phrase which literally means a quaternion of oxen. This phrase affords an illustration of the statement that the Dravidian nouns of number are properly abstract neuters.

The primitive radical forms of the Dravidian numerals will be found to be those of the numeral adjectives, corresponding to the

oblique case or inflexion of ordinary nouns. In investigating the numerals one by one, it will be seen that the neuter or abstract nouns of number have been formed from the shorter and simpler numeral adjectives by the addition of neuter formatives and euphonic increments, or by the lengthening of the root-vowel. It is, therefore, the numeral adjectives of the Dravidian languages, not their numeral nouns, which are to be compared with the numerals of other families of languages. The compound numbers between ten and twenty, and especially the higher compounds (twenty, thirty, two hundred, three hundred, &c.), afford much help towards ascertaining the oldest forms of the Dravidian numeral roots; seeing that the numeral adjectives which are employed in those compounds exhibit the numerals in their briefest, purest, and most ancient shape.

It is the adjectival form of the numerals which is used in forming appellative nouns of number, such as *iruvar* (*iru-(v)-ar*), Tam. two persons. The basis of this word is not *iraṇḍu*, the noun of number two, but the numeral adjective *iru*, with the addition of *ar*, the usual suffix of the epicene or masculine-feminine-plural. In the colloquial dialects, adjectival or appellative nouns of number are formed in this manner from the first three numeral adjectives alone—*e.g.*, *oruvan*, Tam. one person (masc.), *unus*; *orutti*, one person (fem.), *una*; *iruvar*, two persons; *mūvar*, three persons (both epicene); but in the higher or poetical dialects, almost all the numeral adjectives are converted in this manner into appellative nouns. From these circumstances it is evident that the Dravidian numeral adjectives are to be regarded as the only essential portion of the roots of the numeral substantives, and probably as the very roots themselves.

One.—Two forms of the numeral substantive *one* are found in the Dravidian languages, which will appear, I think, to be allied. The first, *oru*, is that which is used in all the dialects except the Telugu; the latter, *oka*, is used as a numeral in the Telugu alone.

1. The basis of the first and most commonly used form of this numeral is *or*, to which *u* is added for euphonisation; and this constitutes the numeral adjective *one*, in all the dialects which make use of this base. *or-u*, in colloquial Tamil, becomes *ōr* in the poetical dialect; the essential vowel *o* being lengthened to *ō* to compensate for the rejection of the euphonic addition *u*. *or* is also known. The adjectival form used in Tuḷu is *or* (*ori*, one person, *ora*, once), in Ku, *ra*; with which the Behistun numeral adjective *irra* or *ra* may be compared. The Canarese numeral adjective is identical

with the Tamil, though its true character is somewhat concealed. Instead of *oruvan,* Tam., *unus,* Canarese has *obban-u,* and instead of *oruvaḷ, una, obbaḷ-u.* Ancient Canarese, however, uses also *orbam* for the former, and *orbaḷ* for the latter; the base of which, *or,* is the numeral root, and is identical with the Tamil *or-u* or *ōr.* The abstract neuter noun 'one,' meaning literally, one thing, or unity, is in Canarese and Coorg *ondu*; in grammatical Tamil, *onṟu* (pronounced *ondru* or *ondu,* and in vulgar Tamil, *oṇṇu*); in Telugu (one of its two words), *oṇḍu*; in Malayālam, *onn';* in Tuḷu, *onji*; in Gōnd, *undī*; in Tuda, *odd*; in Ūrāon, *ūntā. or* being the adjectival form of this numeral, it claims by rule to be the representative of the crude root, as well as the basis of the abstract or neuter nouns of number signifying one or unity, which are used in the various dialects. It remains to be seen whether the derivation of each of those nouns of number from *or* can be clearly made out.

At first sight the Tamil *ondru* and the Canarese *ondu,* and especially the Malayālam *onn',* appear to resemble the most common form of the Indo European numeral 'one,' which is in Latin *un-us* (in an older form, *oin-os*); in Greek ἕν (*hen*); in Gothic, *ain'-s.* In the Koibal, a Samoïede dialect, there is a similar word for one—viz., *unem;* and we find in the Tungusian *um,* in Manchu *emu.* Even in Sanskrit, though *ēka* is invariably used for one, a form has been noticed which appears to be allied to the first numeral of the Western languages—viz., *ūna-s,* less, which is prefixed to some of the higher numerals to express diminution by one (*e.g. ūnavimshati,* nineteen), like the corresponding prefix *un* in the Latin *undeviginti.* It would be an interesting circumstance if the Malayālam *onn'* and the Latin *un-us* were found to be allied; but the resemblance is, I believe, altogether illusory, and vanishes on the derivation of *onn'* from *or* being ascertained. It is reasonable to suppose that the numeral adjective of the Tamil, *oru,* and its numeral noun *onṟu,* must be closely related. Now, whilst it is impossible, I think, on Dravidian principles to derive *oru* from *onṟu,* it will be shown that the derivation of *onṟu* from *oru* is in perfect accordance with Dravidian rules; and if the Malayālam *onn'* be simply an euphonised form of the Tamil *onṟu,* as it certainly is, every idea of the existence of a connection between any of these forms and the Latin *un-us* will have to be abandoned.

It was shown in the section on "Sounds" that the Dravidian languages delight to euphonise certain consonants by prefixing nasals to them. If the *r* of *oru* is found to have been converted in

this manner into *nr*, the point under discussion will be settled. What analogy, then, is there for this conversion? *mūru,* Can. three, has through this very process become in Tamil *mūnṟu* (pronounced *mūndru, mūndu,* or *mūṇu*); in Malayālam, *mūnn'.* Again, *kiṟu,* the verbal suffix denoting present time in Tamil, has become in the poetical dialect *kinṟu,* pronounced *kindru;* and this, in the Malayālam present tense is found to be still further softened into *kunnu,* and even *unnu.* In these instances we perceive that very euphonic alteration by which *oru* has become progressively *onṟu, ondru, ondu, oṇṇu,* and *onn';* and thus the derivation of *onn'* from *oru* is found to be strictly in accordance with analogy.

It may be objected that the illustrations which have been given above exhibit a change of the hard *ṟ* into *ndr,* whereas the *r* of *oru* is the soft medial; and that, therefore, the analogy, though very remarkable, is not complete. I answer that, though the *r* of our present Tamil *oru* is certainly the medial semi-vowel, not the hard *ṟ*, yet originally the hard *ṟ* must have been the very *ṟ* employed. This appears from the Tamil adjective, odd, single. That adjective is *oṟṟei* (pronounced *ottrei*); and it is derived from the numeral adjective, one. It has been derived, however, by the usual process of doubling the final consonant, not from *or-u,* but from *oṟ-u*—evidently a more ancient form of the word, in which the *r* was the hard rough *ṟ*—that very *ṟ* which is usually euphonised into *ndr*. It is not an uncommon thing for *ṟ* and *r* to be thus interchanged—*e.g.,* there are two words for black, *karu* and *kaṟu.* They differ slightly in some of their meanings, but there can be no doubt that they are identical in origin.

It appears, therefore, that the origin which I have ascribed to *onṟu* is in complete accordance with analogy. Moreover, if the *n* of *ondru, ondu,* or *onn',* were part of the root of this numeral, the *du* which is suffixed to it could only be a neuter formative; and in that event *on* should be found to be used as the numeral adjective. *on,* however, is nowhere so used; and therefore both the use of *or-u,* instead of *on,* as the numeral adjective, and the existence of the derivative *oṟ(ṟ)ei* (*ottr-ei*), single, seem to me to prove that the root of this numeral must have been *or,* not *on.*

It may be said that the instances I adduced of the euphonisation of *ṟ* into *ndr* are capable of two explanations. I shall, therefore, adduce some examples to which this objection cannot be made. Can. *karu,* a calf, becomes in Tamil *kanṟu,* pronounced *kandru.* This is vulgarised in colloquial Tamil to *kaṇṇu,* and in Malayālam becomes *kann'.* Yet it is certain that the root was *kar*

and that there was no nasal in it originally, because the Tamil adjectival form, which is always the oldest, rejects the nasal and goes back to the original ṟ, which it doubles by rule. Thus *kandru* becomes adjectivally *kattr-u—e.g., kattr-ā,* a cow which has a calf. Compare this with *āṭṭei,* annual, from *āṇḍu* (*yāṇḍei,* when), a year, from which it is clear that *āṇḍu* was originally *ā-ḍu.* (See "Euphonic Nunnation.") Tamil itself also furnishes us with instances of the euphonic change of ṟ into *ndr,* with respect to which it cannot be doubted which was the original form, and which the derived. Compare *kuṟu-gu,* to become small, and *kundru,* the same, also a small hill. It is evident that *kuṟu* was the older form, from the circumstance that it is from it that all the verbal nouns are derived—*e.g., kuṟei,* deficiency; *kuṟṟam* (*kuttram*), a fault, *kuṟil,* a short letter; *kuṟi,* a mark. I do not think it can be proved that *ndr,* from *n* or *m,* ever changes in Tamil into ṟ. *ondru,* one, may therefore be derived from *or-u,* but *oru* cannot, I think, be derived from *ondru.* Dr Gundert considers *ondru* an euphonised form of *on,* with the addition of *du,* the neuter formative, and that *on* and *or* are equivalents, being both verbal nouns from *o,* to be one. It is quite true that such a verb as *o* exists, that *n* or *an,* alternating with *am,* is used as a formative by many nouns, and that *n* sometimes changes into or alternates with *r* or ṟ—*e.g.,* Mal. *uḷan* = *uḷar,* being, birth; also Tam. *pin,* after, another shape of which is *piṟ,* in *piṟagu,* after. I think it also quite possible that the reason why *oṟu* was nasalised into *ondru,* and *mūṟu,* three, into *mūndru,* was that *du,* the formative neuter particle, had been affixed to them, in consequence of which *oṟ-du* became *ondru,* and *mūṟ-du, mūndru,* just as we see that *ir,* two, by the addition of the neuter formative *ḍu,* became *iraḍu* and then *iraṇḍu.* On the other hand, whilst I admit that each step of this process would be a natural and easy one, it appears to me that a comparison of the various forms of the numeral *one,* found in different connections in the different dialects, and of the uses to which they are put, shows that the view I have taken is in better accordance with the process that has actually taken place.

ondru is used as a verb also in Tamil, meaning to unite, neuter, the transitive form of which is *oṟṟu* (*ottru*). *ondri* is an adjectival form meaning single.

After the above was written I found the same view of the origin of *ondu* stated in a paper by Mr Kittel in the *Indian Antiquary* for January 1873. Mr Kittel says, "When the affix *du* is joined to a short monosyllabic root with final *r,* the root in this

case being *or*, this liquid is sometimes changed into the *bindu* (*m* or *n*); *n* or *du* thus becomes *on-du*, or in Tamil *on-dru*, in the manner I have stated."

Though *or*, in its primitive, unnasalised shape, is not now found in the cultivated Dravidian dialects as the first abstract neuter noun of number for one or unity; yet it appears in one of the ruder dialects of the family—viz., in the Rajmahāl; in which the numeral noun one is *ort*, which is evidently formed directly from *or*. If it be true, as has been asserted, that the Rajmahāl *ort* is appropriated to human beings, it must be identical with the Tamil *orutt-an*, one man, *orutt-i*, one woman; the *tt* of which is a formative, and is derived from the pronoun of the third person. *ondong* (answering to the Dravidian neuter noun *ondru*) is said to be another Rajmahāl word for one. Compare also the Brahui *asit*, one, of which *as*, the crude root, seems to bear as close an analogy to *or-u* as *mus*, the crude root of *musit*, the Brahui for three, undoubtedly does to the Canarese *mūr-u*. If in the latter case the *s* and *r* are mutually convertible, it cannot be considered improbable that *asit* and *art*, and consequently *as* and *or*, bear a similar relation one to the other.

2. Telugu makes use of two numerals signifying 'one.' One of these, *oṇḍu*, is identical with the *ondru*, *ondu*, *onn*,' &c., of the other dialects. From *oṇḍu* is formed also an adjectival numeral, *oṇṭi*, identical with the Tamil *ondri* (vulgarly *oṇḍi*), single. Compare Tel. *oṇṭigāḍu*, a single man, with the corresponding Tam. *ondrikkāran*. The other numeral, which is much more largely used in Telugu, is *okaṭi* (*oka-ṭi*). The basis of this numeral seems at first sight to be essentially different from that which is used in the other Dravidian dialects. There would be nothing extraordinary in the discovery in any language or family of languages of two roots for *one*. This would naturally arise from the very concrete character of this numeral, and the variety of uses to which it is put. Even in Sanskrit we find both *ēka* and *prathama*. Two is also represented in Latin by *duo*, *ambo*, and the participial *secundus*. The Telugu neuter noun of number for one, *okaṭi*, means literally one thing, of which the adjectival form is *oka*, sometimes *okka*. *okaṭi* is formed from *oka* by the addition of the neuter and inflexional formative, *ṭi*; and by annexing the usual masculine and feminine suffixes, the Telugu forms *okaṇḍu* or *okaḍu*, one man, and *okate*, one woman. *oka* being found to be the crude root of this numeral, we have now to inquire into its affinities. Is the Telugu *oka* derived, as has sometimes been supposed, from the Sanskrit *ēka*, one? It seems not improbable

that the Telugu word has some ulterior connection with the Sanskrit one, to which it bears so great a resemblance; but it is impossible to suppose it to have been directly derived from the Sanskrit, like the Bengali *ok*, or even the Persian *yak*; for the Telugu has borrowed, and occasionally uses, the Sanskrit numeral *ēka*, in addition to its own *oka;* and it never confounds *oka* with *ēka*, which Telugu grammarians regard as altogether independent one of another. It will be seen also that the root of *oka* is probably Dravidian, and that words closely analogous to it are used in the Finnish languages, by which they cannot be supposed to have been borrowed from the Sanskrit. Thus, the numeral one is in Votiak *og, odyg*; in Somoïede, *okur, ockur, ookur*; in Vogul, *ak, akv*; in Magyar, *egy*; in Lappish *akt*; in Finnish, *yht* and also *yxi* (*yk-si*); in Cheremiss, *ik, iktä.* In the sub-Himalayan languages, we find *ako* in Miri, *akhet* in Naga, and *katka* in Kuki. In the Scythian of the Behistun tablets, in which we find the oldest extant specimen of the Scythian languages, the numeral for one is *kir*, and the numeral adjective derived from it *irra* or *ra*. These analogies to the Telugu *oka*, combined with analogies to the ordinary Dravidian *or*, show that *oka* has not necessarily, or even probably, been derived from the Sanskrit *ēka*; and if the two roots *oka* and *ēka* are allied, as they appear to be, it must be in consequence of the relation of the Sanskrit, the Dravidian, and the Scythian families to an earlier form of speech. It deserves notice that *ra*, the Behistun numeral adjective, seems identical with *ra*, the numeral adjective of the Ku, a Dravidian dialect. In the Turkish, 'one' is represented by *bir*, which seems to be allied rather to the Persian *bār* in *bāri*, once (and ulteriorly to the Sanskrit *vār*, time), than to the Tamil *or*. The Caucasian numerals for 'one' exhibit a closer resemblance to the Dravidian —viz., Lazian *ar*, Mingrelian *arti*, Georgian *erthi*; and it may be noticed that as in the Dravidian *or*, one, *ir*, two, so in those Caucasian dialects, *r* forms an essential part of both those numerals.

Are the Tamil *or* and the Telugu *oka* related? I think there can be little doubt of their relationship, though there are several links in the chain which cannot be made out to my satisfaction. There is a verbal root in Tamil, *o*, which has been supposed to mean, to be one. *on* and *or* (*ondru* and *oru*) are supposed by Dr Gundert to be verbal nouns from this *o*. An undoubted derivative of *o* in Tamil and Malayāḷam is *okka*, which in Malayāḷam and the Tamil of the extreme south means 'altogether,' 'all' (compare Mordvin *wok*, all); and this is supposed by Dr Gundert to be identical with the Telugu *oka*, one. Every step in this process, with

one exception, is encumbered with difficulties. It is not clear to me that *o*, the Tamil verbal root, ever means to be one; its ordinary meaning is to be like or suitable—*e.g., okkum*, it will be like. It is also not clear to me that *on* and *or* are derived from the verbal root *o*. On the contrary, the verbal root *o* may have been softened from the noun *or*. The word used for 'one' must surely in every language have been a noun from the very first, not a derivative from a verbal root of wider meaning. *okka*, the infinitive, means not 'one,' but 'altogether.' My chief difficulty, however, is that the *kka* of *okka* is the formative of the Tamil infinitive, the root being *o*, not *ok*; so that it is very difficult to see how this Tamil infinitive got turned into an adjectival noun in Telugu without losing or changing its formative. Notwithstanding these difficulties, we can scarcely avoid concluding that the Tamil *okka* and the Telugu *oka* must somehow be allied. If we suppose *okka* to have been taken to mean 'all in one,' which no doubt is a meaning it sometimes has, we may see how the Telugu may have selected its root for use as a numeral. It would then convert the verbal root *o* into a noun by the addition of *ka*, an ordinary adjectival formative. *o-ka*, the Telugu adjectival noun, would then resemble *o-kka*, the Tamil infinitive, in sound, though it would be differently derived. It is especially noticeable that Telugu had already at its disposal the ordinary numeral *oṇḍu*; it is probable, therefore, that *oka* was used at first with a slightly different meaning. The root *o* seems sometimes to be used instead of *ondu* or *oru* in Canarese, in such a manner as seems at first sight to confirm the supposition that *o* meant originally to be one—*e.g., okkaṇṇanu*, a one-eyed man. On the other hand, when we compare this with Can. *obbanu*, one person, which is clearly a softened form of *orbanu* (Tam. *oruvan*), it appears that we have here to deal merely with the ordinary numeral *or-u*. It is noticeable here, too, that this *o* doubles the following consonant, from which it appears that it was originally followed by a consonant, evidently *r*.

Dravidian Indefinite Article.—The Dravidian numeral adjectives *oru* and *oka* are used, like similar numerals in most languages, as a sort of indefinite article. The Turkish uses *bir*, one, in a similar manner; and a corresponding usage prevails in the modern European languages, as well as in the colloquial dialects of Northern India. The only thing which may be considered as distinctive or peculiar in the use of the Dravidian numeral adjective one, as an indefinite article, is the circumstance that it is not used in the loose general way in which in English we speak of a

man, or a tree, but only in those cases in which the singularity of the object requires to be emphasised, when it takes the meaning of a certain man, a particular kind of tree, or a single tree. Europeans, in speaking the native languages, make in general too large and indiscriminate a use of this prefixed numeral, forgetting that the Drâvidian neuter noun, without prefix or addition, becomes singular or plural, definite or indefinite, according as the connection requires.

Two.—The abstract or neuter noun of number signifying two or duality is in Canarese *eraḍu,* in Tamil *iraṇḍu,* in Telugu *reṇḍu,* in Tuḷu *raḍḍ',* in Malayālam *reṇḍ-u,* in old Malayālam, as in Tamil, *iraṇḍu,* commonly pronounced *reṇḍu,* in Coorg *daṇḍu,* in Gōnd *rend* or *ranu,* in Seoni Gōnd *rund,* in Tuda *edd.* The Singhalese word for double is *iruṇṭata.* The change of the *iraṇḍu* of the Tamil and the *eraḍu* of the Canarese into *reṇḍu* in Telugu is analogous to the change of the Tam. *irā,* night, into Tel. *rē.* In all the Dravidian dialects the corresponding numeral adjective is *ir,* with such minor modifications as euphony dictates. This numeral adjective is in Tamil *iru ;* in the higher dialect *īr,* the increase in the quantity of the radical *i* compensating perhaps for the rejection of the final euphonic *u.* *ir* is also found. The *r* which constitutes the radical consonant of *ir* is the soft medial semi-vowel, and it evinces, in consequence of its softness, a tendency to coalesce with the succeeding consonant, especially in Canarese and Telugu. Thus, for *iruvar,* Tam. two persons (Tuḷu, *irvar*), the modern Canarese uses *ibbar-u* (ancient dialect, *irvar*), and the Telugu *iddar-u.* Instead, also, of the correct *iṟunūṟu,* two hundred, of the Tamil, both the Telugu and the Canarese have *innūṟu ;* and the Canarese word for twenty is *ippattu,* instead of *irupattu,* which would be in correspondence with the Tamil *irubadu* and the Telugu *iruvei.*

In the Canarese neuter noun of number *eraḍu,* two, *e* is used instead of *i* as the initial vowel ; but in this point the Canarese stands alone, and in all the compound numerals, even in the Canarese, the *i* reappears. Were it not for the existence of the numeral adjective *ir-u* or *ir,* we might naturally suppose the *i* of the Tamil *iraṇḍu* and of the obsolete Canarese *iraḍu* to be, not a component element of the root, but an euphonic prefix, intended to facilitate pronunciation. *i* is very commonly so prefixed in Tamil—*e.g.,* the Sanskrit *rājā* becomes in Tamil *irāśā.* This supposition with respect to the euphonic character of the *i* of *iraṇḍu* might appear to be confirmed by the circumstance that it disappears altogether from the numeral nouns of the Telugu, the Malayālam,

and several other dialects. The existence, however, of the numeral adjective *iru* or *ir*, in every one of the Dravidian dialects, and its use in all the compound numbers (such as twenty and two hundred), suffice to prove that the *i* of the Tamil-Canarese numeral noun *iraḍu* is not merely euphonic, but is a part of the root itself, and that *iraḍu*, the neuter noun of number, has been formed from *ir* by the addition of a formative suffix. A comparison of the various forms shows clearly that *ir*, euphonised into *iru*, was the primitive form of the numeral adjective two; and we have now only to inquire into the characteristics of the numeral noun.

The Canarese *eraḍu* (or rather *iraḍu*, as it must have been originally) appears to be the earliest extant form of the noun of number. The Tamil is *iraṇḍu*, *ḍ* having been euphonically changed to *ṇḍ*. Though there is a nasal in the Tamil word which is now in use, the Tamil noun-adjective *double* bears witness to the existence of an earlier form, which was destitute of the nasal, and which must have been identical with the Canarese. The Tamil word *iraṭṭ-u*, double, is formed directly from *iraḍ-u*, by the doubling of the *ḍ*, as is usually done when a noun is converted into an adjective; and the euphonic change of *ḍḍ* into *ṭṭ* is according to rule. *du* or *ḍu* is a very common termination of neuter nouns, especially of appellative neuters, in all the Dravidian languages. Thus, from the root *kiṛa*, Tam. old, is formed *kiṛaḍu*, that which is old. The *ṇ* which is inserted before *ḍ* in the Tamil *iraṇḍu* is evidently euphonic, and is in perfect accordance with the ordinary phonetic usages of the Dravidian languages. In Telugu every word ending in *ḍu* receives in pronunciation an obscure nasal, whether it has a place in the written language or not; and there are many instances in Tamil also of the insertion of this nasal before a final *ḍu* for the sake of euphonisation, when it is quite certain that there was no such nasal originally in the word in which it is found—*e.g.*, *āṇḍu*, there, *īṇḍu*, here, and *yāṇḍu*, where, are euphonised forms of *āḍu*, *īḍu*, and *yāḍu*. Compare also *karaṇḍi*, a spoon, Tam., with the more primitive Telugu *gariṭe*. The Tamil noun of number signifying two must, therefore, have been *iraḍu* originally. In the Gōnd *ranu*, the *ḍ* of *iraṇḍu* has disappeared altogether, a change which is in accordance with the Malayālam corruption of *ondu*, one, into *onn'*. The Ūrāon word for two, *enotan*, is probably Dravidian. In Ūrāon, *otan* (from the Hindi *gotan*) is a suffix of each of the first three numerals; consequently *en* is to be regarded as the Ūrāon root; and this seems to be analogous to the Dravidian *er*.

I have little doubt that the root of the Dravidian word is native, not foreign, though it is difficult now to identify it with certainty. I can scarcely agree with Dr Gundert in connecting it with the root of *iruḷ*, darkness, *irā*, night, a root which also, he thinks, appears in *īr*, to saw. If we consider the latter verb, however, with its derivatives, apart from its supposed connection with *iruḷ*, darkness, it may be found to supply us with the true root. *īr* means not merely to saw, but still more frequently to pull asunder, to split; and from division into two by the act of pulling asunder, *ir*, *īr*, the word for two, may have been derived. The radical form of *īr*, two, was doubtless short, *ir*; but the earliest shape of īr, to pull asunder, may also have been short, as monosyllables ending in consonants seem generally to have been. There is another root common to all the Dravidian languages, *ir*, to be; but this seems to be quite independent both of *ir*, dark, and of *ir*, two.

I find that Mr Kittel, also, in the *Indian Antiquary* for January 1873, derives the Dravidian word for two from *īr*, to split, especially to split off a branch; whilst *or*, one, he considers to mean a unit without a branch. It seems to me, as I have already mentioned, probable that the word for one was originally a noun, and that the verbal meaning to coalesce, to resemble, was a secondary development. The case, however, does not seem to me quite so clear with respect to the origin of the word for two. On the whole, the concrete seems to me likely to have been older than the abstract; that is, the noun or adjective two would, I think, naturally come into use earlier than the verb to separate into two, to split.

There are no analogies to *ir*, two, in any of the Indo-European languages, and I am doubtful whether any real analogies to it are discoverable even in the Scythian group, except perhaps in the Caucasian. The Brahui vindicates its claim to be regarded as in part Dravidian, or at least as the inheritor of an ancient Dravidian element, by the close affinity of its second and third numerals to those of the Dravidian tongues. In Brahui, two is *irat*; and when this word is compared with the Brahui *asit*, one, and *musit*, three, it is evident that in each of these instances the final *it* or *at* is a formative suffix which has been appended to the root. Consequently *ir*, the root of *ir-at*, seems absolutely identical with the Dravidian *ir*. Even the Brahui formative evinces Dravidian affinities—*e.g.*, compare *irat* with the Canarese noun of number *eraḍu*, and especially with the Tamil derivative *iraṭṭ-u*, double.

The nearest analogies to the Dravidian *ir* which I have noticed in other families of tongues are in the Caucasian dialects—*e.g.*, in

the Georgian *ori*; in the Suanian (a dialect of the Georgian) *eru* or *ieru;* in the Lazian *zur;* and in the Mingrelian *shiri:* compare also the Armenian *ergov;* the Chinese *arh* or *ār*. In the Samoïede family of tongues, several words are found which bear at first sight some resemblance to the Dravidian *ir*. These are *sit, side,* and especially *sire* or *siri*. It seems improbable, however, that the Dravidian *ir* arose from the softening off of the initial *s* of these words; for in the Finnish family this same *s* appears as *k*; whence two is in some dialects of that family *kit*; in Magyar *ket, ketto;* and in Lappish *quekt*. It has also been shown that an initial *k* is a radical element in the majority of the Scythian words for two; and hence, though the Mongolian *kur-in* (for *kuyar-in*), twenty, becomes in Manchu *or-in,* in Turkish *igir-mi,* we cannot venture to compare this Manchu *or* with the Dravidian *ir* or *er*; for it is certain that the latter was never preceded by *k,* or any other consonant, so far back as the Dravidian languages can be traced.

Three.—The neuter noun of number signifying three or a triad is in Canarese *mūru*; in Telugu *mūḍu*; in Tamil *mūnṟu* (pronounced *mūndru, mūndu,* and *mūṉu*); in Coorg *mūndu*; in Malayāḷam *mūnn'*; in Tuḷu *mūji* (*j* in Tuḷu regularly represents *ṟ*; com. *āji,* six, with *āṟu* in the other dialects); in Gōnd it is *mūnd*; in Tuda *mūd*; in Ūrāon *man-otan.*

The numeral adjective three, which is employed in three persons, thirty, three hundred, and similar compounds, is either *mū* or *mŭ*. The long *mū* is found in the Tamil, Tuḷu, and Canarese epicene nouns *mūvar, mūvar-u,* three persons, and in the Canarese *mūvattu,* thirty. The shorter form, *mu,* is used in three hundred, which in every one of the Dravidian dialects is *mŭnnūru* (*Tuḷu munnūdu*); and we see it also in the Tamil *muppattu,* and the Telugu *muppei,* thirty, and in the Telugu *muggur-u,* three persons. The primitive and most characteristic form of the neuter noun of number is evidently that of the Canarese *mūr-u,* from which it seems clear to me that the Tamil *mūnṟ-u* (*mūndr-u*) has been derived, by the same nasalising process as that by which *oṟu,* one, was converted into *onṟu*. I do not think it probable, with Dr Gundert, that *muru* was altered from *mundru.*

It was shown in the section on "Sounds," that the Tamil *r* is often changed into *ḍ* in Telugu: hence *mūr-u* and *mūḍ-u* are identical; and it is more probable that *mūḍ-u* has been altered from *mūr-u,* than that *mūr-u* was altered from *mūḍ-u*. *s* and *r* evince in many languages a tendency to interchange, generally by the hardening of *s* into *r*; consequently the Brahui *mus* (*mus-it*),

three, seems closely allied to the Canarese *mūr*, and still more closely to the Tuḷu *mūji*.

The vowel of *mūr-u* was, I have no doubt, originally short, but it is doubtful whether the *r* of *mūr-u* should be considered as a formative or as a part of the ancient root. On the whole, it seems probable that the *r* is radical. The final consonants of *āṟu*, Tam. six, and of *ēṟu*, seven, belong unquestionably to the roots of those numerals. Moreover, when we compare *mun-nūṟu*, three hundred (the same in all the dialects), with *in-nūṟu*, two hundred, in Telugu and Canarese, and when it is remembered that the latter has certainly been softened from *ir-nūṟu* (in Tamil *iru-nūṟu*), it seems to be probable that *mun-nūṟu* has been formed in a similar manner from *mur-nūṟu*, and consequently that *mur*, not *mu*, was the original root of this numeral. The same conclusion is indicated by a comparison of the Telugu *iddaru*, two persons, and *mugguru*, three persons. It seems probable, therefore, that *mu* originally was followed by a consonant; and the softening off of this consonant would naturally account for the occasional lengthening of *mu* into *mū*.

I have not been able to discover any analogy to this numeral either in the Scythian or in Indo-European tongues. The only extra-Indian resemblance to it is that which is found in the Brahui; and this circumstance is a striking illustration of the existence in the Brahui of a Dravidian element. The total absence of analogy to the Dravidian *mur* in other families of languages leads me to conclude that it must have been derived directly from some Dravidian verbal root. The Latin *secundus* is undoubtedly derived from *sequor*; and Bopp connects the Indo-European *tri*, three, with the Sanskrit root *tr'*, to pass over, to go beyond, signifying that which goes beyond two. If this derivation of *tri* be not regarded as too fanciful, a somewhat similar derivation of *mur* from a Dravidian verbal root may easily be discovered. There are two verbal roots which present some points of resemblance—viz., *mīṟu*, to go beyond, to pass, and *māṟu*, to change. The nearest root, however, is *muṟu* (*muṟugu*, Tam.), to turn, from which comes the verbal noun *muṟei*, a turn, a succession, repetition.

The neuter formative *du* seems to be contained in various shapes in the first three numbers, *ondru*, *iraṇḍu*, *mūndru*, and also, as will be seen, in *eindu*, five. *ḍu* is equivalent to *du*, and with the addition of the nasal becomes *ṇḍu*. *ondru* points to an older *or-du*; *irandu* to *ir* (*a*)-*du*; and *mūndru* to *mūṟdu*, or, as some scholars think, to *mū*-*ḍu*.

Four.—The Dravidian noun of number signifying four, or a quaternion, is in Canarese *nālku;* in Coorg *nālu;* in Telugu *nālugu;* in Tuḷu *nāl';* in Malayāḷam *nāl, ṉāṅgu;* in Tamil *nālu, nānku;* in Tuda *nānk';* in Gōnd *nālu;* in Ūrāon *nākh-otan.*

The adjectival or crude form of this numeral is *nāl* or *nal.* In Tamil it is *nāl-u,* in some Telugu compounds *nal;* and this adjectival form is often used as a noun of number, instead of *nālku,* &c. In composition *nāl* undergoes some changes. The quantity of the included vowel, which is long in all the rest of the dialects, is short in Telugu compound numbers—*e.g.,* compare the Tamil *nāṟpadu,* the Canarese *nālvattu,* and the Malayāḷam *nālpadu,* forty, with the Telugu *nălubhei;* and the Tamil *nān-nūṟu* and the Canarese *nāl-nūṟu,* four hundred, with the Telugu *năn-nūru.*

The final *l* also is subject to change. In Tamil it is changed into *ṟ* before *p,* as in *nāṟpadu,* forty; and before *n* it is assimilated and becomes *n,* in both Tamil and Telugu—*e.g., ṉānnūṟu* (in the one), and *nannūru* (in the other), four hundred; in Coorg, *nā.* These changes of *l,* however, are purely euphonic. It is evident from a comparison of the above forms, that *nāl* (or, as the Telugu seems to prefer it, *năl*) was the primitive shape of this numeral; to which *ku* or *gu* was subsequently added as a formative, in order to constitute it a neuter noun of number. This formative *ku* (pronounced *gu*) is a very common one in the Dravidian languages—*e.g., nan-gu,* Tam. goodness, from *nal* (= *nan*), good. The only numeral to which *ku* or *gu* is appended is *nāl.* The *g* which appears in Telugu in the rational plurals, such as *āru-guru,* six persons, is not to be confounded with this formative *gu.* In such connections Tamil uses *v* euphonic instead of *g* (*e.g., aṟu-*(*v*)*-ar*), which proves that *g* does not add to the grammatical expression, but is merely euphonic. Even in Telugu *āruvur-u* may be used instead of *ārugur-u.*

The change of *l,* in Tamil, into *n,* before the *k* of this appended formative, *ku,* is an euphonic peculiarity which requires to be noticed. In modern Tamil, *l* in this conjunction would be changed into *ṟ;* but the change of *l* into *n,* before *k* or *g,* which we find in the Tamil noun of number *nān-gu,* is one which, though now uncommon, appears to have been usual at an earlier period of the history of the language—*e.g.,* compare *Paṅ-guni,* the Tamil name of the month March—April, with the Sanskrit name of that month, *Phalguna,* from which it is known to have been derived. This change of *l* into *n,* in *nān-gu,* must have been made at a very early period, seeing that we find it also in the Tuda *nānk'.*

nangu in Tam. (from *nal*) means goodness, beauty; *naṅgu*, in Mal. beauty. In Can. *nal* is good; *nali*, pleasure, as a verb, is to love. This is the meaning of *naḷ* in Tam., doubtless another form of *nal—e.g.*, *naṉbu*, love; Tel. *naluvu*, beauty. One of the meanings of *nal* in poetical Tamil is liberal, plentiful, abundant. Comparing this with the use of *nāl*, four, for many, general, &c., may we venture to assume that we have here the origin of the name of this numeral? Mr Kittel says that "the idea of evenness seems to have guided the Dravidians in the formation of this word." I cannot find 'even,' however, amongst the meanings of *nal* in any of the dialects. If this meaning existed, it would suit very well the purpose for which it is used.

In the entire family of the Indo-European languages there is not one language which contains a numeral signifying four, which in the smallest degree resembles the Dravidian *nāl*. Here the Brahui also fails us; for it is only in the first three Brahui numerals that we find traces of Dravidian influences, and the rest of the numerals of that language, from *four* to *ten* inclusive, are of Sanskritic origin. Though other analogies fail us, in this instance Ugrian affinities are more than usually distinct. The resemblance between the Finnish tongues and the Dravidian, with respect to the numeral *four*, amounts almost to identity, and can scarcely have been accidental. Compare with the Dravidian *nal*, the Cheremiss *nil*; the Mordvin, *nile*, *nilen*; the Vogul *nile*; the Ostiak *nel, nil, njedla, nieda, njeda*; the Finnish proper *neljā*; the Lappish *nielj, nelje, nellā*; the Magyar *nēgy* (pronounced *neidj*). The root of all these numerals is evidently *nil* or *nel*, the resemblance of which to the Dravidian *nāl* or *nal* is very remarkable. The Magyar *nēgy* seems to have lost the original *l*, through the tendency, inherent in the Finnish idioms, to regard *l* and *d* as interchangeable. The Ostiak *njedla* or *nedla*, in which *d* and *l* form but one letter, a cerebral, constitutes apparently the middle point of agreement.

Five.—The Dravidian numeral noun five is in Canarese *eid-u* or *ayd-u*; in Telugu *eid-u*; in Tamil ordinarily *eind-u*, occasionally, especially in the colloquial dialect, *añj-u*; in Coorg *anji*; in Malayāḷam *añju*; in Tuḷu *ein'*; in Tuda *ütsh* or *ūj*. The Gōnd has *seighan* or *seiyan*, a word which is derived like *sārūn*, six, from the use of *s* as an euphonic prefix; *eiyan* is to be regarded as the correct form of the Gōnd numeral. The Ūrāon, and other rude dialects of the North Dravidian family, exhibit no analogy to any of the Dravidian numerals above four. In Telugu compounds, the

word for five is not *eid-u,* but *ēn-u—e.g., padihēn-u,* fifteen. In this case the medial *h* is purely euphonic, and used for the prevention of hiatus, as in the parallel instances of *pada(h)āṟu,* sixteen, and *padi(h)ēḍu,* seventeen. The Telugu possesses, therefore, two forms of five, *eid-u* and *ēn-u;* and the Tamil *eindu* shows how *eidu* may have been converted into *ēnu,* viz., by the insertion of an euphonic nasal and the subsequent assimilation to it of the dental.

The numeral adjective five is in most of the Dravidian dialects *ei,* in Telugu and Tuda *ē.* In Tamil, and also occasionally in Canarese, *ei* is in combination converted into *ein* or *eim* (in Coorg *im*) by the addition of an euphonic nasal. Thus fifty (five tens) is in Canarese *eivatt-u,* in Tamil *eimbad-u* (*eim-pad-u*), in Telugu *ēbhei* (*ē-bhei*), in Tuḷu *eiva.* Five hundred is in Canarese *ein-nūṟ-u,* in Tamil *eiñ-ñūṟu,* in Telugu *ē-nūr-u,* in Tuḷu *einūdu.* We see the numeral adjective five, and the noun of number five, in juxtaposition in the Tamil *ei-(y)-eind-u,* five times five. *ei* remains also in its pure, unnasalised form in the Tamil *eivar* (*ei-(v)-ar*), five persons. The nasal *n* or *m,* which follows *ei* in the compounds *eimbad-u,* fifty, and *eiññjūṟ-u,* five hundred, is not, I believe, to be confounded with the *n* of the Tamil *eind-u,* or the Telugu *ēn-u,* but proceeds from a different source. It is an adjectival increment; and is added by rule, not only to this numeral adjective *ei,* five, but to many similar words which consist of a single syllable, of which the final is a long open vowel, when such words are used adjectivally. Thus we find in Tamil not only such compounds as *eindiṉei* (*ei-n-tiṉei*), the five conditions, and *eimbulan* (*ei-m-pulan*), the five senses; but also *keinnoḍi* (*kei-n-noḍi*), a snap of the finger, and *keimbeṉ* (*kei-m-peṉ*), a widow. This adjectival euphonic addition seems to be an abbreviation of *am* or *an,* and is probably identical with the inflexional increment. See the section on "Nouns: Inflexion." What appears to me to prove that *eim* is not the root of *eindu,* but only an euphonic form of *ei,* is the circumstance that it is found only before words beginning with hard consonants and nasal. Before vowels and semi-vowels it is invariably *ei.* It may be doubted whether the Tamil-Canarese *ei* or the Telugu *ē* is the better representative of the original numeral; but the evidence of the various dialects preponderates in favour of *ei.*

A remarkable resemblance must have been noticed between the Sanskrit *pañchan,* five (in Tamil *pañja*), and the Tamil and Malayāḷam *añju.* It has already been mentioned that *ei* or *eindu* is the ordinary form of this word in Tamil. The shape in which

the word is perhaps most commonly used in the colloquial dialect is *añju*, and this form of the word is occasionally, but rarely, used in the classics. So rare is its use in correct Tamil, that it is not given at all in the "Nannūl," the classical Tamil grammar, or in any of the classical Tamil dictionaries. It is found, however, in the "Kuṟal," which is a clear proof of its right to a place in the language. The ordinary use of *añju* or *añchu* in Malayāḷam and colloquial Tamil, and its occasional use in poetical Tamil, have naturally led some to suppose that *anju*, not *eindu, eidu, ei*, was the original form of this numeral, and that it was derived from the Sanskrit *pañchan* by the easy process of the softening away of the first consonant. Instead, however, of this supposition being confirmed by a comparison of the various Dravidian idioms, and of the various forms under which this numeral appears, as would be the case if the analogy were real, it appears to me to be dissipated by comparison, like the apparent analogy which has already been observed between the Malayāḷam *onn'*, one, and the English *one*.

The primitive radical form of the Dravidian numeral five is, as we have seen, *ei* or *ē*, as appears from its use as a numeral adjective. The abstract or neuter noun of number is generally formed from the numeral adjective by the addition of some formative. The formative suffix which is added to *ir-u*, two, is *ḍu*; and by the addition of *d-u*, a still more common shape of the formative, *ei* becomes *ei-du*, five, or five things; which is in itself a neuter noun, though, like all such nouns, it is capable of being used without change as an adjective. This suffix *d-u* is an exceedingly common formative of neuter appellative nouns in the Dravidian languages, particularly in Tamil; and is doubtless borrowed from, or allied to, the final *d-u* of *ad-u*, it, the neuter singular of the demonstrative pronoun. *eid-u*, the numeral noun of both the Canarese and the Telugu, is evidently the original and most regular form of this word. *eid-u* could not, I believe, have been corrupted from *anj-u*, or even from *eind-u*, but the corruption of *eind-u* and *añj-u* from an original *eid-u* will be shown to be in perfect accordance with usage.

The first change was from *eid-u* to *eind-u*, by the insertion of an euphonic nasal, as in the former instances of *iraḍ-u*, two, changed into *iraṇḍ-u*. This euphonic insertion of *n* after certain vowels is so common in Tamil, that it may almost be regarded as a rule of the language; and hence preterite participles which end in Canarese in *ed-u*, always end in Tamil in *n-du*—*e.g.*, compare

aled-u, Can. having wandered, with *aleind-u,* Tam. When *eidu* had been changed into *eind-u,* Tamil usages of pronunciation facilitated a further optional change into *eiñj-u,* or *añj-u.* It is a rule of colloquial Tamil that when *nd* is preceded by *ei* or *i,* it is changed in pronunciation into *ñj.* This change is systematically and uniformly practised in the colloquial dialect, and it has occasionally found its way into the classical and poetical dialect also.

Moreover, in changing *eind* into *eiñj,* there is a further change of the vowel from *ei* to *a,* in consequence of which *einj* becomes *anj.* This change almost always takes place in Malayāḷam, and also in the pronunciation of the mass of the people in Tamil. Thus, *paṟeindu,* Tam. having spoken, becomes in Malayāḷam *paṟaññu;* and in this instance we see illustrated the change both of *ei* into *a,* and of *nd* into *ñ;* consequently the perfect regularity of the change of *eind-u,* five, into *añj-u,* is established. Where the Malayāḷam does not change *nd* into *ñj,* it changes it into *nn*—*e.g., naḍandu,* Tam. having walked, is in Malayāḷam *naḍannu.* This illustrates the process by which *eind-u* became *ein-u* in Tulu, and *ēn-u* in the Telugu compound *padi (h) ēn-u,* fifteen. It is thus evident that the apparent resemblance of the Dravidian *añju* to the Sanskrit *pañchan* is illusory. It disappears on examination, and the slight resemblance which does exist is found to arise from the operation of Dravidian principles of sound. Consequently *ei* or *ē* must be regarded as the sole representative of the Dravidian numeral, and with this it is evident that neither *pañchan,* nor any other Indo-European form has any analogy whatever. The Sanskrit *pañcha* is used in the Dravidian languages in Sanskrit compounds, but it is never confounded with *eindu* or *añju* by native scholars.

In some of the Finnish tongues the word for five has some slight resemblance to the neuter Dravidian numeral *eid-u.* The Vogul is *ät;* the Ostiak *vet* or *vuet;* the Magyar *öt* (pronounced somewhat like *ĕt*). This resemblance, however, seems purely accidental, for the final *t* of the Ugrian word for five appears to be radical, whereas the final *d* of the Dravidian noun of number *eid-u* is simply a neuter formative. The Chinese *u* may perhaps be compared with the Dravidian numeral adjective *ei.*

What appears to be the radical meaning of *ei?* In some languages the word used to signify five properly means a hand, or is derived from a word which has that meaning,—the number of fingers on each hand being five. In Lepsius's opinion, the word for ten, which is used in all the Indo-European dialects, had its origin in the Maeso-Gothic *tai-hun,* two hands. Applying this

principle to the Dravidian languages, *ei*, five, might be presumed to be derived from *kei*, Tam. a hand, by the process of the softening away of the initial consonant. On the other hand, there is no evidence of this process having taken place in this instance, or of *ei* having ever been preceded by *k* or any other consonant. Though this origin of the word fails us, we need not go out of the Dravidian languages for a derivation; and it is increasingly probable, after the first few numerals have been left in the mystery in which they were found, that each higher numeral in succession has been derived from the Dravidian root. It is admitted that the roots of six, seven, eight, and nine are Dravidian; why should we have to look to Sanskrit for the root of five alone? The Tamil root *ei*, which is identical in form with that of the numeral for five, gives a meaning which is as appropriate as we could wish. The abstract noun formed from this root is *eimei*, another form of which is *eidu*, the meaning of which is, close juxta-position without contact, separation by slight intervening spaces, like growing stalks of corn or the laths on a roof, or like the fingers of the hand held up and expanded for the purpose of denoting the number five by signs. This word *eidu* is formed from *ei* by the addition of the neuter formative *du*, precisely as the Tel-Can. *eidu*, five, appears to me to have been formed; and the identity of the two words in composition and shape, and their close resemblance in meaning, are certainly remarkable.

I find that Mr Kittel (*Indian Antiquary* for January 1873) agrees with me in considering the Dravidian word for five independent of the Sanskrit *pañchan*. He says—"*aydu* is *ay+du*, *ayndu* is *ay+bindu+du*. *añju* too *ai + bindu + du*, the *du* having become *ju*. Conf. 'One.'" Mr Kittel writes the word as *ay*, this being one of the ways in which the word is written in Canarese. *ei* is more common even in Canarese, and the only form used in the other dialects. He goes on to say—"The rule is, that when to certain long roots, for instance *miy* (*mī*) and *bey* (*bē*), *du* is joined, the root is shortened and the *bindu* put between (*mindu*, *bendu*). This rule may also explain the short *u* in this case before the *bindu* in *añju*. Wherever the *du* is again dropped, and at the same time the *bindu* is retained, the theme is optionally *añ* or *aỹn*, *ayn*, *aym*." Mr Kittel's illustrations are from Canarese, but the same tendency has been shown to exist in Tamil also, in connection with the formation of the preterites of verbs. In Tam. *vē*, to be burned, becomes by this rule *vendu*, having been burnt. *mī*, to bathe, Can., is not in Tamil, except perhaps under the shape of *nīndu*, to swim. The derivation of *eidu*, five, from *aydu*, Can.,

to obtain, given by Mr Kittel, does not appear to me satisfactory. This word *aydu* is in classical Tamil *eydu,* with the same meaning, to arrive at, to obtain. *ey* in Tam., like *isu* in Can., means to throw; but I do not find in either of these words any trace of the meaning which is necessary for Mr Kittel's explanation, viz., "the counting of the fingers of one hand, forming a going or one turn, a turn."

Six.—In all the Dravidian dialects, the difference found to exist between the neuter noun of number six and the numeral adjective is extremely small. The numeral noun is *āṟu* in Tamil, Telugu, Canarese, and Malayālam, and *ār* in Tuda; in Gōnd *s-ārūn.* In Tuḷu it is *āji,* a form which bears the same relation to *āṟu* that *mūji,* Tuḷu, three, does to the Canarese *mūṟu.*

The numeral adjective differs from the noun of number with respect to the quantity of the initial vowel alone, and in some cases even that difference does not exist. In all Tamil compounds in which *āṟ-u* is used adjectivally, it is shortened to *ăṟ-u*—*e.g., aṟubadu,* sixty. The vowel is short in the Canarese *aravattu,* the Tuḷu *ajipa,* and the Telugu *aṟuvei,* sixty; whilst it is long in the higher compound *āṟunūṟu,* Can., *ājinūdu,* Tuḷu, and *ārnūru,* Tel., six hundred. In Tamil it is short in six hundred, but long, as in the other dialects, in six thousand. The adjectival form of the numerals may, as I have already said, be regarded as the original, and the form of the abstract noun of number, where any difference exists between it and the adjectival numeral, as a secondary form. *aṟu,* therefore, not *āṟu,* seems to be the primitive shape of the Dravidian word for six. The numbers two and five take the formative *du;* 'one' also probably takes the same formative; 'four' takes *hu.* Six and seven, on the other hand, form nouns of number, not by means of the addition of a formative particle, but by the lenghtening of the included vowel. Mr Kittel notices that one of the meanings of *āṟu* in old Canarese is to be strong, or to strengthen, and infers that "the numeral seems, therefore, to convey the idea of addition; a further addition." This is one of the meanings given to *āṟu* in the "*Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa*" (Kittel's edition), the other being the common Dravidian one of drying up. This *āṟu,* however, like the numeral *āṟu,* seems to point back to an older *aṟu,* and *aṟu* gives no meaning like this in any of the Dravidian dialects. Its root-meaning seems to be to break off as a string. Hence as a verbal noun it would most naturally mean severance, a section. The connection between this meaning and that of six is not very clear, but still a connection must exist some-

how, for it seems to me nearly certain that this *aṟu* is the root. The idea of the old Dravidians may perhaps have been, that with the number six, which was the first of the numbers requiring to be reckoned on the second hand, a new section of numerals commenced.

No analogy whatever can be traced between this Dravidian numeral and any word for six that is contained in the Indo-European languages; and no trustworthy Scythian analogies are discoverable. In Magyar six is *hat;* in the Turkish languages *ālty, ālte,* &c. It may be supposed to be possible that the first syllable of the latter word, *āl,* is allied to the Dravidian *āṟ,* in virtue of that interchange of *l* and *r* which is so common in the Scythian tongues. It may be conceived, also, that the Turkish *alt* and the Magyar *hat* are allied. I have no faith, however, in these indistinct resemblances of sound; for the Magyar *hat* seems originally to have had a hard initial consonant. *kot* is the corresponding numeral in Lappish, and *kuut, kuusi* in Finnish, in Cheremiss *kut;* whereas there is no reason to suppose that the Dravidian *āṟ* ever commenced with a consonant; nor do I suppose it very likely that in the rude Scythian tongues, in which even the numerals of cognate dialects differ from one another so widely, any real analogy with the Dravidian numerals above four would be discoverable.

Seven.—The Dravidian noun of number seven is *ēṛ-u* in Tamil and Malayālam, *ēḷ-u* in Canarese, *ēḷ'* in Tuḷu, *ēḍ-u* in Telugu. These differences are in accordance with the rule that the Tamil deep, liquid, semi-vowel *ṛ* becomes *ḍ* in Telugu, and *ḷ* in Canarese. In the Tuda this numeral is *ēlzh;* in Mahadeo Gōnd, *y-ēnū* or *y-ētū;* in Seoni Gōnd, *ēro.* A Tamil poetical form is *eṛumei.*

The numeral adjective seven, which is used in the compound numbers seventy, seven hundred, &c., exhibits a few trivial differences from the noun of number. In Tamil, *ēṛ-u* is shortened to *eṛ-u* when used adjectivally, like *āṟ-u,* six, which is similarly shortened to *aṟ-u.* In Tuḷu, seventy is *eḷpa,* seven hundred *ēḷ'nūdu.* In Canarese, seventy is *eppattu,* in which not only is *ē* shortened to *e,* but the radical consonant *ḷ,* answering to the Tamil *ṛ,* has been assimilated to the initial consonant of the succeeding word. In *ēḷnūru,* Can. seven hundred, this assimilation has not taken place. In Telugu, the *ḍ* of *ēḍ-u* does not appear to be very persistent. In *ēḷnūru,* seven hundred, *ḍ* becomes *ḷ* as in the Canarese; and in *ḍebhei,* seventy (for *eḍubhei*), the initial vowel *e* has been displaced, as that of *renḍu,* two, according to a peculiar usage

of the Telugu, which was explained in the section on "Sounds." This displacement of the initial vowel shows that the *e* of the suppositious *edubhei* was short, as in the corresponding Tamil and Canarese compounds. As in the case of the other numerals, the short form *eṛu,* is to be regarded as the original: this in Tamil means, to rise. *ēṛu,* its verbal noun, would mean a rising or increase—an appropriate meaning for the second numeral in the new section of five fingers.

It cannot be determined with perfect certainty which of the three consonants *ṛ, ḍ,* or *ḷ* was the primitive one in this numeral; but as the Tamil *ṛ* changes more easily into *ḷ* or *ḍ* than either of those consonants into *ṛ,* and could also be changed more easily than they into the *n* of the Gōnd, possibly *ṛ,* as in Tamil, is to be regarded as the primitive form of this consonant, from which *ḍ* and *ḷ* were derived. It is more probable, however, that *ḷ, ḍ,* and *ṛ* are to be regarded merely as different modes of representing in writing one and the same primitive sound.

No resemblance to this Dravidian numeral is to be found in any of the Indo-European languages; and the slight apparent resemblances which may perhaps be traced in some of the Scythian tongues are not trustworthy. Compare with the Telugu *ēḍ-u,* the Turkish *yedi;* the Turkish of Yarkand *yettah* (the root of which appears in the Ottoman Turkish *yet-mish,* seventy); and the Magyar *het.* In Armenian, seven in *yotn,* in Tahitian *hetu.* The *h* of the Magyar numeral and the *y* of the Turkish may be identical; but both have been derived from a harder sound, as will appear on comparing the Magyar *het* with the Lappish *kietya,* and with the corresponding Finnish *seit* in *seitsemän.*

Eight.—The Tamil numeral noun *eṭṭu,* eight, bears a remarkable resemblance to the corresponding numeral of the Indo-European family, which is in Latin *octo,* in Gothic *ahtau.* It especially resembles *aṭṭa,* the manner in which *ashṭan,* Sans. eight, is written and pronounced in classical Tamil, in which it is occasionally used in compounds; hence it has naturally been supposed by some that the Tamil *eṭṭu* has been derived from or is identical with, this Sanskrit derivative *aṭṭa.* It will be found, however, that this resemblance, though so close as to amount almost to identity of sound, is accidental, and that it disappears on investigation and comparison, even more completely than the resemblance between *onn'* and *one, añju,* and *pancha.*

The Dravidian noun of number eight is in Tamil *eṭṭu,* in Malayāḷam *eṭṭ-u,* in Canarese *eṇṭ-u,* in Telugu *enimidi* or *enmidi,* in Tuḷu *eṇma,* in Gōnd *anumār* or *armur,* in Tuda *eṭṭ,* in Mādi

ermadi. The corresponding numeral adjective, which should by rule exhibit the primitive form of the word, is *eṇ*. In Tamil *eṇ* is used adjectivally for eight in all compound numerals—*e.g.*, *eṇ-badu*, eighty, *eṇ-nūṛu*, eight hundred, as also in miscellaneous compounds, such as *eṇ-kaṇan*, he who has eight eyes, Brahmā. The same form is used adverbially in *eṇ-ēṛu*, eight times seven. In Canarese, in which the numeral noun is *eṇṭu*, *eṇ* is used as the numeral adjective in *eṇvar-u*, eight persons (Tam. *eṇmar*); whilst in *embattu*, eighty, *n* is changed into *m* through the influence of a labial initial of the second member of the compound. In *eṇṭu-nūru*, eight hundred, the numeral noun is used adjectivally instead of the numeral adjective. The Tuḷu numeral substantive is *eṇma*. The adjectival form of this numeral, as apparent in *eṇpa*, eighty, is simply *eṇ*, as in Tam., Can., Mal., from which it is evident that *ma* is not a part of the root, but an addition to it, which from its resemblance to *me*, the formative of abstract nouns in Tuḷu and Canarese (*mei* in Tam.), and especially to *ma*, the same formative in Mal., may be concluded to be identical with it. *eṇma* would thus mean eight-ness. *eṇmei* is found in Tamil, but only with the meaning of poverty, from *eḷ*, poor. I am indebted for this Tuḷu derivation to Mr Kittel. I had previously been inclined to connect *ma* with *pa*, *ba*, &c., contractions of *patta*, ten, in consequence of the resemblance of the Tuḷu *eṇma* to the Telugu *enimidi*, the *midi* of which must be from *padi*, ten.

The Telugu noun of number *enimidi*, though it closely resembles the Tuḷu *eṇma*, appears to differ considerably from the Tamil *eṭṭu*, and the Canarese *eṇṭu;* but the difference diminishes when the numeral adjectives are compared. The Telugu numeral adjective used in *enabadi* or *enabhei*, eighty, is *ena*, which is almost identical with the Tamil-Canarese *eṇ*. There is a poetical form of this word, *enb'adi*, the *en* of which seems quite identical. It is no objection to this that the Tel. *n* is dental, whilst that of the Tamil-Canarese is lingual, for this is of very common occurrence; comp. Tel. *ennu*, to count, with the Tam. *eṇṇu* or *eṇ*. In *enamaṇḍru* or *enamaṇḍugur-u*, eight persons, and *enamannūru*, eight hundred, the *m* of *enimidi*, eight, evinces a tendency to assume the place of an essential part of the root. It will be shown, however, that *midi* is not a part of the root of this numeral, but an addition to it; and consequently *eṇ* or *en*, without the addition of *m*, may be concluded to be the true numeral adjective, and also the root itself. Thus, the apparent resemblance of the Tamil *eṭṭu* to the Sanskrit derivative *aṭṭa* (euphonised from *ashṭa*) disappears as soon as the various forms under which it is found are compared.

The primitive form of the neuter noun of number derived from *eṇ* is evidently that which the Canarese has retained, viz., *eṇṭu*, which is directly formed from *eṇ* by the addition of *ṭu*, the phonetic equivalent of *ḍu* or *du*—a common formative of neuter nouns, and one of which we have already seen a specimen in *eraḍu*, two, and *eindu*, five. The Tamil *eṭṭu* has been derived from *eṇṭu* by a process which is in accordance with many precedents. It is true that in general Tamil refrains from assimilating the nasal of such words as *eṇṭu*, and oftentimes it inserts a nasal where there is none in Canarese—*e.g.*, *iraṇḍu*, Tam. two, compared with the Canarese *eraḍu*; still this rule, though general, is not universal, and is sometimes reversed. Thus, *peṇṭe*, Can. a hen (in modern Canarese *heṇṭeyu*), has in Tamil become *peṭṭei*—a change exactly parallel to that of *eṇṭu* into *eṭṭu*.

Much difficulty is involved in the explanation of *enimidi*, the Telugu noun of number which corresponds to *eṭṭu* and *eṇṭu*. *eni, enu, ena* or *en* (*enabadi, enubadi, enbadi*, eighty) is evidently identical with the Tamil-Canarese *eṇ*: but what is the origin of the suffix *midi*? This *midi* becomes *ma* in some instances—*e.g.*, *enama-ṇḍru*, eight persons; *enamannūru*, eight hundred; and the Tuḷu noun of number eight is *eṇma*. Shall we consider *midi* to be synonymous with *padi*, ten, and *enimidi*, eight, to be a compound word, which was meant to signify two from ten? It will be shown under the next head that in the Telugu *tommidi*, nine, *midi* is without doubt identical with *padi*, ten. If so, there would seem to be a valid reason for supposing that the *midi* of *enimidi*, eight, is also derived from the same source, and appended to *en* with the same intent. It will be shown in our examination of the Dravidian numeral ten that *padi* has become greatly corrupted in compounds, especially in Telugu; in which the second syllable has disappeared in compounds above twenty. If *midi*, identical with *padi*, were liable to a similar corruption, as is probable enough, we may see how *enimidi* would be softened into *enama* (in *enamaṇḍru*, *enamannūru*), and also into *eṇma* in Tuḷu. It is a characteristic of the Scythian languages that they use for eight and nine compounds which signify ten minus two and ten minus one. In some instances an original uncompounded word is used for eight; but nine is always a compound. The Dravidian word for nine is, I have no doubt, formed in this very manner; and this seems to be also a rational explanation of the origin of the Telugu word for eight. On the other hand, in the Tamil-Canarese idioms, *eṇ* by itself is used to signify eight, without any trace of the use in con-

junction with it of the word *pattu* or *padi*, ten. It is also deserving of notice that in the Telugu *enabhei*, eighty, the second member of *enimidi* has disappeared. *enabhei* is of course for *enabadi*, but if *enimidi* is eight, eighty ought to be *enimidibadi*. The use of *ena* or *en* alone in the numeral eighty shows that *ena* or *en* alone, without *midi*, means eight.

It is difficult to determine whether the disuse of ten as a component element in the numeral eight of the Tamil and Canarese is to be regarded as a corruption, or whether the use of ten by the Telugu in the construction of eight is itself a corruption, arising from the influence and attraction of the principle which was adopted in the formation of the next numeral, nine. On the whole, I consider the latter supposition the more probable, and therefore regard the Tamil-Canarese *eṇ* (in Telugu *en* or *ena*) as the primitive shape of this Dravidian numeral.

Max Müller supposed *eṇ* must be identical with *er*, properly *ir*, two. Mr Clay's theory respecting the origin of the Telugu *enimidi* is almost identical with this. He supposes the *eni* of this word to be derived from *el*, in *elli* Tel. to-morrow, or next day, and this he supposes to be an old word for two. In this way he would bring out the meaning which is apparently required by *enimidi*—viz., two from ten. This derivation seems very plausible, but unfortunately I can find no trace of *el* having ever meant two. *elli* is evidently identical with the Tuḷu *elle*, to-morrow, and apparently identical also with *el*, Tam. a day (root-meaning, a limit, a term), so that its use in Telugu and Tuḷu to denote to-morrow seems analogous to the use of *nāḷei* in Tamil, which is used to mean to-morrow, but of which the real meaning is simply a day. Compare the formation of *ell-uṇḍi*, Tel. the day after to-morrow, with that of the Tamil *nāḷei-nindru*, the same, literally, waiting over to-morrow. I have already shown that the *midi* of *enimidi* disappears altogether in *ena-badi*, eighty, and that the *en* or *ena*, which in that word represents eight, is probably identical with the Tam.-Can. *eṇ*. I feel constrained therefore to adhere to the explanation I have given.

eṇ has no resemblance to any numeral belonging to any other language, whether Indo-European or Scythian; and it cannot, I think, be doubted, that it was first adopted into the list of numerals by the Dravidian people themselves. We have not to go far to seek for a derivation. *eṇ* is a primitive and very common Dravidian root, signifying either to reckon or a number, according as it is used as a verb or as a noun. As a verb, it is in Tamil *eṇ*

(vulgarly *eṇṇu*), in Telugu *enn-u*, in Canarese *eṇ-usu*. We have an instance of its use as a noun in *eṇ-śuvaḍi*, Tam. a book of arithmetic, literally a number book. After the Dravidians of the first age had learned to count seven, they found they required a higher numeral, which they placed immediately above seven and called *eṇ*, *the* number—an appropriate enough term for perhaps the highest number which they were then accustomed to reckon. A similar mode of seizing upon a word which denotes properly a number or any number, and using it restrictively to denote some one number in particular—generally a newly-invented, high number—is found in other languages besides the Dravidian. Thus, in Lappish, *lokke*, ten, means literally a number, from *lokket*, to count. Compare the origin of the Aryan word for nine, *navan*, literally the new (number).

Nine.—In all the Dravidian idioms the numeral nine is a compound word, which is used indifferently and without change as a noun of number and as a numeral adjective.

The second member of the compound numeral nine is identical with, or evidently derived from, the numeral ten, the differences between it and that numeral being such as can be accounted for by the phonetic tendencies of the various Dravidian dialects.

The principal forms which this numeral assumes are the following:—in Tamil it is *onbad-u*, in Malayāḷam *ombadu*, in Canarese *ombhattu*, in Coorg *oyimbadu*, in Telugu *tommidi*, in Tuḷu *ormba*, in Tuda *onpath'*, in Kota *ormpatu;* in each of which instances the second member of the compound plainly represents ten. In Gōnd, nine is said to be *anma*. A word for nine in poetical Tamil is *toṇḍu ;* this means also old. It is a curious circumstance that, whilst the Sanskrit word for nine means the new (number), one of the Dravidian words for nine means the old (number). Another word for nine in poetical Tamil is *onbān*, in which *pān* represents ten.

In ordinary Tamil, ten is *patt-u*; nine is *onbad-u* (*on-pad-u*, euphonically *on-badu*); and not only is it evident that *patt-u* and *pad-u* are allied, but the resemblance becomes identity when *pad-u*, the second member of *onbad-u*, is compared with the representative of ten in *irubad-u*, twenty—literally twice ten— and similar compound numerals. Moreover, *onbad-u* itself becomes *onbatt-u* when used adverbially—*e.g.*, *onbatt'-ēṛ-u*, nine times seven. In ancient Canarese, ten was *patt-u*, as in Tamil. In modern Canarese it changes by rule into *hatt-u ;* nevertheless the original labial retains its place in the compounds *ombhatt-u*, nine, and *embatt-u*,

eighty; from which it is evident that in Canarese nine is formed from ten, by means of an auxiliary prefix, as in Tamil. In Telugu alone there is some difference between the word which separately signifies ten and the second member of *tommidi*, the compound numeral nine. Ten is in Telugu *padi*, whilst nine is not *tompadi* or *tombadi*, but *tommidi*; and nine persons is *tommaṇḍugur-u*. It can scarcely be doubted, however, that *tommidi* has been euphonised from *tombadi*. In the other compound numerals of the Telugu (twenty, thirty, &c.), in which *padi* forms of necessity the second member, the corruption of *padi* into *bhei* or *vei* is still greater than in the instances now before us. It may be regarded, consequently, as certain that the second member of the Dravidian word for nine is identical with the word for ten. We have, therefore, now to inquire only into the origin and signification of the first member of the compound.

In the Tamil *onbadu*, *on* is the auxiliary prefix by which *padu* is specialised, and we have the same prefix in the poetical form, *onbān*. *on* is in Malayāḷam and Canarese *om*, in Coorg *oyim*. This *on* has been supposed to be identical with the first portion of the Tamil *ondru*, one (in Canarese and Coorg *ondu*, in Telugu *oṇḍu*, in Malayāḷam *onn'*, in Tuḷu *onji*); and Dr Gundert (in his private communication to me) expresses himself in favour of this supposition. In Tuḷu, nine is *ormba*, in the Kota dialect *ormpatu*, in each of which forms we cannot but recognise a development of the ordinary Dravidian *or*, one, from which the compound word for nine will take the very appropriate meaning of one from ten. The supposition that the *on* and *om* of the Tam.-Can. words for nine have the same origin as the Tuḷu &c., and are used to express the same meaning, has certainly much to recommend it. As *padin-ondru*, Tam. eleven, means one added to ten, so *on-badu*, nine, might naturally be taken to mean one from ten, or one before ten. There are some difficulties, however, in the way of this supposition. I can find no distinct trace of the syllable *on*, standing alone, having ever stood for one. The form we always find, or to which we are always obliged to come back, is *or* or *oṟ*. But another and greater difficulty comes to view when we compare the Tamil *on'-badu* with the Telugu *tom-midi*. We have here a prefix beginning with *t*, which points to the possibility of the Tamil *on* having originally been *ton*, and the Canarese *om* having been *tom*. What is still more worthy of notice is, that in the higher numbers, even in Tamil, into which nine enters, *on* is represented by *ton* (or its equivalent *toḷ*)—*e.g.*, *toṇṇūṟu*, ninety, *toḷḷāyiram*, nine hundred. In Telugu we find *tom* not only in *tom-midi*, nine, but in *tom-bhei*

or *tom-badi*, ninety, and *tomma-nnūṛu*, nine hundred. In Canarese we find the same prefix in *tom-bhattu*, ninety, though nine is *ombhattu*, and nine hundred is *ombhaiyi-nūru*. In Coorg, nine is *oyim-badu*, whilst ninety, *ttonūru*, follows the Tamil, and nine hundred, *ombei-nūru*, the Canarese. The Tuḷu word for ninety is *śoṇpa*, in which *śoṇ* evidently stands for the *tom* or *toḷ* of the other dialects: nine hundred is *ormba nūdu*. The Tuda word is *ēnpath*. Even in Tamil a poetical form for nine has an initial *t*. This is *toṇḍu*, of which we cannot doubt that the first portion, *toṇ*, is allied to the *tom* of the other dialects. The original shape of this prefix must have been *toḷ*. The final *l* is changed into a nasal, according to a well-recognised Dravidian law of sounds, not only when followed by a nasal, but even when followed by certain hard consonants. *eḷ+ney*, sesame oil, becomes *eṇṇey ; kal+malei*, stony hill, *kanmalei*. So also *śel+du*, having gone, becomes *śendru ;* and *koḷ+du*, having taken, *koṇḍu* (the latter becomes more completely nasalised in the Tuḷu equivalent *koṇ* and the Telugu *konu*). Hence from *tol*, old, before, with the neuter formative *du*, comes *tondru*, antiquity; and from *toḷ*, an alternative form of the same root, comes *toṇḍu*, the word under consideration, meaning also antiquity, priority, but containing amongst its many meanings that of nine. The Telugu *tom* appears to have been derived from *tol*, not *toḷ*, though both forms were doubtless identical originally; and in Telugu the meaning, first, before, is more distinctly developed than in Tamil—*e.g.*, *toli-vāramu*, the first day of the week; *tol-nāḍu*, the day before. This gives us a satisfactory explanation of the prefix by which in Telugu nine, in Tamil and Malayāḷam ninety and nine hundred, in Canarese ninety, are formed. It properly means the number standing next in order *before* the number to which it is prefixed. Thus in Telugu nine means the number before ten; in Malayāḷam, Tamil and Coorg, ninety means the number before a hundred; and in Malayāḷam and Tamil nine hundred means the number before a thousand. The word for nine sometimes found (as has been mentioned) in poetical Tamil, *toṇḍu*, means properly before; but, as used, it signifies, like the Telugu word for nine, the number before ten. When the Telugu, Tuḷu, and Canarese numbers for ninety are compared with the Tamil, Malayāḷam, and Coorg, we are struck with the greater regularity of the latter compounds. The Telugu *tom-bhei* and the Canarese *tom-bhattu* are meant to denote nine tens; but *tom*, the prefix used to denote nine, does not properly mean nine at all, but is only the first part of the numeral nine, which is itself a compound. The Telugu and Canarese compounds for nine hundred, *tommannūru*

and *ombhayinūru*, are formed on the same plan, but with a fuller representation of both parts of the number nine, which they adopt as their first member. The Tuḷu word for ninety, *śoṇpa*, is very curiously constructed. Comparing it with *eḷpa*, seventy, and *eṇpa*, eighty, it seems evident that *pa* means ten; but *śoṇ*, the first part of the word, finds no place, as the corresponding Telugu and Canarese particles do, in the Tuḷu word for nine. It appears to be the equivalent of the *tol*, *ton*, and *tom* of the other dialects, the meaning of which is, before; but in order to bring out the meaning of ninety, this particle should have been prefixed to a hundred, like the Tam.-Mal., not to ten. In Tamil and Malayāḷam, on the other hand, the composite numeral nine is altogether lost sight of in the construction of the compounds ninety and nine hundred, and these compounds are formed in perfect accordance with rule by prefixing *toḷ*, before, to the word a hundred, to form ninety, and the same *toḷ* to a thousand, in order to form nine hundred. In these instances *toḷ* is used in its proper original signification of before, without any reference to the use of the same prefix (if indeed it be the same that is used in Tamil, as it certainly is in Telugu), to form nine. We should naturally expect to find the Tamil-Canarese word for nine formed in the same manner, and by means of the same prefix, as the Tamil and Malayāḷam words for ninety and nine hundred; and if we could suppose the oldest form of the Tamil nine to have been *ton-badu*, and that of the Canarese *tom-bhattu*, corresponding to the Telugu *tom-midi*, this would have been the case. As it is, we must consider it possible that the prefix of the Tamil-Canarese word for nine may be a representative of the word for one; though the reasons why we should prefer to derive the Tamil *on* and the Canarese *om*, like the Telugu *tom*, from *tol* or *toḷ*, before, with the initial *t* softened away, seem to me still weightier.

The native Tamil grammarians derive the prefix *toḷ*, in the words for ninety and nine hundred, directly from *onbadu*, the word for nine. First, they say, the *badu* of *onbadu* is lost; then *on* is changed into *ton*; then this is changed into *toḷ*. (See "Nannūl.") The plan of deriving anything from anything was evidently not unknown to the ancient grammarians of the Tamil country.

It seems scarcely necessary now to add, that there is no affinity whatever, as some have surmised, between the initial portion of the Tamil *onbadu* and the Greek ἐννέα (*ennea*), the Sanskrit form of which is *navan*. The Manchu *onyan*, nine, has not only some resemblance to the Dravidian word, but seems to be a compound

formed on similar principles. Nevertheless the ultimate component elements of the Manchu words—*emu*, one, and *juan*, ten—have no resemblance whatever to the Dravidian.

Ten.—In all the Dravidian languages the words used for ten are virtually the same ; in Tamil *patt-u*, in modern Canarese *hatt-u*, in the ancient dialect *patt-u*, in Tuḷu *patt'*, in Telugu *padi*, in Tuda *pattu*, in Gōnd *pudth*. In those Tamil compound numerals in which ten is the second member—*e.g.*, *irubadu*, twenty, *pattu* becomes *padu* (euphonically *ppadu* or *badu*), which is in close agreement with the Telugu *padi*. In Tamil poetry we sometimes find *pān* (euphonically *bān*), instead of *pattu*, as the second member of such compounds—*e.g.*, *onbān*, nine, *irubān*, twenty. This may possibly be an euphonically lengthened form of *pan*, equivalent to *pad-u*.

In the Tamil compound numerals under twenty, in which ten constitutes the first number, nineteen is *patton-badu*, the first portion of which, when compared with the last, appears to be an adjectival form of *padu*, seeing that the word used for ten in all the other compounds is certainly adjectival. Twelve is *pannirandu*, the first portion of which, *pan*, is either an abbreviation of *padin*, the adjectival form of ten in general use, or is identical with *pan*, the supposititious radical form of *pān*, the poetical word for ten mentioned above. In all the other compound numerals in Tamil, the first portion representing ten is *padin*, which is formed from *pad-u*, the radical form, and *in*, the adjectival formative—a particle which is much used, as we have seen, as a locative and ablative case-sign, as a sign of the possessive, and still more frequently as an inflexional increment. The addition of *in* converts a noun into an adjective. (See "Nouns.") *padin* is the form of the word for ten which enters most commonly into other compounds—*e.g.*, *padinmar*, ten persons, *padinmaḍangu*, tenfold. The Malayāḷam forms are identical with those of the Tamil, with the exception of the word for twelve, *pandireṇḍu* or *pandrendu*, in which the *pan* of Tamil and the other dialects is represented by *pand*.

The Telugu simple numeral *padi*, ten, is evidently identical with the Tamil *padu* (the root form of *pattu*), just as *adi*, Tel. it, is evidently identical with *adu*, Tam. In the compounds under twenty, *padi* undergoes more changes than the corresponding Tamil word. In eight and nine it becomes *midi ;* in the numbers above ten, *padi*, *pada*, *pad*, or *padd*, with the exception of twelve, which is *panneṇḍu* ; compare *panniddara*, twelve persons, and nineteen,

which is *pandommidi* (*pan-tommidi*). The *pan* of the Tamil compound here appears twice. In the compounds from twenty upwards, in which ten is the second member of the compound, and is a numeral noun, *padi* is materially changed. In twenty and sixty it is altered to *vei,* in thirty to *phei,* in seventy to *bbhei,* and in the other numbers to *bhei.* This change is effected by the softening of the *d* of *padi,* after which *pa-i* or *ba-i* would naturally become *bei,* and then *vei.*

In Canarese, ten is *hattu,* by the change of *p* into *h,* which is usual in the modern dialect; in the ancient dialect, as in Tamil and Malayāḷam, it is *pattu.* In the compound forms between ten and twenty, in which ten is used adjectivally, and is the first portion of the word, *pattu* is generally represented by *padin,* as in Tamil. The exceptions are eleven and twelve, in which *pad* is replaced by *pan* —*e.g., pan-nondu, panneraḍu.* Before one thousand in old Canarese we find *payin* instead of *pan* or *padin.* In the compounds above twenty, in which ten holds the second place, *pattu* (*hattu*) becomes *bhattu* or *vattu,* or remains *pattu,* according as euphony requires. The differences between Canarese and Coorg, with respect to ten and the numerals into which ten enters, are so slight, that only one need be mentioned. In the numbers from thirteen to eighteen inclusive, *pattu* is represented in Coorg, not by *padin,* but by *padun,* which is evidently an equivalent form. The Tuḷu uses *patt'* for the noun of number, and *patt', pad, pad'n,* and *pād'n,* as the numeral adjective. In twenty and upwards, *patt'* becomes *pa, va.* In compounds like *irvatonji,* twenty-one, the *tt'* of *patt'* is represented by *t.* In *pād'nēḷ',* seventeen, we find an euphonic lengthening of the vowel of *patt',* the only thing resembling which, in any of the dialects, is the poetical Tamil *pān.*

Dr Gundert (in the private communication already referred to) suggested the possibility of the Dravidian word for ten, *padu* or *padi,* being directly derived from the Sanskrit *paṅkti,* and more recently (in the *German Oriental Society's Journal* for 1869) he has advocated this derivation in more decided terms. "The word for ten," he says, "which Caldwell derives from a Dravidian root, *pad,* is nothing but a *tadbhava* from *pankti* (Sans.), a row of fives, ten. From this first we have the *tadbhava pandi* (Tam.), a row of guests, then *pandu,* ten (still retained in the Mal. *pand-iru,* twelve). It bears also further abbreviation in *padu, padi, pei* (in Tamil also *pani,* properly *panni*), whilst it is found lengthened again by the suffix of the neuter termination *tu* (Tam. *pattu,* from *pad-tu*)."

It seems, I admit, more reasonable that the Dravidians should have borrowed their word for ten from their Aryan neighbours than that they should have borrowed from them their word for five. Ten being not only a higher number, but one that could not fail soon to acquire a special value in calculation, it would not surprise us to find the word for this number borrowed by a less cultured people from a more cultured. On the other hand, the word used in all the Dravidian languages for a hundred is native; one of the Telugu words for a thousand is native; and it is only the words for the high abstract numbers, a *lakh* and a *crore*, that are invariably borrowed from the Sanskrit. If so, the possibility of the Dravidian word for ten having been borrowed from the Sanskrit is met by the improbability of this being done by people who could invent words of their own for a hundred and a thousand. Besides, if the Dravidians felt any temptation to borrow from the Sanskrit its word for ten, they would naturally, as it seems to me, have chosen *daśan,* the word which they found in constant use, instead of *paṅkti,* a derivative from *pañcha,* five, denoting ten in certain compounds only (*e.g., paṅkti grīva,* one who has ten necks, *Rāvaṇa*), but generally meaning merely a row. *paṅkti* is sometimes used in Telugu without alteration in *tatsama* compounds with the meaning of ten; but the *tadbhava panti,* which is somewhat nearer the Dravidian word for ten in appearance, has never this meaning, but only means a row. In Tamil, the *tatsama paṅkti* is unknown; but there are two *tadbhavas, pandi* and *patti,* both signifying a row, of which the former generally means a row of guests. No trace of the meaning of ten adheres to either of these words, nor are *padu* or *padi* ever supposed by native scholars to be derived from *paṅkti,* or connected with its *tadbhavas, pandi* or *patti,* notwithstanding the fondness of native scholars for deriving everything they can from Sanskrit. The two words are kept carefully separate in pronunciation and usage, and, as far as appears, it was only in its secondary meaning of a row that the old Dravidians thought fit to borrow the Sanskrit word. Dr Gundert's strongest point is the use of *pand* for ten in *pandireṇḍu,* the Malayāḷam word for twelve. The strength of this point seems to me, however, a good deal diminished when we compare the word he refers to, *pandireṇḍu,* Mal., with *panniraṇḍu,* Tam., *panneṇḍu,* Tel., *panneraḍu,* Can., and especially with the Tuḷu *pad'rāḍ'* (for *pad'raḍḍ'*), in which latter word the *n* of the other dialects has altogether disappeared. Compare also the Canarese *pannondu,* eleven, with the *padinondru* or *padinonn'* of the Tamil and Malayāḷam, and especially with the *pattonji* of the Tuḷu. When we find the *pan* which

represents ten in the word for eleven in one of these dialects resolving itself in two other dialects into *padin* (from *padu* and *in*), and in one coming back bodily to *patt'*, it is but reasonable to suppose that the pan of the word for twelve has also originated in this way; and if this explanation holds good for *pan*, it will also, as appears, hold good also for *pand*, which is, after all, a little nearer *padin* than *pan* itself is. Even on the supposition of *pan* being, not a corrupted form of *padin*, but an old equivalent of *pad-u* (surviving in Tam. *iru-bān*, twenty, possibly lengthened from *pan*), it would not be necessary for us to look to the Sanskrit *paṅkti* for an explanation of it, for *pan* might very well be supposed to have the same relation to *padu* or *padi* that *am* or *an*, the obsolete demonstrative pronoun, has to *adu* or *adi*, the forms now in use in Tamil and Telugu respectively. I prefer, notwithstanding this, deriving the *pan* of the various words for eleven and twelve from *padin*, and would give the same explanation to the *pand* of the Malayāḷam word.

Though I am not prepared to accept the derivation of the Dravidian *padu* or *padi* from *paṅkti*, yet I admit the difficulty of deriving this word satisfactorily from a Dravidian root. It is to be remembered, however, that it is equally, if not more, difficult to determine the root of the Sanskrit *daśan*. If the final *du* or *di* of *padu* or *padi* is a neuter formative, as it may be concluded to be from the analogy of so many other numerals, we have to look for a verbal root like *pa*, from which *padu* or *padi* would naturally be derived. *pa* is not now found standing alone as a verbal root, even in Tamil, but there is a large number of roots extant of which *pa* is the base (*pad, pan, pam, pay, par, pal*, with lengthened, specialised forms of the same), the generic meaning of which is extension, increase, multiplication; and possibly *pa-du* (or *pa-n*) may be derived from this base. I may suggest also an alternative derivation—viz., from *pag-u*, to divide. The classical Tamil grammars teach that *pattu* may, in certain connections, be written *paḥdu*—*e.g.*, *oru paḥdu*, one ten, *iru paḥdu*, two tens. The use of this *ḥ*, which is the peculiar Tamil letter called *āydam*, and a sort of guttural, is generally considered pedantic (see "Sounds: Alphabet"), but in this instance it may be supposed to represent an original guttural consonant, which could only have been *k* or *g*. This would give us *pag-u*, to divide, as the root of *paḥdu*, and *paḥdu* would then correspond to the ordinary derivative from this root *pagudi*, a portion (classical Tam. *pāl, pāttru, pānmei*), a division. The meaning the word would then convey would suit the purpose

to which the numeral ten is put exceedingly well. Another and very common corruption of *pagudi*, a division, is *pādi*, half.

A Hundred.—In all the Dravidian dialects this word is *nūṟ-u*. Telugu, in addition to *nūṟ-u*, has *vanda*. In Tuḷu, *nūṟ-u* becomes *nūdu*, which is an illustration of the tendency of that dialect to soften down the hard *ṟ* of the other dialects into *d* or *j*.

I have not been able to discover any resemblance to *nūṟ-u* in any other family of tongues. In no two Scythian stems do we find the same word used to express this high number; nor indeed amongst such rude tribes could we expect to find it otherwise. One and the same word for hundred, slightly modified, is used in every language of the Indo-European family, a remarkable proof of the unity and ancient intellectual culture of the race; and the Finnish word for a hundred *Sata*, has evidently, like some other Finnish words, been borrowed from that family of tongues.

In Telugu and Malayāḷam, *nūru*, *nūṟu*, ashes, powder, is identical with *nūru*, *nūṟu*, a hundred. In Tamil, ashes, to reduce to ashes, is *nīṟu*, pronounced nearly like *nūṟu*. The word is written both with *ī* and with *ū* in Tel. and Mal.; so that the difference in Tamil between *nīṟu*, ashes, and *nūṟu*, a hundred, resolves itself into a mere question of pronunciation. There cannot be any doubt that we have here the origin of the Dravidian word for a hundred. Dust, powder, would naturally appear to a primitive race an appropriate name for a number which must have seemed to them innumerable.

A Thousand.—The Dravidian words for thousand are *āyiram*, Tam. and Mal.; *sāvira*, and also *savara*, Can.; *vēlu*, Tel.; *sāra*, Tuḷu. *sāvira* or *savara*, and *sāra*, are evidently identical; and we may safely derive both from the Sanskrit *sahasra*. The Tamil *āyiram* also is an old corruption of the Sanskrit. Dr Gundert derives it thus: *sahasram*, *sahasiram*, *a-a-yiram*, *āyiram*. *A priori* we might have expected to find the Dravidian languages borrowing from the Sanskrit a word for expressing this very high numeral. The Telugu word for thousand, *vēl-u*, is a purely Dravidian word, and is the plural of *veyi* or *veyyi* (*veyu-lu*); *vē* is also used. I am inclined to connect this word with the root *ve*, to be excessive, to be hot, harsh, &c.

Ordinal Numbers.—It is unnecessary in this work to devote much attention to the ordinal numbers of the Dravidian languages, seeing that they are formed directly, and in the simplest possible manner, from the cardinal numbers, by means of suffixed verbal

participles or participial forms. The only exception is that of the first ordinal, viz., the word signifying first, which in most of the Dravidian languages, as in the Indo-European, is formed, not from the cardinal number one, but from a prepositional root. In the Canarese and Malayāḷam, the numeral one itself is the basis of the word used for first. The base of the first ordinal in Tamil and Telugu is *mudal,* a verbal noun signifying priority in time or place, or a beginning. This, like all other Dravidian nouns, may be used adjectivally without any addition or change; and therefore *mudal* alone, though signifying a beginning, is often used as an ordinal number in the sense of first. More frequently, however, it receives the addition in Tamil of *ām,* which is the usual suffix of the ordinal numbers, and is in itself an aoristic relative participle of the verb *āg-u,* to become. When *mudal* is used in Telugu without the usual ordinal or participial suffix, it requires to be put in the inflected form—*e.g.,* not *modal,* but *modaṭi.* The verbal noun *mudal* is connected with the postposition *mun,* Tam. before; so that there is the same connection between the ordinal number first in the Dravidian languages, and the postposition before, which is observed to exist in the Indo-European languages between the preposition *pra,* Sans. before, and *prathama,* πρῶτος (*prōtos*), &c., first. Though the Tamil *mun,* before, is allied to *mudal,* first, yet neither of those words exhibits the ultimate root. The *n* of *mun* appears in the verb *mundu,* Tam. to get before; but it does not appear to have had any place in *mudal,* of which *dal* is a formative termination belonging to a numerous class of verbal nouns, and *mu* alone is the root. *mudal,* though itself a verbal noun, is also used as the root of a new verb, signifying to begin. I have no doubt that all these words and forms spring from *mu* as their ultimate base. *mu* is evidently a word of relation, signifying, like the Sanskrit *pra,* priority; and with it I connect *mū,* Tam. to be old, properly *mu,* as found in *mudu,* antiquity, this also being a species of priority, viz., priority in time. In all the Dravidian idioms, the other ordinal numbers, from two upwards, are formed directly from the cardinal numbers by the addition of formative suffixes. The same suffix is added to every numeral in succession, without change either in the cardinal number or in the suffix itself.

The ordinal suffix of the grammatical Telugu is *ava,* which is instead of *aga,* from *agu,* to become, the *g* of which verb is generally changed into *v*—*e.g., mūḍava,* third: Canarese adds *anē* to the cardinal numbers—*e.g., mūranē,* third: the ordinal of the Tamil is formed by adding *ām* to the cardinal—*e.g., mūndrām,* third. The

clear and certain origin of the Tamil suffix *ām* from *āgum*, poetically and vulgarly *ām*, the aoristic relative participle of *āgu*, to become, illustrates the origin of the suffixes of the Telugu and Canarese, which, though considerably changed, are undoubtedly identical with the Tamil in origin.

The adverbial forms of the Dravidian numerals are formed by means of another class of suffixes from the same auxiliary verb *āgu*, to become. In this instance the suffixes which are used by Tamil, *āvadu*, &c., are neuter participial nouns used adverbially. Oftentimes, however, adverbial numerals are formed by the addition of nouns signifying succession, &c., to the cardinal or ordinal numbers—*e.g.*, *iru-muṟei*, Tam. twice, literally two times.

The multiplicative numbers, as has already been stated, are the same as the numeral adjectives.

Affiliation.—It only remains to inquire what evidence respecting the affiliation of the Dravidian family of tongues is furnished by the preceding investigation of the numerals of that family.

The evidence is not only decidedly opposed to the supposition that the Dravidian languages are derived from the Sanskrit, but also, so far as it goes, seems inconsistent with the supposition of the descent of those languages from the Aryan family. Even if we accepted Dr Gundert's theory that the words for five and ten are Sanskrit *tadbhavas*, that would only prove that the less cultured people had borrowed certain words from the more cultured. Borrowing something from a friend is one thing, being related to him is another. An ultimate relationship of some sort between the Dravidian languages and those of the Indo-European family may perhaps be deduced, or at least guessed at, from other departments of the grammar; but on this point, as it appears to me, the numerals are silent. The only resemblance I can find between the Dravidian numerals and those of any Indo-European language (excluding for the present the debated five and ten), is the resemblance of the Telugu *oka*, one, to the Sanskrit *ēka*, as well as to the Ugrian *og*, *ak*, and *okur;* and in that instance it seems possible that the Sanskrit itself may have inherited a Scythian numeral, the numeral for *one* of the Greek, Gothic, Celtic, &c., being derived from a different base. All the other numerals of the Indo-European languages can be traced to the same forms, and are virtually identical; and hence, when we find in the Dravidian numerals, as I think we do, no resemblance to those of the Indo-European tongues, with the exception of the abnormal Sanskrit

ēka, we seem to be compelled to conclude that the Dravidian languages cannot be Indo-European.

On the other hand, a comparison of the Dravidian numerals with those of the Scythian tongues appears to establish the fact of the existence of Scythian analogies in this department, as in many others, of the grammar of the Dravidian family. The resemblance between the Dravidian one and four, especially the latter, and the corresponding numerals in the Finno-Ugrian languages, is so remarkable, that we may almost regard those numerals as identical. The same statement applies to the word for 'one' which is found in the Scythian version of Darius's cuneiform inscriptions at Behistun. The numeral four, and the other numerals above one, are not contained in that unique relic of the ancient Scythian speech of Central Asia; and in this case the negative argument proves nothing. Professor Hunfalvy doubts the relationship of the Dravidian word for 'one' to that in the Finno-Ugrian languages. He shows that the resemblance of the Votiak *og,* one, to the Telugu *oka,* diminishes considerably when it is compared with the Finnish *yht* (*yksi*); but he refrains from showing that there is any similar diminution of resemblance in the case of the Dravidian numeral four, the identity of which with the Finno-Ugrian word he must, I think, have admitted. The fact that the Dravidian word for four, which seems not only to resemble, but to be identical with, the Finno-Ugrian word, cannot be explained, as most of the Dravidian numerals can, by derivation from a Dravidian root, seems to me to add weight to the supposition that this resemblance can scarcely be regarded as fortuitous. It may perhaps be thought that the resemblance of only two numerals at most (one and four), out of ten, cannot be considered to prove much; but it is to be borne in mind that this resemblance is all, or nearly all, that is generally observed in the Scythian languages themselves between the numerals of one family of languages and those of other families belonging to the same group. Where the arithmetical faculty is not strongly developed, words of number are formed slowly and irregularly, and are easily changed or forgotten.

DRAVIDIAN NUMERALS IN THE FIVE PRINCIPAL DIALECTS.

	TAMIL.	MALAYĀLAM.	TELUGU.	CANARESE.	TULU.
One	*ondru ; oru, ōr.*	*onnu ; oru, ōr.*	*okaṭi, oṇḍu ; oka.*	*ondu ; or.*	*oñji ; or.*
Two	*iraṇḍu ; iru, īr.*	*reṇḍu ; iru, īr.*	*reṇḍu ;* (iddaru).	*eraḍu ; ir.*	*raḍḍu ; ir.*
Three	*mūndru ; mū, mu.*	*mūnnu ; mū, mu.*	*mūḍu ;* (mugguru).	*mūru ; mū, mu.*	*mūji ; mū, mu.*
Four	*nālu, nāṅgu ; nāl.*	*nāl, naṅgu.*	*nālugu; nalu, nala, nal.*	*nālu, nālku ; nāl.*	*nālu ; nāl.*
Five	*eindu, añju ; ei.*	*añju ; ei.*	*eidu, ēnu ; ē.*	*eidu ; ei.*	*einu ; ei.*
Six	*āṟu ; aṟu.*	*āṟu ; aṟu.*	*āru ; aru.*	*āru ; ara.*	*āji ; āj, aji.*
Seven	*ēṟu ; eṟu.*	*ēṟu ; eṟu.*	*ēḍu ; ēl, ḍe.*	*ēḻu; e.*	*ēḷu ; ēḷ.*
Eight	*eṭṭu ; eṇ.*	*eṭṭu ; eṇ.*	*enimidi, enmidi ; ena.*	*eṇṭu ; eṇ.*	*eṇma ; eṇ.*
Nine	*onbadu, onbān, toṇḍu onbattu, toḷ.*	*ombadu ; toḷ.*	*tommidi ; tommaṇḍu, tomma.*	*ombhattu; ombhayi, tom.*	*ormba ; soṇ.*
Ten	*pattu ; pān, padu, padin, pan.*	*pattu; padin, (pand')*	*padi ; pada, pan, pei, bhei, vei.*	*pattu, hattu; bhattu, vattu, padin, padi, pan.*	*pattu ; pād' padu, padun, vat, pa, va.*
Hundred	*nūṟu.*	*nūṟu.*	*nūru.*	*nūru.*	*nūdu.*

PART V.

THE PRONOUN.

Much light is thrown by the pronouns on the relationship of languages and families of languages; for the personal pronouns, and especially those of the first and second persons singular, evince more of the quality of permanence than any other parts of speech, and are generally found to change but little in the lapse of ages. They are more permanent even than the numerals, the signs of case, and the verbal inflexions; and though, like everything else, they are liable to change, yet their connections and ramifications may be traced amongst nearly all the languages of mankind, how widely soever sundered by time or place. In some instances the personal pronouns constitute the only appreciable point of contact or feature of relationship between languages which appear to have belonged originally to one and the same family, but which, in the lapse of time and through the progress of mutation, have become generically different. This remark especially applies to the pronouns of the first person, which of all parts of speech appears to be the most persistent. A remarkable peculiarity of the Japanese is the absence of personal pronouns, properly so called. Usage alone determines which of the three persons is denoted; as in English, it is usage that determines that 'your servant' means I, and 'your honour,' you.

SECTION I.—PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

1. Pronoun of the First Person Singular.

Comparison of Dialects.—Our first inquiry must be, what appears to have been the primitive form of this pronoun in the Dravidian languages? A comparison of the forms it assumes in the different dialects may be expected to throw much light on this question. It will be well to exhibit the facts of the case first, with only such explanations as seem to be necessary, reserving to the end the consideration of the inferences which the facts appear to establish.

I must here remind the reader of what I have said in the Introduction respecting the relation subsisting between the classical and colloquial dialects of the principal Dravidian languages. There is

a presumption in favour of the antiquity of words and forms found in the literature of those languages, especially when found in the grammars and vocabularies, which are at least seven or eight hundred years old, and are regarded as works of authority; but on the whole it is safer to regard those words and forms, not as necessarily more ancient, but only as probably more ancient, and certainly more classical. In citing those dialects, therefore, I shall cite them, not, as has generally been done, under the names of the ancient and the modern dialects, but as the classical and the colloquial.

It will be seen that in all cases I compare, not only the nominatives of the personal pronouns found in the various dialects, but also the inflexional bases of the oblique cases and the pronominal terminations of the verbs. The base of the oblique cases of the pronoun of the first person in the Indo-European languages seems altogether unconnected with the base of the nominative. In the Dravidian languages it is evident that the nominative and the inflexions of this and of all pronouns are substantially the same. Differences, it is true, are apparent, but they are comparatively insignificant, and are generally capable of being explained. Where the inflexion differs from the nominative, but agrees with the verbal endings, we may reasonably suppose the inflexion a better representative than the nominative of the oldest shape of the pronoun. In most of the dialects, the included vowel of each of the personal pronouns is long in the nominative, short in the inflexion. In such cases, the inflexion might be supposed to be an abbreviation of the nominative, made for the purpose of enabling the base to bear the weight of the case-signs. On the other hand, as in the Dravidian languages the nominative of the personal pronouns is only used when it is emphatic, the lengthening of the included vowel of the nominative may be regarded merely as the result of emphasis. On the whole, the latter supposition seems preferable. (Compare the lengthening of the vowel of several of the numerals, when used not as adjectives, but as substantives.) It seems desirable also to compare the plural forms of this pronoun with the singular. The mode in which the personal pronouns are pluralised will be explained under a separate head; but the plural forms themselves will be cited here, for the sake of the light they may be expected to throw on the initial consonant and included vowel of the singular. In all cases it will be found that the ultimate base of the singular and that of the plural are identical.

Unlike the Indo-European tongues, as best represented by the

Vedic Sanskrit in which the plural of the first person has the force of 'I and they,' and that of the second person 'thou and they,' the plurals of the Dravidian languages seem to be simply the singulars with the addition of suffixes denoting plurality. The reader is requested to remember (see note on Transliteration, preceding Sounds) that in most of the Dravidian dialects *y* has come to be pronounced before initial *e*—*e.g.*, in Tamil, *en*, my, is pronounced *yen*. This *y* (and the corresponding *v* or *w* before *o*) has frequently made its appearance in the transliteration into the Roman character of words commencing with *e*, and sometimes even in cases where a comparison of dialects was the object in view. No notice will be taken of this euphonic *y* of pronunciation in the following analysis. I cite each word as it is written by the best classical writers, believing that the written form of the word best represents the manner in which it was actually pronounced when the language was first committed to writing. If *y* appears anywhere in this analysis, it is because in that instance *y* has a place in the written language, and appears to be radical.

In colloquial Tamil the nominative of the pronoun of the first person singular is *nān*: in classical Tamil it is *yān* or *nān*, more commonly the former. The "Nannūl," the most authoritative grammar of this dialect (the date of which cannot, I think, be later than the eleventh century), gives both forms, *yān* and *nān*, but always places *yān* first. This proves nothing, I think, respecting the relative antiquity of the two forms; it only proves that *yān* was regarded by the author of the "Nannūl," as it is still regarded, as more elegant than *nān*. The inflexion of this pronoun in both dialects is *en*. It is here apparent, and will be seen in all the other dialects also, that the included vowel vibrates between *a* and *e*. The personal terminations of the verbs are *ēn* in the colloquial; and *en* and *ēn*, and occasionally *an*, in the classical dialect. (I omit all consideration of those forms of the Tamil verb which, though regarded by native grammarians as belonging to the first person singular and plural, are in reality impersonal). The corresponding plurals are —nom. colloquial, *nām*, *nāṅgaḷ*; classical, *yām* or *nām*: inflexion, coll. *nam*, *eṅgaḷ*; class. *em*, *nam*. The nom. *yām* is more common in the classics than *nām*; but in the inflected forms *nam* is regarded as nearly, if not quite, as elegant as *em*—*e.g.*, *namar* = *emar*, our party, *nostrates*. In the classical compound *elām*, all we, corresponding to *elīr*, all you, the plural nom. is *ām*. Personal terminations of the verb—coll. *ōm*; class. *em*, *ēm*, *am*, *ām*, *ōm*.

At first sight we might suppose *nam* and *nem* to be the pronominal terminations of the class. Tam. *naḍandanam, naḍandanem,* we walked, and of many similar verbs and conjugated nouns—nouns with which a pronoun is combined (see "Classification of Dravidian Verbs," "Appellative Verbs or Conjugated Nouns"); but the *n* of these terminations is merely euphonic, and is used to prevent hiatus. When it is omitted, the vowels which it had kept separate coalesce—*e.g., naḍanda-am* becomes *naḍandām; naḍanda-em, naḍandēm.* The termination *ōm* is the only one now used in the colloquial dialect. This could not well have been derived from *ēm,* but would spring naturally enough from *ām.* Of this we have an illustration in the fact that *ām,* contracted from *āgum,* or *ā-um,* it is so, yes, is sometimes written, as well as pronounced, *ōm.* Moreover, whilst many instances of the change of *a* into *e* or *ei,* and also *o,* can be adduced, I do not know any of the converse of this.

In Malayāḷam the nominative is *ñān* (the initial *ñ* of which is the nasal of the palatals, pronounced like *ni* in onion). The inflexion is ordinarily *en,* as in Tamil; but in the dative *inikk'* is often used, as well as the more regular *enakk'* and *enikk'. en* is here altered to *in,* a form which I do not find in any of the other cultivated Dravidian dialects. The verb in ordinary Malayāḷam is destitute of personal terminations; but in the poetry an inflected form is frequently used, in which the termination representing this pronoun is *ēn,* as in Tamil. In conjugated nouns the personal termination, as *an* or *ēn*—*e.g., aḍiyan* or *aḍiyen,* I (thy) servant; plural nom. *nām, nōm, nammaḷ, ñaṅṅaḷ, nummaḷ;* inflex. *ñaṅṅaḷ, eṅṅaḷ, em,* and also *nō, nōm, nom, num.* Personal terminations of verb (in the poets), *ōm.* The shortness of the included vowel of *ñaṅṅaḷ,* and the ordinary use of this form, rather than of *eṅṅaḷ,* as the inflexion, are noticeable peculiarities in the Malayāḷam plural. Another peculiarity is the occasional use of *nōm* instead of *nām,* answering to the *ōm* which forms the personal termination of the verb in poetical Malayāḷam and colloquial Tamil.

In colloquial Canarese the nominative of this pronoun is *nānu,* nearly as in Tamil, the inflected form of which, as seen in all the oblique cases, is *nan'.* The crude form of this pronoun *nā* is also used as a nominative. This is a peculiarity of Canarese and Telugu; but the use of *nī,* the crude form of the pronoun of the second person, instead of *nīnu,* has its counterpart in Tamil, in which *nī* is the only form of the nominative known. In the classical dialect, or what is commonly called "Old Canarese," the nominative is *ān, yān,* or *ām;* the inflexion, *en,* is identical with that of the Tamil in

both its dialects. The pronominal terminations of the first person singular of the verb are *enu, ēnu,* and *ēne* in the colloquial dialect, and *en* in the classical. It is deserving of notice that the final *u* or *nu* of the personal terminations, as of the isolated pronouns, is frequently dropped in the colloquial dialect. The personal termination of this person of the verb, when *nu* is dropped, becomes *e,* with which the Tuḷu termination may be compared. Plurals: nominative, coll. dial. *nāvu;* class. dial. *ām, āvu;* inflexion, coll. *nam;* class. *em.* Personal terminations of verb: coll. *evu, ēvu,* and *ēve;* class. *evu. evu* is as clearly a softened form of *em* as *āvu* of *ām.*

In colloquial Telugu the nominative of this pronoun is *nēnu*: the crude *nē* may also be used, like *nā* in Canarese. In the classical dialect, *ēnu* is preferred, and this is sometimes represented by *ē* alone. *nēnu* takes *nā* for its inflexion in all cases except the accusative (*nanu* or *nannu*), in which it is *nan',* as in colloquial Canarese. It appears from this that the vowel of the pronominal base vibrates between *a* and *e,* but that *e,* is probably to be regarded as the more ancient, as well as the more elegant form, in so far as Telugu usage is concerned. The verbal inflexions of the Telugu retain only the final syllable of the nominative of each of the pronouns—viz., *nu* or *ni* after *i* (from *nēnu,* I) ; *vu* or *vi* after *i* (from *nīvu,* thou); and *ṇḍu* (from *vāṇḍu,* he). Plurals: nominative, coll. *mēmu, manamu;* class. *ēmu;* inflexions, *mā, mam, mana;* personal termination of verbs, *mu,* or *mi* after *i.* The most essential part of the personal pronouns has been dropped, we see, in the verbal inflexions of the Telugu, the fragments which have been retained being probably merely formatives, or at most signs of number and gender. Of the same character is the *ru,* or *ri* after *i,* which forms the personal termination of the second person plural and the third person epicene plural. It represents merely the *ar* by which epicene nouns are pluralised.

The Tuḷu nominative is *yān';* inflexion, *yen'.* This is the only instance in any of these dialects in which *y,* the initial letter of the nominative, appears in the inflexion in writing. In classical Canarese and Tamil the inflexion is written *en,* though pronounced *yen.* The personal termination of the verb is *e* (compare the colloquial Canarese verbal termination *e,* and the classical Telugu nominative *ē*). This *e,* Mr Brigel informs us, is pronounced nearly like *a* in man; whilst the *e* which forms the termination of the third person masculine of the verb is pronounced pure. Plurals: nominative, *nama, yenkaḷu;* inflexion, *nam', yenkuḷ'.* The included vowel of *nama* is

short in the nominative, as well as the inflexion. The only instance of this in the other dialects is *nammaḷ*, one of the Malayāḷam nominatives, and its related *ñaṅṅaḷ*. Personal termination of the verb, *a*. The personal terminations of the first person plural and the third person neuter plural (both *a*) are alike, which is a remarkable peculiarity of this dialect.

The Tuda nominative is *ān* (*ā* is pronounced in Tuda like the English *aw*); inflexion, *en*; personal termination of verb, *en, eni, ini*; plural nom. *ām* or *ōm*, also *ēm*; inflex. *em* (the nominative *ām* is also used, according to Dr Pope, like an inflexion). Mr Metz writes this not *ām*, but *am*, which is more in accordance with analogy. Personal terminations, *emi, imi*. In the dialect of the Kotas, according to Mr Metz, the nominative singular is *āne*; inflexion, *en*; plural nom. *āme, ēme*, and also *nāme*; inflex. *em, nam*; personal terminations, singular, *e* as in Tuḷu; plural, *ēme* and *eme*.

In Gōnd the nominative is *annā*; inflexion, *nā*; plural, *ammāṭ*; inflexion, *mā*. Personal terminations of the verb: singular, *ān* or *na*; plural, *ām, am*, or *ōm*. In the Ku or Khond the nominative singular is *ānu*, as in classical Canarese; inflexion, *nā*, as in Telugu and Gōnd (Dr Hunter's lists, *ānu*; inflex. *nānde*); plural nom. *āmu*; inflex. *mā*; also *āju*; inflex. *ammā*. Personal terminations of verb: singular, *in* or *iñ* (*māin*, I am), or *e* (*māsse*, I was); plural, *āmu*.

In the Brahui the nominative is *ī*; but in the oblique cases (*e.g.*, *kanā*, of me; *kane*, me, to me) the pronominal base is *ka* or *kan*, a root which seems to be totally unconnected with the Dravidian *nān* or *yān*, and which is to be compared rather with the Cuneiform-Scythian, Babylonian, and Gujarāthi *ku hu*, &c. The plural of the first person, *nan*, is on the whole in accordance with the Dravidian pronoun. The verbal inflexion of the plural is *en*—*e.g.*, *aren, we are.*

In the Rajmahāl dialect, I is *en*; mine, *ongki*; we, *nam, om*; our, *emki, nām-ki*. Ūrāon, I, *enan*; mine, *enghi*; we, *em* (Dr Hunter, *en*); our, *emhi*.

We have now to determine, if possible, from a consideration of the facts elicited by this comparison, what was the primitive form of the Dravidian pronoun of the first person. In the first edition, I said, "The weight of evidence seemed to be in favour of our regarding *nān*, the Tamil nominative, as the best existing representative of the old Dravidian nominative of this pronoun, and *nā*, the crude form of the Canarese, as the primitive unmodified root." In com-

ing to this conclusion, I was much influenced by the extra-Dravidian relationships of this pronoun, which, as will be seen hereafter, are strongly in favour of *nān*, as against *yān*. Viewing the question, however, from a purely Dravidian point of view, the conclusion I arrived at did not seem to me quite satisfactory; and the passage cited above had hardly been printed ere I wished I had decided in favour of *yān*. I did not suppose, however, that when we arrived at *nān* (or *yān*), the earliest organic development of this pronoun, we had reached a point in its history beyond which we could not go; for it seemed to me, and still seems, probable that the final *n* is only a formative, denoting the singular number, and that the initial *n* (corresponding as it does with the initial *n* of the pronoun of the second person) is another formative, denoting in some way personality; whilst it is by means of the included vowels (*a* and *i*) alone that the pronoun of the first person is to be differentiated from that of the second. In consequence of this, I thought I could recognise in those included vowels (*a* and *i*) the very earliest shape of the Dravidian pronoun.

Dr Gundert considers *yān* as probably older than *nān*. This is also Dr Pope's view, though in his "Outlines of Tuda Grammar," p. 5, he says, very truly, I think, "The original form of the Dravidian pronoun of the first person is uncertain." The late Mr Gover, in a paper on the "Dravidian Pronoun," of which he was so kind as to send me a privately printed copy, advocated *yān* as against *nān*, but further on rejected the *y* also, as probably not primitive, and adopted *ān* or *ēn* as the real base. It was necessary to his theory to regard the final *n* as primitive, being derived, as he supposed, from the *m* of the Aryan *ma* (changed first, he thought, to *na*, and then to *an*). Dr Pope seems to concur in Mr Gover's view of both of the initial letters and of the final *n* (though for a different reason), when he says in his "Outlines," p. 5, "I would compare *ān* with the very ancient Sanskrit *aham*." I conclude that both Dr Pope and Mr Gover may be cited, not only in favour of *yān*, as against *nān*, but also in favour of *ān*, as against *yān*.

This latter point may be considered first. Which is to be regarded as the older form, *yān* or *ān*? A change of *yān* into *ān* seems to me much easier and more natural than a change of *ān* into *yān*. But in this instance we are not left to mere abstract probabilities; parallel cases can be adduced, and that from the list of pronouns and pronominals. The Tamil *ār*, who? epicene plural, has undoubtedly been softened from *yār*, and that from *yāvar;* and this is quite certain, because both the changed form and the unchanged are still

in daily use; the only difference is, that the older form is considered more elegant. We have another instance in *āṇḍu*, Tam. a year, which is properly *yāṇḍu*, when? a year, from the same interrogative base *ya*. *yāṇḍu* is the form of this word invariably used in inscriptions of any antiquity. The ease with which *ya* would change into *a* may be concluded also from the ease with which it has changed into *e*, an instance of which we have in the change of the interrogative pronoun already cited, *yāvar*, not only into *yār* and *ār*, but also into *evar*. It is evident from these facts that *y* is a particularly changeable letter, and therefore that *ān* may safely be regarded as a softened form of *yān*.

The next point to be considered is, what is the relationship of *yān* to *nān?* I refer here to the initial consonant alone, not to the difference between the Tamil *nān*, *yān*, and the Telugu *nēnu*, *ēnu*. That difference consists in the included vowel, and will be considered afterwards. As I have already said, it appears to me now that *yān* is probably older than *nān*, but *nān* also I consider as of great antiquity. It is quite clear that there is a tendency in the Dravidian dialects, especially in Tamil and Malayāḷam, to convert *y* into *ṇ*. Several words which begin with *n* or *ñ* in Tamil begin with a vowel in other dialects. Comp. Tam. *nīndu*, to swim, with Tel. *īdu;* Tam. and Mal. *naṇḍu* or *ñandu*, a crab, with the Tel., Can., and Tuḷu *eṇḍi*, *eṇtri*, *yandri*. In these cases, however, it cannot be determined with certainty whether the initial *n* of the Tamil may not have been radical. Clearer evidence might perhaps appear to be furnished by the relative participles of the preterite Tamil verb, which may take either *y* or *n*—*e.g.*, *śolliya* or *śonna* (for *śollina*), that said; with respect to which it might be concluded that *y*, being considered more elegant, is also more ancient. This, however, seems to me doubtful, seeing that the use of *n*, as in this case, to prevent hiatus, is capable of being traced back to a very early period in the history of the language. The only instances of the change of *y* into *n* that are quite reliable are those that are seen in Sanskrit *tadbhavas*. The Sanskrit *yuga*, a yoke, is ordinarily in Tamil *nugam*, sometimes *ugam*. The Sanskrit *Yama*, the god of death, though ordinarily *yaman*, is also found, especially in the poetry, as *ñaman*, *naman*, and *eman*. Here we have indubitable instances of the changeableness of *y*. It is evidently liable both to be hardened into *n*, and also to be softened away into a vowel. We see therefore the possibility of a primitive Dravidian *yān* changing on the one hand into *nān*, and also on the other into *ān* or *ēn*. What seems to raise the possibility in this case into a probability is the circumstance

that the *en,* which forms the only inflexion of this pronoun in the classical dialects of Tamil and Canarese, could much more easily be weakened from *yān* than from *nān.* This is partly in consequence of *y* being more easily softened away than *n;* partly in consequence of the peculiar tendency in the Dravidian languages to pronounce *y* before *e,* so that *en* would naturally be pronounced *yen,* and would therefore naturally connect itself with *yān.* It is curious also that *yā* seems to have a special tendency of its own to change into *e,* as we have seen in the case of the interrogatives—*yāvar,* Tam. who? which becomes *evar; yāṅgu,* where? which becomes *eṅgu.* The change of *ya* (short) into *e* in Tamil may also be illustrated from Sanskrit *tadbhavas. yantra,* a machine, becomes *endiram; yajamāna,* a sacrificer, a master, *eśamān.* There is an ulterior tendency in Tamil to change *a* into *e,* which will be illustrated further on, in considering the included vowel of this pronoun. The change of *yān* into *nān* would be facilitated if we should take the Malayāḷam *ñān,* as I think we fairly may, as the middle point. If *y* were usually pronounced with a slightly nasal sound, it would naturally become *ñ;* and this would naturally harden in some instances into the *n* of the dental series, possibly even into *ṅ* and *m.*

We have seen in the course of our comparison of the different Dravidian dialects that the initial *n* or *ñ* of *nān, nēnu, ñān,* has entirely disappeared in the verbal inflexions. The final *n,* whatever its origin, has shown itself more persistent; though it also, as we shall see, sometimes disappears; but in none of the dialects has the initial *n* or *ñ,* or any relic of it, been retained in the personal terminations of the verb. I think it unsafe, however, to conclude from this, or from any of the facts mentioned, that the initial *n* of *nān* is of modern origin. *nān* may have been altered from *yān,* as I think it was, and yet the alteration may have taken place at so early a period, and both forms may have continued so generally in use, that the question to be considered is not so much, which is ancient, and which is modern? as, which is to be regarded as the best representation of the primitive form of the word? It would not be correct to say that the initial *n* is not contained in any of the old forms, or that it has disappeared from every ancient dialect. *nān* is represented, as we have seen, as alternating with *yān* in the most authoritative grammar of the classical Tamil; and whilst the singular inflexion is always *en,* the plural may be either *em* or *nam. nam* is found in Tamil compounds of high antiquity, like *nambi* (comp. *embi*), lord, literally, our lord. *nā* or *nan* is the inflexion of the singular in Telugu, colloquial Canarese, Ku, and Gōnd. In Malay-

āḷam *ñān* is the most common form of the nominative, though *yān* also is known, and the *ñ* of *ñan* is lost in the inflexion. In Tuḷu the plural is *nama*. The Telugu plural *mēmu* has plainly been derived from *nēmu*. These deep-seated traces of the use at one time of a nominative in *nān*, contemporaneously with one in *yān*, in the dialects of people so long and so widely separated from one another as the Ku and the Tamil, the Gōnd and the Malayāḷam, seem to carry us back to an antiquity far greater than that of any of the so-called ancient dialects. The classical compositions commonly called ancient carry us back not much more than a thousand years; but we must go back perhaps three times that period before we reach the time when the ancestors of the existing Tamilians lived side by side in the plains of Northern India with the ancestors of the existing Gōnds. At that time, whenever it was, *nān* may be concluded to have been in use as well as *yān*; but even then *nān* appears to have been a secondary form; *yān*, the more characteristic and authoritative. An excellent illustration of the admissibility of this hypothesis may be derived from Sanskrit. It is commonly asserted, and may perhaps be admitted to be a fact, that the Vedic *asmē*, we, is older than *vayam*, the corresponding word in use in the later literature. The use of *asmē* in the Vedas is one argument for its antiquity; another and still better is its appearance in Greek in the shape of ἄμμες (*ammes*). But we must not too hastily assume that, because *vayam* appears in the later Sanskrit literature, whilst *asmē* is found in the earliest, *vayam* is therefore a modern corruption; for we find (*va* or *vē*) the base of this form not only in the Zend *vaēm*, but also in the Gothic *veis* (English, we); and this carries us back to the period—a period of unknown antiquity—when the Teutonic tribes had not yet left their early seats in the East. The reappearance in the plural, in the Pāli-Prākrit *tumhē*, you, of the *tu* out of which the *yu* of *yushme* and *yūyam* was corrupted, after it had wholly disappeared from every other form of Aryan speech, is another case in point, as tending to prove that an old form may be retained in existence, and, to a certain extent, in use, long after another form has supplanted it in popular favour. The antiquity of one form is evidently therefore no valid argument against the antiquity of another.

In a discussion of this kind, it should not be forgotten that the pronouns of the first and second persons in all the Dravidian dialects are evidently formed on the same plan. They have been exposed to the same influences, and have changed in nearly the same degree. Dr Pope ("Outlines of Tuda Grammar"), who con-

siders the initial *n* of *nān*, I, a late addition, thinks the initial *n* of *nīn* (or *nī*), thou, undoubtedly radical. If, then, *n* is to be regarded as undoubtedly radical in *nī*, though it disappears in most of the inflexions, and in the personal terminations of all the verbs, and though even the nominative becomes *ī* in Tuḷu and *īvu* in poetical Telugu, may we not conclude that the initial *n* of *nān*, I, though not radical (I have never claimed for it that distinction), carries us back to a period in the history of the language beyond which we can do little more than guess our way?

What was the included vowel of the primitive Dravidian pronoun? We have only to choose, I think, between *a* and *e*. *ō* is found in the plural in some connections in Tamil and Malayāḷam, but it is derived, as I think I have shown, from the *ā* of *ām*. The *i* which makes its appearance in a solitary instance in Malayāḷam is quite exceptional, and seems to be the result of attraction. *en*, which occupies so important a place in almost all the dialects, both in the inflexion and in the verbal terminations, seems to point to a nominative in *ēn*, the best representative of which is the classical Telugu *ēnu*. On the other hand, in the greater number of the dialects, including both the cultivated dialects in Southern India and the uncultivated dialects in the hills in Northern India, the nominative is *nān* or *ān*. *a*, I think, is to be preferred, on account of the existence of a tendency in almost all languages, and particularly in the Dravidian, to weaken *a* into *e*, whilst I cannot discover any distinct trace of the existence of the contrary tendency. The tendency of the Tamil to weaken *a* into *e* may best be illustrated by Sanskrit derivatives, inasmuch as in these cases we know which vowel was the original, and which was the corruption. Some have been quoted already, as showing the tendency of *ya* in particular to change into *e*; but the following examples, in connection with other consonants, may be added—*e.g.*, *japa*, Sans. prayer, Tam. *śebam*; *bala*, Sans. strength, Tam. *belam*. This tendency shows itself in the pronunciation of many Sanskrit words used in Tamil in which the vowel remains unaltered in writing. I should add that Dr Gundert appears to consider not *ya*, but *ye*, euphonised to *yē*, the primitive form of this pronoun. He admits, however, that *e* is only another form of *a*.

What is the origin of the final *n* of *yān*, *nān*, &c.? Whatever be its origin, it seems to me certain that it is not radical. It is more persistent than the initial *n*, but in the plural it is uniformly rejected, and *m* (probably from the copulative *um*), the sign of plural-

ity distinctive of the personal pronouns, used instead. This sign of plurality is not added to *n*, as it would have been if *n* had been regarded as a part of the root, or even as a help to the expression of the idea of personality, but substituted for it. If we compare *nān*, I, with *nām*, we, *nīn*, thou, with *nīm*, you, *tān*, self, with *tām*, selves, it is evident that the final *n* is a sign of the singular number, and the final *m* a sign of the plural. The pronominal base is evidently the same in both numbers; and the certainty of this is not affected by any question that may arise as to the shape of the oldest form of the pronominal base. If we regard *yān* as more primitive than *nān*, the conclusion we come to must be the same, the plural of *yān* being *yām*. This appears to prove that *nā* (or *yā*) denotes either I or we, according to the singularity or plurality of the suffixed particle ($n\bar{a} + n =$ I alone; $n\bar{a} + m =$ I's (egoque) we); and that the final *n* of *nān*, no less than the final *m* of *nām*, is a sign, not of personality, but merely of number.

Is the final *n* of *nān* a sign of gender as well as of number? Is it a sign of the masculine singular, and connected with *an* or *n*, the ordinary masculine singular suffix of the Tamil? The pronouns of the first and second persons are naturally epicene, but it is not unusual in the Indo-European languages to find them assuming the grammatical forms of the masculine. Thus in Sanskrit the terminations of the oblique cases of the pronouns of the first and second persons, are those which are characteristic of the masculine gender. I am not inclined, however, to adopt this explanation of the origin of the final *n* of the Dravidian personal pronouns. I am not satisfied, either, with the supposition that this final *n* is merely euphonic, like the final nasal of the Tartar *mañ*, I. The explanation which appears to me to suit the facts of the case best is, that this *n* is identical with the *an*, alternating with *am*, which is so largely used, especially in Tamil and Malayāḷam, as a formative of neuter singular nouns—*e.g.*, *ur-an*, Tam. strength = *ur-am*. It would thus accord in use (possibly in part even in origin) with the final *am* of the nominative of the Sanskrit personal pronouns, *ah-am*, I, *tv-am*, thou, *svay-am* (*sva-m*), self (compare Greek εγών) (*egōn*), which is evidently a formative, and identical with one of the most common nominative and accusative singular neuter case-signs. (See "The Noun: the Nominative.") Compare the optional use of *m* instead of *n*, as the final consonant of the pronoun of the first person in classical Canarese—*e.g.*, *ām*, I, instead of *ān*. So also the same dialect has *avam* for he, instead of *avan*.

am, the formative of the nominative of the Sanskrit pronouns, is used not only by the singulars, but, in later Sanskrit at least, by the plurals—*e.g.*, *vayam*, we, *yūyam*, you; but properly these plurals are to be regarded as abstract neuter singulars in form, though plurals in signification. The Dravidian formative *am* or *an* is exclusively singular.

Whatever be the origin of the final *n* in question, it must have had a place in the personal and reflexive pronouns from a very early period, for we find it in the Brahui *ten*, self (compare Dravidian *tān*), and in the Ostiak *nyn*, thou (compare Dravidian *nīn*). This throws light on the probability of the supposition I advanced with regard to the initial *n* of *nān*—viz., that though *nān* was apparently derived from *yān*, the date of its origin might be far earlier than that of any portion of the literature which is written in what are sometimes called the ancient dialects.

If, as we have seen, *nā* or *yā* is to be regarded as the primitive form of the Dravidian pronoun of the first person, and the final *n* as merely a sign of number, it might appear extraordinary that in the pronominal terminations of the verb the initial *n* (or *y*) should have invariably and altogether disappeared, whilst the first person singular should be represented, either by the final *n* alone, or by the fragmentary vowel *e* alone. Similar anomalies, however, are discoverable in other languages. In Hebrew, *anachnu*, we, from *anach* (in actual use *anōkī*), I, with the addition of *nu*, a sign of plurality, is the full form of the plural of the pronoun of the first person; yet in the verbal terminations *anachnu* is represented solely by *nu*, the final fragment, which originally was only a suffix of number. But we need not go beyond the range of the Dravidian languages themselves for an illustration. We are furnished with a perfectly parallel case by the Telugu. The pronoun of the second person singular in Telugu is *nīvu*, thou, from *nī*, the radical base, and *vu*, an euphonic addition. This *vu* is of so little importance to the expression of the idea of personality, that it totally disappears in all the oblique cases. Nevertheless, it forms the regular termination of the second person singular of the Telugu verb, and it has acquired this use precisely like the *n* which forms the ordinary termination of the first person singular of the Dravidian verb, simply from the accident of position, seeing that it is not even a sign of number, like the *n* of the first person, much less of personality, but is merely an euphonisation.

Supposing *nā*, *yā* or *ā*, to be the primitive form of the Dravi-

dian pronoun of the first person, and *nī*, *yī* or *ī* (as we shall presently find it to be) the corresponding form of the pronoun of the second person, it seems evident that the only essential difference between the two consists in the difference between the two vowels *a* and *ī*. We seem to be able also to trace back these pronouns historically to the same two vowels. The initial consonant, whatever be the consonant used, seems to be the common property of both pronouns and the means by which their personality is expressed, whilst the annexed *a* restricts the signification to the first person, or that of the speaker; *i*, to the second person, or that of the person addressed. Some resemblance to this arrangement may be noticed in the personal pronouns of the Hebrew, in which I is *an-ōkī;* thou, *an-tā* (corrupted into *at-tā*). The method adopted by the Dravidian languages of expressing the difference between the first person and the second by means of the vowels *a* and *i*, does not appear to be the result of accident. It is probably founded on some ultimate principle, though it may be difficult or impossible now to discover what that principle is. If the pronominal bases, *a* and *i*, be considered as identical with *a* and *i*, the demonstrative bases, an idea which would suit the signification, and which is corroborated by the circumstance that *u*, the next vowel in order, is also a demonstrative, we are met by the apparently insurmountable difficulty that in all the Dravidian tongues, and (as far as the use of these demonstrative vowels extends) in all the tongues of the Indo-European family also, *a* is not the proximate, but the remote, demonstrative; and *i* is not the remote, but the proximate; whilst *u* is used in Tamil as an intermediate between these two. If this supposition had been well grounded, we should have expected to find *ī* mean I, and *ā*, thou. But what we actually find is that *ā* means I, and *ī*, thou. In Tamil, *avviḍam,* literally that place, is occasionally used as a polite periphrasis for you, and *ivviḍam,* literally this place, as a courtly periphrasis for we. So in Malayāḷam, *addēham,* literally that body, is sometimes used for thou, and *iddēham,* literally this body, for I. *aṅgu,* thither, means also, in Malayāḷam, to thee, to you; *iṅgu,* hither, to me, to us. This use of the demonstrative vowels is exactly the reverse of the use to which we find *a* and *i* put in the personal pronouns in all the Dravidian dialects. It seems useless, therefore, to look to the existing demonstrative bases for the origin of the *ā* of *nā*, I, and the *ī* of *nī,* thou.

Is any weight to be attributed to the circumstance that *a*, being the easiest and most natural of all vowel sounds, has the first place in all lists of vowels, whilst *i*, being the next easiest vowel sound,

stands second? The first vowel sound would thus be taken to represent the first person, whilst the second person would be represented by the second vowel sound. If this theory had anything to support it beyond its plausibility, it would take us very far back indeed into the history of the origin of human speech. It is remarkable, however, that this theory seems to receive confirmation from the Chinese, which exhibits probably the oldest stage of human speech of which any written records survive. According to Mr Edkins, the oldest forms of the first two pronouns in Chinese were *a* and *i*. I may add that the most peculiar and distinctive, possibly the most ancient, of the Dravidian demonstratives—the demonstrative which denotes in Tamil, Malayāḷam, Canarese, something intermediate between *a* and *i*—was *u*. We thus find the whole of the first three simple vowels utilised, *a* = I; *i* = thou; *u* = he, she, it.

Extra-Dravidian Relationship.—We now enter upon a comparison of *a*, *ya*, or *na*, the Dravidian pronoun of the first person, with the pronouns of the same persons which are contained in other families of tongues, for the purpose of ascertaining its relationship. As *nā* constitutes the personal element in *nām*, we, as well as in *nān*, I (and it is the same with *ya* and *a*, the verbal forms), it is evident that our comparison should not be exclusively restricted to the singular, but that we are at liberty to include in the comparison the plurals of this pronoun in the various languages which are compared; for it is not improbable *à priori* that some analogies may have disappeared from the singular which have been retained in the plural. It is also to be remembered that we are not obliged to restrict ourselves to comparing the pronouns of other families of languages with the Dravidian *ya* alone. *ya* may be older than *ña*, *na*, or *a*; yet each of these is old enough for any comparison that can be instituted.

All pronouns of the first person singular that have been used at any time in Asia, Europe, or Northern Africa, whether it be in connection with the Indo-European, the Semitic, or Scythian family of tongues, can more or less distinctly be traced back, I believe, to two roots. Each of those roots has been preserved in Sanskrit, and in the more primitive members of the Indo-European family; one (*ah*) in the nominative, the other, and by far the more widely prevalent one (*ma*), in the oblique cases. In order, therefore, to investigate the affiliation of the Dravidian pronoun of the first person, it will be necessary to extend our inquiries over a wider area than usual.

1. *Semitic Analogies.*—The Semitic pronoun presents some remarkable analogies to the Dravidian. This will appear on comparing the Dravidian *nā* with the corresponding Hebrew *anī*, with the prefix *an* of the Hebrew *anōkī*, of the Egyptian *anuk*, and of the Babylonian *anaku*, *ānaka*, or *anku*, and especially with the Jewish-Syriac *anā*, the Christian-Syriac *eno*, and the Æthiopic and Arabic *anā*. The plural of the Aramaic *anā* is formed by suffixing *n* (the final consonant of *īn* or *ān*): we may therefore compare the Tamil *nām*, we, with the Aramaic plural *anān*, and also with the Egyptian plural *anen*.

Notwithstanding this remarkable resemblance between the Semitic pronoun and the Dravidian, it is doubtful whether the resemblance is not merely accidental. The Semitic initial syllable *an*, in which the resemblance resides, is not confined to the pronouns of the first person. We find it not only in *ana* (from *anah*, and that again from *anaḥ*), I, but also in the Arabic and Old Hebrew *antā* and the Aramaic *ant*, thou (Egyptian, *en-tek*, *en-ta*). The prefix being precisely the same in both cases, the pronoun of the second person seems to have as good a claim to it as that of the first. It does not seem, moreover, to be an essential part of either pronoun; for we find a similar prefix in the third person in some of the Semitic dialects—*e.g.*, in the Egyptian *entuf*, he, *entus*, she, and the Chaldaic and Hebrew suffix *enhu*, he. Moreover, the alliance of the Semitic pronouns of the first and second persons with the Indo-European comes out into more distinct relief when this prefix is laid aside. When the initial *an* is removed from the pronoun of the first person, we cannot doubt the connection of the remaining syllable (*oki*, *ah*, *aḥ*, *uk*, *aku*, or *ak*) with the Sanskrit *ah*, the Gothic *ik*, and the Greek-Latin *eg*; and it is equally evident that when *an* or *en* is rejected from the pronouns of the second person (*antā*, *anti*, *ant*, *entek*, *enta*), the *ta*, *ti*, *te*, or *t*, which remains, is allied to the Sanskrit and Latin *tu*.

It has sometimes been supposed that this Semitic prefix *an* is simply euphonic—a sort of initial *nunnation* like that which is admitted to exist in the Talmudic *īnhū*, he, when compared with the ordinary and undoubtedly more ancient Hebrew *hū*. On this supposition, it is allied, in nature and origin, to the euphonic suffixes or *nunnations* which may be observed in the Greek εγώνη (*egōnē*), in the Finnish *mi-nā*, I, and in the final nasal of the North Indian *maiñ*, I, and *taiñ* or *tuñ*, thou. If this be the origin of the Semitic prefix *an*, it must certainly be unconnected with the Dravidian *nā* or *anā*.

Sir H. Rawlinson supposes *an* to be a particle of specification, a sort of definite article; and he also considers it to be identical with *am*, the termination of the Sanskrit personal pronouns *ah-am*, I, *tv-am*, thou, *va-y-am*, we, *yū-y-am*, you. The only difference, he says, is that the particle is prefixed in the one family of languages, and suffixed in the other, with a change of *m* into its equivalent nasal *n*. I have already stated that I regard the Sanskrit termination *am* as the ordinary termination of the nominative of the neuter singular, and as used instead of the masculine and feminine, simply because of the intense personality which is inherent in the first and second personal pronouns, especially in their nominatives, and which renders the terminations distinctive of those genders unnecessary.

I have also stated that I regard it as probable that the terminal *n* of the Dravidian personal pronouns is identical with the formative *an* or *am* of many Dravidian neuter singular nouns, and possible that it is identical also with the Sanskrit nominative-accusative neuter case-sign *am*, which has found its way, as it appears to me, into the nominatives of the Sanskrit pronouns *ah-am*, &c. If the initial *an* of the Semitic languages is allied to the final *am* of the Sanskrit *aham*, then it may possibly be allied also to the final *n* or *an* of the Dravidian pronouns *nā-n*, I, *nī-n*, thou, *tā-n*, self. On the whole, however, it appears to me more probable that the resemblance between the Semitic and Dravidian languages on this point, though deserving of notice, is altogether accidental.

2. *Indo-European Analogies.*—It has already been remarked that there appear to be but two pronouns of the first person singular known to the Indo-European family of tongues, as to the Semitic and Scythian, one of which appears in the nominative of the older Indo-European languages, the other in the oblique cases. The nominative of this pronoun is *ah-am* in Sanskrit, *ad-am* in Old Persian, *az-em* in Zend, *eg-o* in Latin and Greek (ἐγών = *aham*) (*egōn*), *ik* in Gothic, *ih* in the Old German, *az* in the Old Slavonic, *asz* in Lithuanian, and *gā* in Bohemian. We find substantially the same root in the Semitic *āh*, *aḥ*, *uk*, *aku*, *ōkī*, &c., and in several languages of the Malayo-Polynesian group—*e.g.*, Malay *ākū*, Tagala *aco*, Tahitian *au*.

The oblique cases of the pronoun of the first person singular in the Indo-European family are formed from a totally different base from that of the nominative, and of this oblique base perhaps the best representative is the Sanskrit *ma*. *m* forms the most prominent and essential portion of *ma;* and this *m* is followed either by *a* or by some vowel which appears to have been derived from it. In the

oblique cases of Sanskrit, this pronoun has the form of *ma,* whenever the nature of the succeeding syllable allows *a* to remain unchanged—*e.g., ma-yi,* in me, *ma-ma,* of me. In the secondary forms of the dative and the genitive it becomes *mā.* In Zend and Old Persian, *ma* preponderates, whilst compounded and abbreviated vowels appear in the Zend dative-genitives *mē, mōi;* and a pronominal base in *ama* is found in some of the Old Persian prepositional compounds. In the Greek μέ, ἐμέ, μοί, μου (*me, eme, moi, mou*), &c., the vowel which is employed vibrates between *e* and *o* each of which is naturally derived from *a;* whilst the initial *e* of ἐμέ is in accordance with the tendency of Greek to prefix a vowel to certain words beginning with a consonant—*e.g.,* ονομα (*onoma*), for νῶμα (*nōma*). Latin has *me,* except in the dative, which is *mihi.* Gothic has *mi* and *mei* (gen. *meina*). Lithuanian uses *man* as the basis of its oblique cases; though possibly the final *n* of this form belongs properly, like the *n* of Gothic, to the sign of the genitive.

In the pronominal terminations of the verb in the Indo-European languages, the first person singular almost invariably makes use of this oblique pronominal base, in preference to the base of the nominative, with such modifications as euphony may require. The termination of the first person singular is *mi* or *m* in Sanskrit and Zend, in all primary and secondary verbs. We have the same ending in Greek verbs in μι (*mi*), and in the μαι (*mai*) of the middle voice; in the *m* of the Latin *sum* and *inquam,* in the Lithuanian *mi,* in the Polish *am,* in the Armenian *em,* in the New Persian *am.* It becomes *m* in the old High German *gām,* I go; *tuom,* I do; and *bim* or *pim* (Sans. *bhavāmi*), I am, converted in modern German to *bin.*

On comparing the pronominal terminations of the Indo-European verb, it is evident that the preponderance of use and authority is in favour of *mi,* and that *m* has been derived from *mi* by abbreviation. It seems equally clear, however, that *mi* itself has been derived from *ma,* the normal base of the oblique cases; for in all languages *a* evinces a tendency to be converted into some weaker vowel, *i, e,* or *o;* whereas no instance is adducible of the opposite process. Perhaps the best illustration of the regularity of this change from *ma* to *mi* is that which is furnished by the Esthonian, a Finnish dialect, in which each of the personal pronouns has two forms, the one primitive, the other euphonised—*e.g., ma* or *minna,* I; *sa* or *sinna,* thou.

The question of the relative antiquity of the nominative base *agh* and the inflexional base *ma* does not appear to me to be one of any great importance, both bases, as we have seen, being of immense

antiquity. Still, if any considerable difference in age exists, I am inclined to consider *ma* as the older. Children learn to say 'mine' long before they discover the meaning and use of I; and it may have been the same in the childhood of nations. *ma*, the base of mine, may probably claim to be one of the oldest shapes of the pronoun of the first person now discoverable in the world.

We have now to inquire whether any analogy is discoverable between the Dravidian *na*, *ya*, or *a*, and the ultimate Indo-European base *ma*. I do not seek for traces of the *derivation* of the one from the other. The only admissible idea, as it appears to me, is that of *analogy*, or remote relationship. Before proceeding further in the inquiry, it is desirable that we should ascertain what changes the *m* of *ma* sustains in the Indo-European languages themselves. It appears certain that *ma* changes into *na* and *va*, and probable that it changes also into *a*.

(1.) The *m* of *ma* often changes in the Indo-European languages into *n*.

The final *m* of the first person of Sanskrit and Latin verbs (the abbreviation and representative of *mi* or *ma*) has in some instances degenerated into *n* in Greek—*e.g.*, compare the Sanskrit *āsam*, I was, and the corresponding Latin *eram*, with the Greek ἦν (*ēn*); and *adada-m* with ἐδί-δω-ν (*edi-dō-n*). We see a similar change of *m* into *n*, on comparing the modern German *bin*, I am, with the old High German *bim* or *pim;* and the Persian *hastam*, I am, with the Beluchi *hastjan*. Compare also the Laghmani *pākan*, I go.

The *n* which constitutes the initial and radical consonant of the plural of the pronoun of the first person in many of the Indo-European languages is evidently, like the final *n* of the singular terminations referred to above, derived from an older *m*. One of the oldest forms of the plural of this pronoun, if not the very oldest, is that which is employed in the verbal inflexions, and which in Sanskrit is *mas* (Vedic-Sanskrit *masi*), in Latin *mus*, in Greek μεν (*men*) (for the more ancient and more correct Æolic μες) (*mes*): the most natural explanation of which pronominal ending is to consider it as derived from *ma*, the old first person singular, by the addition of *s*, the sign of plurality. The *m* of this primeval *mas* often becomes *n*—*e.g.*, in the Latin *nos*, the Celtic *ni*, the Greek νῶι (*nōi*); and also in the Sanskrit secondary forms *nas* and *nau*, the Zend *nō*, and the Old Slavonic *na*. This *n* is evidently a weakening of *m*, and represents the personality of the pronoun of the first person, irrespective of the idea of number; which is expressed, I conceive, by the subsequent portion of the word. It is remarkable that in

Welsh, whilst the absolute forms of the personal pronouns I and we, are *mi* and *ni* respectively, the personal terminations of the verb *m* and *n* are often found to change places, so that the first person singular comes to be represented by *n*, and the corresponding plural by *m*—*e.g.*, *gwelwn*, I saw; *gwelem*, we saw. Something similar has been observed in the Greek ἐδίδουν (*edidoun*), compared with the plural of the same, ἐδίδομεν (*edidomen*); but the use of *n* in the singular and *m* in the plural in verbal terminations, is much more systematic in the Welsh and its related dialects than in Greek. The Irish generally differs from those dialects in this particular—*e.g.*, compare Irish *cairim*, I love, with the Welsh *carwn*. Welsh verbs of the first person, ending in *n* in the singular and *m* in the plural, bear a remarkable resemblance to the Tamil singular *ēn*, plural *ēm* or *ōm*.

(2.) The *m* changes also into *v*. *v* alternates with *n* as the initial and radical consonant of the plural of the first person in several Indo-European languages; and this *v*, I conceive, is merely a softened form of *m*. It was shown in the Part on "Sounds" that, in the Dravidian languages, wherever *n* and *v* are found to alternate, we have reason to conclude that both are derived from, or represent, an older *m;* and the rule appears to hold equally good in regard to the Indo-European languages. When we find in Sanskrit the nominative plural *vayam* (from *va* and the neuter formative *am*), we, and at the same time *nas*, which is optionally used for the accusative, genitive, and dative plural of the same pronoun, we cannot avoid coming to the conclusion that both the *na* of *nas* and the *va* of *vayam* are derived from a more primitive *ma*. This idea is confirmed by finding *n* and *v* in exactly the same connections in Zend. Compare the Old Slavonic plural *mes*, we, with the Gothic *veis*, and especially the Old Slavonic dual *ve*, we two, with the accusative of the same, *na*, us two. In the Lithuanian dual, *v* alternates, not with *n*, but with *m*—that is, with what appears to be the more primitive consonant. The nominative-accusative masculine may be either *ve-du* or *mu-du*. In the personal endings of the Old Slavonic verb, *ve* represents the first person dual; in Lithuanian, *va;* whilst the plural proper ends in *mu* in the former language, and *me* in the latter.

(3.) The *m* of the pronoun of the first person disappears sometimes altogether, so that *ma* changes into *a*. This is the only reasonable explanation that has been given of the origin of the Vedic *asmē*, we = αμμες (*ammes*). When this is compared with *yushmē*, you = υμμες (*ummes*), it is evident that *smē*, whatever its origin, is in

use simply a sign of the plural, and that as the *yu* (= *tu*) of *yushmē* represents the singular thou, so the *a* of *asmē* must represent the singular I. This being the case, *a-smē* must be equivalent to *ma-smē*. This seems to be the best explanation also of the *ā* of the Sanskrit dual *āvām*, we two, probably derived, some think, from *ma*, I, and *dva*, two. We find the *a* of the plural *asmē* itself similarly lengthened in the Bengali *nāmi*, modern Bengali *āmi*. (See "Pluralisation of Pronouns").

The same pronominal root *m* changes also in the Scythian tongues, as will be seen, to *n* and *ng*, and even to *b*; but at present we have to deal exclusively with the changes that take place in the Indo-European tongues.

Can we now infer the existence of any relationship between the Dravidian pronominal base and the Indo-European? Is the Dravidian *ya*, varying to *ñ* or *n*, on the one hand, and *a* on the other, connected in any way with the Indo-European *ma*, varying to *na* on the one hand, and on the other to *va*, and possibly also to *a*? I think we are warranted in inferring the existence of some connection. It is more difficult, as it appears to me, to suppose that these two series of words, belonging to the earliest requirements of human speech, identical in meaning, and so nearly alike in form, were from the beginning independent of one another, than that an ultimate relationship of some kind existed between them. If we were at liberty to compare the Dravidian *na* directly with the Indo-European *ma*, no room for doubt could exist—*ma*, as we have seen, being proved to change into *na*. And even though we are obliged to be suspicious of the credentials of the Dravidian *na*, and to prefer *ya* as probably a better representative of the very oldest form of the word, yet we are not altogether precluded thereby from making the comparison under consideration, the antiquity of *na* being almost as great as that of *ya*, just as the Indo-European *na*, *va*, and *a* must be almost as ancient as *ma*. *ya*, it is true, is not one of the shapes the primeval *ma* is found to have assumed within the circle of the Indo-European tongues; but as *ma* is not confined to that family, but is the common property also of the languages of the Scythian group, in which it will be found to have sustained a set of changes peculiar to them, it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that *ya*, varying to *ña*, may have been the shape it first assumed amongst the early Dravidians.

3. *Scythian Analogies.*—When we examine the personal pronouns of the Scythian group of tongues, some independent and very interesting analogies to the Dravidian pronoun are brought to light.

The pronominal root which constitutes the basis of the oblique cases in the Indo-European languages, is adopted in the languages of the Scythian family, not only in the oblique cases, but also in the nominative itself. Whilst in both families the oblique cases are substantially the same, the Indo-European uses as its nominative the base in *ah*, the Scythian the base in *ma*. There are a few languages even in the Indo-European family in which *ma* has found its way into the nominative—*e.g.*, the Celtic has *mi*, the New Persian *mañ*, the North Indian vernaculars *maiñ*. In some cases, also, especially in the later dialects of this family, the accusative has come to be used instead of the nominative, in violation of ordinary grammatical rules. Thus, the Singhalese *mama*, the Kavi *mami*, and the Cuneiform Persian *mām*, are probably accusatives in their origin, like the Italian *mi* and the French *moi*. On the other hand, we are met by one, and only one, exceptional case in the Scythian tongues. The Scythian of the Behistun inscriptions makes use of *hu* as its nominative; but in *mi*, the corresponding possessive suffix, the ordinary Scythian base reappears.

(1.) The nominative (as well as the oblique cases) of the first personal pronoun in all existing languages of the Scythian group is derived from a base in *ma*; and it will be shown that this *ma* not unfrequently comes into perfect accordance with the Dravidian pronoun, by changing into *nga* and *na*. In those languages *ma* is very generally euphonised or nasalised by the addition of a final *n*, or of an obscure nasal resembling the Sanskrit *anusvāra*; in consequence of which, not *ma*, but *mañ*, may be stated to be the normal form of the Scythian pronoun, and this bears a closer resemblance than *ma* to the Dravidian *nān*. The addition of this euphonic nasal is not unknown even to the Indo-European languages. It may be seen in the Persian *man*, the Sindhian *mān*, and the Belūchī *menik*; and a similar inorganic addition is apparent in the old Greek ἐγώνη (*egōnē*), as also in τύνη (*tunē*). This nasal is much more common, however, and more characteristic in the Scythian tongues. On examining the Turkish family of tongues, we find *men* in Oriental Turkish; *mān* in Turkoman; *mām* in Khivan; *ben* (*m* degraded to *b*) in Ottoman Turkish. In the Finnish family, the Finnish proper has *minā*; the Lappish *mon*; the Esthonian *ma* or *minna*; the Mordvin and Votiạk *mon*; the Ostiak *ma* (dual *mīn*, plural *men*); the Magyar *ēn*. The Samoïede dialects have *man*, *mani*. In both Mongolian and Manchu the nominative of this pronoun is *bi*; but this is evidently corrupted from *mi* (like the Ottoman *ben*, from the Oriental or Uigur *men*); and it is *mi*, with a final nasal, which forms the basis

of the oblique cases. In both languages the genitive is *mi-nu* or *mi-ni;* and the dative is *men-dou* in Mongolian, *min-de* in Manchu.

It is evident from the above comparison that the true and essential representative of this pronoun in the Scythian tongues is *ma.* In many of those idioms *ma* still retains its place unchanged, or may optionally be used instead of the later *man.* The Mingrelian has *ma,* the Saunian *mi,* the Lasian *ma,* the Georgian *me.* The Finnish has both *me* or *ma* and *minā,* and also *mia;* the Ostiak both *min* and *ma.*

It is found also in those languages in which *man* constitutes the isolated pronoun that *m* is used as its equivalent in the personal terminations of the verbs, and generally in all inflexional compounds. We see this usage illustrated in the colloquial languages of Northern India and in Persian. For example, whilst *man* is the nominative of the Persian pronoun, the basis of the oblique cases is not *man,* but *ma* (*e.g., ma-rā,* me, of me); and the pronominal ending of the verb in the first person singular is *m.* In a similar manner, in the Turkish family of languages, *m* is used in composition as the equivalent of *man* or *men.* Thus, in Oriental Turkish, whilst *men* is retained in the present tense—*e.g., bōlā-men,* I am—the preterite is contented with *m* alone—*e.g., bōldī-m,* I was.

The same suffix is used to denote the first person singular in most of the Scythian possessive compounds, a class of words which is peculiar to the Scythian family—*e.g.,* Turkish *bābā-m,* my father, from *bābā,* father, and *m,* the representative of the first person singular. In the Magyar also, though the isolated pronoun of the first person singular is *ēn,* yet *m* is used instead of *n* in the possessive compounds and "objective" inflexional terminations —*e.g.,* from *atya,* father, is formed the possessive compound *atya-m,* my father; and the first person singular of "objective" verbs ends in *m*—*e.g., szeretem,* I love (some one). It is also to be noticed, that whilst the Magyar has *ēn* as the singular of the isolated pronoun, its plural is *mi* or *mink;* the former of which is evidently pluralised from *ma* or *me,* the latter from *min.*

(2.) It was shown that the initial and radical *m* of the Indo-European pronoun was occasionally converted into *n:* we have now to show that a similar change from *m* to *n* is apparent in the Scythian languages also, and that in some of those languages *n* has become as distinctive of the first person as in the Dravidian family itself. In Finnish, though the isolated form of this pronoun is *ma* or *minā,* yet in all inflexional additions and compounds *m* is represented by *n*—*e.g.,* from *isā,* father, is formed *isā-ni,* my father, and

from *ōl*, to be, is formed *ōl-en*, I am. This final *n* is not derived from the euphonic *n* of *minā;* but from a direct conversion of *m* into *n;* for though we see the same euphonic addition of *n* in *sinā* (from *se* or *sia*), thou, yet we have *t* alone (the equivalent of *s*) in *ōl-et*, thou art. *n* has, therefore, become in Finnish, as in Dravidian, the ordinary sign of the first person singular of the verb; though there is this difference, that in Dravidian the *n* is the final *n*, which is distinctive only of numbers, whereas the Finnish *n* seems to be derived by conversion from an older *m*, the initial *m* of *ma*.

The Magyar *ēn*, I, appears to be still more nearly allied to the Dravidian pronoun; and in this case *n* is certainly derived from *m*, for whilst *n* is found in the nominative, *m* is used instead in all possessive compounds and verbal inflexions. With the Magyar nominative *ēn*, compare the Tamil-Canarese *ēn* or *en*. May we also compare *ān*, I, in the Lar, a Sindhian dialect? A similar form of this pronoun is found in the Mordvin, another idiom of the Finnish or Ugrian family, in which, whilst *mon* is the isolated nominative, *an* is used instead in verbal inflexions—*e.g.*, *paz-an*, I (am) the Lord.

In the Olet or Calmuck dialect of the Mongolian tongue, there are distinct traces of the same change of *ma* into *na;* and in this instance the *n* appears, not as the final, but as the initial, and is therefore in more perfect accordance with the *n* of the Dravidian pronominal base. The nominative of this pronoun in Calmuck is *bi* (from *mi*), and the same base appears in the genitive *mini;* but the rest of the oblique cases are formed, not from *bi* or *mi*, but from *nad* or *na*—*e.g.*, *na-da*, to me, *na-da-edze*, from me, and also *na-maī*, me. We here discover the existence of a pronominal base in *na* (probably derived from *ma*), which is in remarkable agreement with one of the forms of the Dravidian base.

In a few of the Scythian languages, the isolated pronoun, including its nominative, seems to be almost identical with that of the Dravidian family—*e.g.*, *na* in the Quasi Qumuk, a Caucasian dialect; and *ne* in Motor, a dialect of the Samoïede; *na* or *nai* in Corean; *ne* or *ni* in Basque. In the East Asian languages, *gn* or *ng* (which are pronounced alike) are often found to take the place of *n*. Sometimes *n* and *gn* alternate in the same language, like *n* and *ñ* in Tamil-Malayāḷam. The Canton Chinese is *ngo;* the Mandarin, *wo*. Old Chinese forms, according to Mr Edkins, are *nga, ga, go, kan, a*. The analogy of the pronoun of the second person would seem to show that *a* was the oldest form of all. Compare Burman, *nā* or *ngā;* Tibetan, written *nā*, colloquial *gnyā* ('mine,' written *naki, nayi*,

colloquial *gnay*); Tetenge, an Assam dialect, *ne;* Mikir, *ne;* Khari Naga, *ni.* The Burman *ngā* prevails in the languages of the sub-Himalayan tribes. A very common form among those tribes, and those of the north-eastern frontier, including also the Kōls of Central India, ends in *ng*—*e.g., ang, ung, ing, aing.* I am not clear, however, as to the nature of the relationship of the latter forms to *ma, nga,* and *na,* the High Asian group, with which the Dravidian (and also the Indo-European) pronoun seems to stand in closer connection. I feel, however, on tolerably firm ground in comparing the Tibetan *nā,* I, colloquial *nga,* with the Malayāḷam *ñā;* and if so, the Chinese *ngo,* especially when examined in the light of the Chinese *ni,* thou, may also be allowed to claim kindred. We may here, too, compare the Australian pronouns of the first person—*viz., nga, nganya,* I; its dual, *ngalee,* we two; and the plurals *ngadlu* and *nadju,* we.

(3.) A few traces of the softening of *na* or *nga* to *ya* and *a,* or at least of the use of *ya* and *a* instead of *nga* and *na,* may also perhaps be discovered in the East Asian languages. Thus the Sgau-Karen is *yă, yăh;* the Pwo-Karen *yer;* the Manyak *ă.* The Pekin Chinese *wo* may also be compared.

On the whole, we seem to have reason to conclude that the various forms which the pronoun of the first person singular assumes in the Scythian group of languages, and which we have now compared, are identical. Possibly, also, we may see reason to conclude that the Scythian forms (*ma, na, ba, nga, ya*) have had a common origin with the Indo-European (*ma, va, na,* and *a*). The Dravidian *ya, na, a,* bear so close a resemblance to the pronouns of both groups (especially, as we have seen, to the Scythian), that we seem to be justified in regarding them as related to both in common. If this be admitted, we seem to be justified in arriving at the conclusion that one and the same pronoun of the first person, probably *ma,* was the common property of the whole Japhetic family prior to the separation of the Indo-European tribes from the Scythian. The conclusion arrived at by Professor Hunfalvy (in his paper on the study of the Turanian languages, read at the International Congress of Orientalists, 1874) is substantially similar. He notices the resemblances between the Aryan and Turanian languages with regard to the personal pronouns, and then says that "considering this fact, he is inclined to suppose that a stage of language anterior to both classes must have existed." He thinks he sees also in certain single words, as *papa, mama,* &c., visible remains of that ancient form of speech.

2. Pronoun of the Second Person Singular

Comparison of Dialects.—Our first inquiry, as with respect to the pronoun of the first person singular, must be what appears to have been the primitive form of this pronoun.

In Tamil, *nī*, which is properly the crude base, is invariably used as the isolated nominative, instead of *nīn*—the form which would correspond by rule to *nān*, the nominative of the first person singular. That *nīn* originally constituted the nominative even in Tamil, appears from this, that the oblique cases in the higher dialect agree in using *nin* as the base to which the case-suffixes are attached. *un* is occasionally used as the inflexion in the classics, always in the colloquial dialect. Another form which is occasionally used in the classics is *nīy*, in which the final *y* appears to bear the same relation to *n* as the initial *n* of *yān* or *nān* of the first person—that is, it has either been softened from *n*, or is the primitive letter from which *n* was hardened. This final *y* appears also in *āy* and *ōy*, two of the personal terminations of verbs and conjugated nouns. The final *n* of this pronoun, though it is generally lost altogether in the nominative, and is only represented occasionally by *y*, is invariably retained in the inflexional base, in which it is the initial *n* that becomes liable to alteration. When the initial vowel is retained, the included vowel is either *i* or *u* (*nin* or *nun*), generally the former, but when it is discarded, *u* (*un*) is the only vowel in use. The inflexions now described are *nin, nun, un*. In the personal terminations of the Tamil verb, this pronoun is represented by the suffixes, *āy, ōy, ei,* or *i*; from each of which suffixes the final *n*, as well as the initial, has disappeared. In the poetical dialect of the language, the initial *n* at first sight appears to have retained its place in such forms as *naḍandanei*, thou didst walk, and in the corresponding plural *naḍandanīr*, ye walked; but the *n* of these pronominal terminations (*nei* and *nīr*) is merely euphonic (as in similar terminations of the first person of the verb already mentioned), and is inserted for the purpose of keeping separate the contiguous vowels of *naḍanda-ei* and *naḍanda-īr*.

The root of the verb is regularly used in Tamil as the second person singular of the imperative, without any pronominal suffix, and even without any euphonic addition; but the second person plural of the imperative in the colloquial dialect is formed by the addition of *um*, which is probably identical with the *um* or *m* which constitutes the normal sign of plurality in Dravidian pronouns, and is probably in itself the copulative 'and' or also. (See the pro-

noun of the first person.) Compare this with the optional addition of *mu* to the root in Telugu to form the imperative singular. Properly *mu* forms an honorific singular, and is therefore to be regarded, like the Tamil *um*, as a plural in original signification. In the higher dialect of Tamil, *āy* and *īr*, the ordinary representatives of these pronouns in the verbal inflexions, are often added to the root to form the singular and plural imperative—*e.g.*, *kēḷāy*, hear thou, *kēḷīr*, hear ye. These forms appear at first sight to be identical with *kēḷāy*, thou hearest not, and *kēḷīr*, ye hear not; but they are not really identical, as Beschi supposed, for it will be shown in the section on the "Negative Verb" that *a*, probably a relic of *al*, not, is an element in all negative forms; though in these, and in some other instances, it has been absorbed in the succeeding long vowels.

The plural forms of this pronoun in Tamil are as follows:—nom. *nīr*, *nīyir*, *nīvir*, *nīṅgaḷ*; inflexion, *num*, *um*, *uṅgaḷ*. *nin*, the singular poetical inflexion, does not become *nim* in the plural, as might be expected, and as we find it in Canarese, but only *num*. Personal terminations of the verb, *ir*, *īr*. Tamil grammarians give *min* (*e.g.*, *keṇmin*, hear ye) as one of the signs of the second person plural in the imperative. The nature of this form will be considered in the section on the "Pluralisation of the Personal Pronouns."

In Malayālam, the nominative is *nī*, as in Tamil in both dialects; the inflexion *nin*, as in classical Tamil—*e.g.*, *ninakk'*, to thee; plural nom. *nīṅṅaḷ*, *niṅṅaḷ*; inflexion *niṅṅaḷ*, also in the poets *nim* (*e.g.*, *nimmōḍu*, with you), from the obsolete nom. *nīm*.

The Tuḷu nominative singular is *ī* (comp. Tel. *īvu*, from an obsolete *ī*); inflexion *nin'*—*e.g.*, *nina*, thy. In *nikk'*, to thee, the inflexion is *ni*. Verbal termination *a*; plurals, nom. *īr* (chiefly used as an honorific singular, like *nīr* in colloquial Tamil), also *nikuḷu*; inflexions *īr'* and *nikuḷ'*; verbal ending *ar*.

In Canarese, the nominative of this pronoun in the colloquial dialect is *nīn-u*, classical *nīn*; but the crude form *nī* is often used instead of *nīn-u*, as is always the case in Tamil. In both dialects the inflexion is *nin*—*e.g.*, *ninna*, thy. In the personal terminations of the verb this pronoun is much changed in all the Dravidian dialects. It not only loses its intial *n*, like the pronoun of the first person, but its final *n* also disappears. Generally nothing remains in the verbal inflexions but the included vowel (probably the primitive pronominal base), and that also is more or less modified by use. In the colloquial Canarese verb it appears as *i*, *ī*, *īye*, and *e*;

in classical Canarese *ay* only, closely resembling the Tamil *āy*. Plurals, nom. coll. *nīvu*; class. *nīm*; inflexion in both *nim*—*e.g.*, *nimma*, your. Verbal terminations, coll. *iri, īri, ari*; class. *ir*. This *ir* is identical with one of the calssical Tamil terminations.

The Telugu nominative is *nīvu*, expanded from *nī* by the addition of the euphonic particle *vu*. *nīvu*, Tel. thou, is identical in form, though not in meaning, with the modern Canarese plural of the same pronoun—viz., *nīvu*, you. *nī*, the crude form, is also used, as in the other dialects. In the oblique cases, Telugu rejects the euphonic addition of *vu*, and uses *nī* as its inflexional base, and also as its possessive. The objective alone follows the example of the other dialects in abbreviating the included vowel, and appending a final nasal. That case is *nin-u* or *nin-nu*, and is evidently formed from a nominative *nīn-u*. In the higher dialect of Telugu, *īvu*, from an obsolete nominative *ī*, identical with the Tuḷu, is occasionally used instead of *nīvu*. The Telugu plural of this pronoun has *mīru* as the nominative, *mī* as the inflexion, and *mimu* as the accusative. Both *mīru* and *mimu* indicate a base in *mī*, from which they have been formed by the addition of signs of plurality; and *mī* bears the same relation to the *nī* of the other dialects that *mā*, the Telugu plural of the first person, does to the ordinary Dravidian *nā*. How this change from *n* to *m* has taken place will be inquired into under the head of "The Plurals." The plural in the higher dialect is *īru*. In the personal terminations of the verb, Telugu rejects every portion of the pronominal root, and employs only the euphonic addition *vu* or *vi*.

The Tuda nominative is *nī*, inflexion *nin*, personal termination of verb *i* or *e*. Plural nominative *nima*, inflexion *nim*, personal termination of verb *i* or *e*, as in singular. In the dialect of the Kotas, the nominative is *nī*, inflexion *nin*, personal termination of verb *i*. Plural nominative *nīme* (also *nīve*), inflexion *nim*, personal termination of verb *iri, īri*.

In Gōnḍ, the nominative singular is *immā*, which is evidently an older form of the plural used as the honorific singular. The inflexion is *ni* (*niwa*, thy), personal termination of the verb *ni* or *i*. Plural nominative *immāt*, inflexion *mī*, as in Telugu; personal termination of verb *īt*. The personal terminations of the first and second persons singular in Gōnd require a little consideration. In both persons the initial *n* of the isolated pronoun seems to hold its ground in some of the tenses in a manner which is not observed in any other dialect—*e.g.*, *āyātōnā*, I am becoming, *āyātōnī*, thou art becoming. In some other tenses (*e.g.*, imperfect *āndān*, I

became, perfect *āttān*, I have become), the termination of the first person resembles that in use in most of the other dialects. In the second person (*āndī, āttī*), the *n*, whatever its origin, disappears altogether, and is replaced by the ordinary Dravidian *i*. I prefer, therefore, to regard the *n* of the first and second persons, in these tenses, as the *n* of the pronoun of the third person singular, *ōn*, he, forming, when added to the root, a participial noun. *āyāt-ōn-ā* would then mean, I am one who becomes; *āyāt-ōn-ī*, thou art one who becomes. If this view is correct, nothing can be observed in these forms differing in reality from those in the other dialects.

The Ku pronoun corresponds on the whole to the Telugu. Nominative singular *īnu*, inflexion *nī*, personal termination of verb *i*; plural nominative *īr-u*, inflexion *mī*, personal termination of verb *ēru, āru*.

The Rajmahāl nominative singular is *nin*, inflexion *nin*; plural *nina*, inflexion *nim*. Ūrāon nominative singular *nīen*, inflexion *nīen*; plural nominative *āsu*, inflexion *āss'*.

The Brahui nominative is *nī*, as in most of the Dravidian dialects, inflexion *nā*; plural nominative *num*, one of the inflexions of the plural in classical Tamil; inflexion *num* (*numā*, your); verbal termination *ri*, as in many of the Dravidian dialects (compare *aren*, we are, *areri*, you are).

See the "Table of Pronouns" of the second person for the forms found in the minor dialects of Central India.

We have now to consider the conclusion to be drawn from the comparison made above. We found three forms of the pronoun of the first person singular, *nān, yān, ān*, each of which claimed to be the best representative of the original form; and of these, *yān* seemed to carry with it most authority, and to be probably the source from which *nān* on the one hand, and *ān* on the other, were derived. With regard to the pronoun of the second person singular, there are only two forms (*nīn, īn*) whose relative antiquity we are called upon to decide. No claim can be set up on behalf of *yīn* as a pronoun of the second person to correspond with the *yān* of the first person. If such a form ever existed, I can find no trace of it now left. The final *n* of *nīn* or *īn* (as of *nān, yān, ān*) has already been ascertained to be merely a sign of the singular number. In the plural it is replaced by *m*, the sign of the plurality, or *r, ir*, a relic of *ivar*, they (prox.). This final *n* of the singular may, therefore, be dismissed from our consideration at once. On comparing *nī* and *ī* with *nā* and *ā*, it seems evident that if the initial *n* of *nān* did not belong to the root, but was a product of

nasalisation, the initial *n* of *nīn* cannot safely be regarded as radical. If *nā* was derived from a more primitive *yā* or *ā*, it seems evident that *nī* must have been derived from a more primitive *ī*. The initial *n* of *nī* must be identical with the initial *n* of *nā*. Whatever the origin of the one may be, the origin of the other must be the same. Just as the initial *n* of *nā* disappears from all the verbal terminations of the first person, so the initial *n* of *nī* disappears from all the verbal terminations of the second. If this initial *n* had been radical, it would have retained its place more or less firmly in the verbal inflexions, like the *m* of the Indo-European first person, and the *t* or *s* of the second person of the same. As the initial *n* has disappeared so completely from the Dravidian verbal inflexions, though it sometimes retains its place as the inflexional base of the oblique cases, I conclude that it is not radical, and that we are to consider *ī* more primitive than *nī*. Still the antiquity of the initial *n* of *nī* must be enormously great—almost equal to that of *ī* itself, seeing that we find it, as we shall presently see, in the Scythian of Behistun, and even in Chinese, in both of which the pronoun of the second person is *ni*. It is *ni* also in Bornu, a language of Central Africa.

Even when looking at the Dravidian dialects alone, we cannot suppose *nī* much later in origin than *ī*. Whatever be the relative antiquity of *nī* and *ī*, I consider the vowel, not the consonant, as the real pronominal base. The only question that remains, therefore, is, what is to be regarded as the oldest shape of this vowel? We find *i*, *u*, and also, but more rarely, *a* and *e*. The last two may be left out of account. The vowels most generally used are *i* and *u*. In the verbal terminations *i* has driven *u* out of the field altogether. On the whole, there seems to be more in favour of the antiquity of *i* than of that of *u*, though it must be admitted that *u* changes more readily in Dravidian speech to *i* than *i* to *u*—*e.g.*, *puli*, Tam. a tiger, becomes in the pronunciation of the vulgar *pili; mun*, before, becomes *min*, &c. It will be seen that generally in the Indo-European languages the vowel of the pronoun of the first person is *u*, whilst in the Scythian languages it is *i*. Possibly at the outset there was no very sharp line of distinction between these two sounds. At all events, we cannot safely venture to draw any such sharp line of distinction now between the *i* and *u* of the pronoun of the second person in the Dravidian tongues, both vowels being retained, in some connection or another, in most of the dialects. Thus in poetical Tamil we find both *nin* and *nun* as the singular inflexion of the pronoun; in the plural we find *num* and *uṅgaḷ*, but

not *nim,* though the nominative *niṅgaḷ* must be considered as the representative of an older *nīm.*

Extra-Dravidian Relationship.—It has been shown that the Dravidian pronoun of the first person has affinities with each of the great Japhetic groups, with some special Scythian affinities. It will be found that the relationship of the pronoun of the second person is less extensive, but more distinctive ; it is more specifically Scythian, or at least non-Aryan.

Throughout the Scythian, as well as the Indo-European group, the most prevalent form of the pronoun of the second person singular is that which is formed from the consonant *t* (*e.g., tu*), or its euphonised equivalent *s* (*e.g.* σύ) (*su*); and the only other form found in any family of either of those groups is that which is built upon the consonant *n,* and of which the Cuneiform Scythian, the Chinese, and the Dravidian *ni* is the best representative. These roots appear to have been always independent of one another. I cannot discover any reliable trace of a connection between them or of a gradual change in any instance of the one form into the other.

In order to place this point in a clear light, it is desirable, in the first place, to trace out the connections and alliances of the pronominal root *tu.* It has been conjectured that this pronoun had its origin in the demonstrative base *t ;* but the investigation of this point is beyond our purpose, which is merely that of tracing its relationship. In Sanskrit the pronoun of the second person singular is *tva-m ;* in Zend *tū-m,* and also *thw',* as included in the accusative *thwā,* thee. Connected with the Sanskrit *tva,* there is a simpler form, *ta,* which is apparent in *tava,* thy ; and we have analogies to this in the Kavi *ta* and the Semitic *ta* (included in *antā,* thou). The Semitic *tā* is changed in the inflexions to *kā,* a change which resembles that of the Kavi, which has *ta* as its nominative and *ko* as its possessive. Bopp supposes that *yu,* the base of the most common form of the plural of this pronoun, is derived from *tu,* and that *va,* the base of the Sanskrit secondary plural *vas* and of the Latin *vos,* is derived from *tva. v,* however, is more frequently derived from *m* than from any other letter, of which we have seen an instance in the change of the *ma* of the first person into *va* in *vayam.* It is not very easy to explain how *t* became *v* and *y. tva-m* becomes *tuvam* in Old Persian ; and from *tu* (itself derived from *tv*) proceeds the Sanskrit dative *tu-bhyam,* the base of which is allied to, or identical with, the Latin, Armenian, and Pehlvi *tu ;* the Æolic and Doric τύ (*tu*); the Persian, Afghan, and Singhalese

tu; and the Gothic *thu*. The *th* of the Gothic and Zend seems to point out the path by which the Old Greek τύ (*tu*) was converted into σύ (*su*). Mr Edkins, in his "China's Place in Philology," has suggested another origin for *yu*. He supposes it may be connected with *ni* or *nu*, the Chinese pronoun of the second person, of which *i* or *u* was, he thinks, the primitive form. If this supposition should be correct, *yu* will then be the Indo-European equivalent, not only of the Chinese *ne* or *nu*, but of the Dravidian, which also is *ni* or *nu*—*ni* in the nominative, *nu* (*nu-n*) in the oblique.

In the personal terminations of the verbs, in Sanskrit and most other languages of the same family, the earlier *t* of the ordinary form of this pronoun has very generally been weakened into *s* in the singular, whilst in most of the plural terminations, *t*, with some trivial modifications, and with a sign of plurality annexed, has succeeded in retaining its place. In our investigation of the pronoun of the first person, it was found that *ma* was converted in the personal terminations of the verb into *mi*, and still further weakened into *m*: so also *su* (for *tu*) generally becomes *si* in the verbal terminations; and *si* in like manner afterwards becomes *s*.

In the Scythian group of tongues, the pronoun of the second person in general use is substantially the same as in the Indo-European—another evidence of the primeval identity of both groups; but in the Scythian tongues the weaker *s* has obtained wider prevalence than the older *t*; and the vowel by which *s* is enunciated is more frequently *i* or *e* than *u* or *a*. The Magyar has *te* in the singular, *ti* or *tik* in the plural, with which we may compare the Armenian *tu*, thou, and *tuk*, you. The Mongolian *tchi* or *dzi*, thou, exhibits the progress of *ti* towards softening into *si*. In Finnish proper, the isolated pronoun of the second person singular is *se* or *sina*; but *t* retains its place in the plural, and the personal termination of the verb even in the singular is *t*.

The chief peculiarity apparent in the Scythian form of this pronoun is, that it has generally been euphonised by the addition of a final nasal, the consonant *n*, precisely in the same manner as the pronoun of the first person singular. In the older Greek, τυνη (*tunē*) and τούν (*toun*) correspond to ἐγώνη (*egōnē*) and ἐγών (*egōn*); and in like manner, in the languages which belong to the Scythian group, or which have been subject to Scythian influences, where the pronoun of the first person is found to be nasalised, the pronoun of the second person generally exhibits the same feature. In the vernaculars of Northern India we see this euphonic addition to the pronoun of the second person in the Hindi, Panjabi, and

Sindhi *tuñ,* and in the Marāṭhi and Gujarāthi *tūñ.* In some of those idioms, especially in the Gujarāthi and Panjabi, the euphonic nasal appears in the oblique cases as well as in the nominative, but more commonly it is found in the nominative alone.

In the Turkish family of tongues, *sin* or *sen* is the usual form of the pronoun of the second person singular. The *n* retains its place in the oblique cases, but is lost in *siz,* the plural. Compare also the Georgian *shen,* the Samoïede *tan, tani,* the Lappish *don,* the Votiak and Mordvin *ton* (plural *tin*), and the Finnish *sinä,* which alternates with *se, sia,* and *sie.* The euphonic origin of this *n* is most evident in the Esthonian dialect of the Finnish, which uses indifferently *sa* or *sinna* for the second person, and *ma* or *minna* for the first. In the Mongolian and Manchu, *n* appears in the oblique cases only. In Mongol the nominative is *tchi,* in Manchu *si;* but the genitive in the former is *tchini,* in the latter *sini,* and the corresponding datives are *tchim-dou* and *sin-de.* In Calmuck the nominative is *dzi* or *dzima,* genitive *dzini,* dative *dzimadou,* accusative *dzimaï.* In the pronouns of this language we may observe several instances of *m* being used as an euphonic, instead of *n.*

It is evident that there is no resemblance whatever between any of the pronouns compared above and the Dravidian *nī.* The final *nä* of the Finnish *sinä,* and its equivalent, the final *νη* (*nē*) of the Greek τΰνη (*tunē*), are separable, euphonic, inorganic additions, and can have no real connection with *nī,* which is an ultimate root. It will be necessary for us therefore to go further in search of a really trustworthy analogy.

We have seen that the Indo-European and Scythian *m*—the initial of the pronoun of the first person—was probably the origin of the *n* of the Dravidian *nā.* Is it possible that the radical *t* of the pronoun of the second person in both those families of tongues was changed in like manner into *n,* so as that *tu* or *ti* was the origin of the Dravidian *nī* ? I think not. This is supposed by Castrén, a very high authority, to be the history of the *n* by which the second person singular is often represented in the personal affixes of the Finnish and Turkish families. It may also be mentioned here, that a change of *t* into *n* is not quite unknown even in the Indo-European languages. It is somewhat frequently found to take place in Pali—*e.g., tē,* they, masculine, becomes optionally *nē ; tā,* they, feminine, becomes *nā ;* and *tāni,* they, neuter, becomes *nāni.* In Sanskrit also, *ētam,* him, is sometimes changed into *ēnam.* There is no evidence, it is true, that the *n* now under consideration—the initial *n* of the Dravidian *ni*—arose from any such process of change. That it proceeded from an older *t* would be a wholly gratuitous assumption, in

so far as the internal history of the Dravidian languages is concerned. It would be more in accordance with precedent, indeed, to regard it as a mere nasalisation. Yet when we carry our inquiries a step further, and bring to view a pronoun with *n*, not *t*, in some of the oldest languages of the Scythian group, whilst on the one hand we shall find that the resemblance of this Scythian pronoun to the Dravidian amounts to identity, on the other hand we shall possibly find it allied, by a deep-seated, underground relationship, to the ordinary pronoun with *t*, so that it must always remain doubtful whether these are not two Japhetic bases of the pronoun of the second person, *tu* and *ni*, originally independent, like *ah* and *ma* of the first, or whether *tu* did not change into *nu*, and that to *ni*, at some early period, now unknown, before the isolation of the Dravidians, and even before the isolation of the Chinese, from the rest of the Japhetic race.

I must first endeavour to establish the first point now mentioned, viz., that traces will be found in various languages of the Scythian group of the existence of a pronoun of the second person, apparently identical with, and certainly allied to, the Dravidian *nī*.

I begin with the most ancient analogy which is capable of direct proof, viz., the pronoun of the second person in Chinese. This is *ni*, precisely as in the Dravidian idioms. The plural is *ni-men* (compare *wo-men*, we, *t'a-men*, they); Old Chinese *ngi*, *nu*, *yu*, *u*. Mr Edkins thinks the oldest form of all was *i*, to which *n* was prefixed. The same *ni* appears in some of the dialects of the nomad tribes of the western frontier of China, towards Tibet—*e.g.*, Gyāmi and Horpa. The plurals in Gyāmi are *ni-me*; in Horpa, *ni-ni*. The Tibetan itself, though agreeing so closely as regards the first person, seems to present no analogy in the second. In the dialects of Burma, the prevailing form of the word is *nang*; in the Karen dialects *nah*, *ner*, *nā*. The Manyak, a dialect of the same stock, which has *ā* for the first person, has *nō* for the second. All the analogous forms of Eastern Asia rest upon the Chinese; and the antiquity of the Chinese language and literature is so great, that the identity of the Chinese pronoun of the second person with the Dravidian is a point of great interest and importance. The next analogy I adduce is one which I regard as almost equally remarkable and decisive, viz., the pronoun of the second person in the Scythian tablets at Behistun. This is *nī*, precisely as in the Dravidian idioms; and the possessive which is used in compounds is *nĭ*, which is identical with the similarly abbreviated basis of the Dravidian oblique cases of this pronoun. The plural of this pronoun is, unfortunately, unknown. The personal termination of the

verb is not *ni*, but *nti*, which I suspect to be a compound of *ni* and *ti*, like the *antā*, *anti*, of the Semitic languages. I have given the Brahui a place amongst the Dravidian dialects, but I refer to it here again on account of its centrical geographical position. The Brahui pronoun, as we have seen, is *nī* (plural *num*), the identity of which, both with the Dravidian, properly so called, and with the Behistun and Chinese, cannot, I think, be doubted. It is a remarkable circumstance, and very difficult to explain, that in the Kanuri, a language of Bornu, in Central Africa, together with several other Scythian peculiarities, the pronoun of the second person is *ni*.

The antiquity of the Dravidian pronoun of the second person is thus clearly proved, and this proof of its antiquity entitles us to regard as real certain resemblances to it which otherwise might be thought to be accidental. In the Ostiak, the most Dravidian of the Finnish dialects, in that compound of nouns with possessive suffixes which is so characteristic of the Scythian group, the first personal pronoun is represented by *m*, the second by *n*—*e.g.*, *ime-m*, my wife; *ime-n*, thy wife. In the Syrianian, another Finnish idiom, the second person of the verb, both sigular and plural, is formed by annexing a pronoun of which *n* is the initial and radical *e.g.*, *kery-n*, thou hast done (from *kery*, to do), *kery* (*n*) *nyd*, you have done. In *nyd*, you, we see indications of a singular *ny*, thou, which has been pluralised, as is usual in these languages, by suffixing to it *d* or *t*.

In addition to the allied forms discoverable in these compounds, we find in the Ugrian tongues several instances in which the isolated pronoun of the second person, which is used as a nominative, is plainly allied to the Dravidian. In the Ugro-Ostiak, or that dialect of the Ostiak which is treated of in Castrén's Grammar, thou is *neṇ*; you two, *nīṇ*; you (indefinitely plural), *nen*. Here *ne* or *ni* constitutes the pronominal base, and the final *n* of the singular *neṇ* is a formative or euphonic addition like that which has converted the Dravidian *nī* into *nīn*. The strong pronunciation of this Ostiak final *n* reappears, as we shall see, in Turkish. In other Ostiak dialects we find *num* and *ma*, and also (which is more deserving of notice) *nyn*, with a plural *nynt*. In Vogul we find analogies which are no less remarkable than the above—*e.g.*, *nei*, *ny*, *nan*, *nyngi*, and *nank*. Compare also the Vogul plurals *nen* and *non*.

In the Finnish proper, the only trace of this pronoun which we observe is one which, but for the existence of such express

analogies in other members of the family, we should probably have overlooked. In the plural of the second person of the Finnish verb (*e.g.*, *olette*, ye are, pluralised from *olet*, thou art), the suffixed pronoun corresponds to that of which *t* or *s* is the initial; but in the possessive compounds, in which we should expect to find precisely the same form, we find instead of it a plural possessive of which the initial and radical is *n*. Thus, the expression thy hand, being *kātes*, we should expect to find your hand, *kātesse*, or, more primitively, *kātette*, like the corresponding Magyar *kezetek* (from *tek*, you, another form of *te*), whereas the form actually used in Finnish is *kātenne*. It thus appears that two pronouns of the second person retain their place in the Finnish; one, the singular of which is *si*, or more properly *ti*, the plural *te;* and another, hidden in the ancient compounds, the plural of which is *ne*, and of which, by dialectic rules, the singular must have been *ni*.

Even in Turkish, we shall find traces of the existence of a similar pronoun. In the possessive compounds, the second person singular is not represented, as we should have expected it to be, by *sen*, as the first person singular is by *m;* but *ṅ* or *ng* is used instead (a nasal which corresponds to that of the Ostiak *neṇ*)—*e.g.*, *bāba-ṅ*, thy father; and as the final *m* of *bābā-m* is derived from *mī* or *me*, I, we seem to be obliged to deduce also the final *n* of *bābā-ṅ* from an obsolete *ṅi* or *ṅe*, thou, which is allied to the corresponding forms that have been pointed out in other Scythian tongues. We find this possessive *ṅ* or *ng* not only in the Osmanli Turkish, but even in the Yakute, the Turkish of Siberia.

The same *ṅ* makes its appearance in the personal terminations of the Turkish verb. *sen* is more commonly used than *ṅ;* but *ṅ* is found as the representative of the second person in those verbal forms which must be considered as of greatest antiquity—*e.g.*, in the preterite of the auxiliary substantive verbs, *īdum*, I was, *īduṅ*, thou wast, *īdī*, he was. In the Oriental Turkish the forms corresponding to these are *bōldīm*, *bōldūṅ*, *bōldī;* and the same termination of the second person singular—the nasal *ṅ*—appears in all the preterites of that language. We may compare also the plural forms of this pronominal suffix. The Turkish pronouns are pluralised by changing the final formative *n* into *z*, or rather by adding *z* to the crude base. Thus, we is *biz* (for *miz*), and you is *siz*. In possessive compounds *i* changes into *u;* and hence our father is *bābā-muz*. In the same manner, your father is *bābā-ṅuz*, indicating a supposititious, isolated pronoun, *ṅiz*, you, corresponding to *miz*, we. Whilst *u* is used instead of *i* in Osmanli Turkish, the older and more regular *i* retains its place in the Oriental Turkish—*e.g.*,

uzū-ṅiz, you yourselves; in which you is *ṅiz* or *ngīz,* and from which, when *z,* the sign of plurality, is rejected, we deduce the singular *ṅī* or *ngī.* The same mode of forming the plural termination of the second person appears in all regular Turkish verbs—*e.g.,* compare *kōrkdu-ṇuz,* ye feared, with *kōrkdu-ṅ,* thou fearedest. We see it also in the imperative *kōrkdu-ṅuz,* fear ye. In all these instances, I consider the Turkish *ṅ* or *ng* to be dialectically equivalent to the Finnish *n;* and the pronominal root which is thus found to underlie so many Turkish and Ugrian compounds of the second person looks as if it might be regarded as identical with the Dravidian, Chinese, and Behistun-Scythian pronoun. Even the vibration between *i* and *u,* which we noticed in considering the Dravidian forms of this pronoun, meets us again in Turkish.

In the Himalayan dialects, we can scarcely fail to see Dravidian analogies in the Dhimal *nā,* in the Miri *no,* in the Garo *nāā;* and in the *n* which forms the first and most essential radical of the pronoun of the second person in all the rest of the Lohitic dialects.

Compare also the pronouns of the second person in various Australian dialects—*e.g., ninna, nginnee, nginte;* the duals, *niwa, nura;* and the plural *nimedoo.*

On a comparison of the various forms of this pronoun which have been adduced above, it must be evident that the affinities of the Dravidian *nī* are almost wholly Scythian; and this important circumstance, taken in conjunction with the predominance of Scythian influences over Indo-European in the formation of the first personal pronoun, tends to show that the Dravidian languages stand in closer relationship to the Scythian class of tongues than to the Indo-European.

3. The Reflexive Pronoun 'Self.'

The Dravidian pronouns of the third person are, properly speaking, demonstratives, not personal pronouns; and they will, therefore, be investigated under a subsequent and separate head. The pronoun which is now under consideration is entitled to a place amongst personal pronouns, because it possesses all their characteristics, and is declined precisely in the same manner. It corresponds in meaning to the Sanskrit *svayam,* to the defective Greek ἕ (*he*) and the Latin *sui, sibi, se;* with a range of application which is more extensive than theirs. It may almost, indeed, be regarded as a pronoun of the third person, seeing that, when it stands alone as the nominative of a verb, the verb with which it agrees must always be in the third person.

In Tamil the nominative singular of this pronoun is *tān*: the plural of which (by the usual pronominal change of *n* into *m*) is *tām* (*tāṅgaḷ*); and the inflexion, or basis of the oblique cases (which, taken by itself, has the force of a possessive), is formed, as in the case of the other personal pronouns, by simply shortening the included vowel—*e.g.*, *tăn*, of self, *sui*, or (adjectivally) *suus*, *sua*, *suum*. In all its cases and connections *tān* is found to be more regular and persistent than any other pronoun. The Canarese nominative is *tān* in the ancient, *tān-u* in the modern dialect: the inflexion is formed, as usual, by the shortening of the included vowel; and the crude root *tā* (without the formative *n*) is sometimes used instead of *tān-u*, just as *nā*, of the first person, and *nī*, of the second, are occasionally used instead of *nān-u* and *nīn-u*. In Telugu the reflexive pronoun is more regularly declined, and is more in accordance with the Tamil-Canarese, than any other pronoun of the personal class. The nominative is *tān-u*, the inflexion and possessive *tăn-a*, the plural nominative *tām-u*. *tār-u* may be used instead of *tām-u*. This appears to be a contracted form of *tamar-u*, a form also used in poetical Tamil, and meaning they who belong to one's-self. *tā* may be used at pleasure, as in Canarese, for *tān-u*. A similar regularity of formation and of declension is apparent in all the Dravidian dialects, so that further comparison of the forms of this pronoun seems to be unnecessary. The root or base is evidently *tā* or *ta*, self. The final *n* of the singular, though only a sign of the singular number (like the final *n* of *nā-n*, I, and *nī-n*, thou), is one of great antiquity, for we find it even in the Brahui—*e.g.*, the nominative singular is *tenat* (compare with this the inorganic *t*, which is suffixed to the personal pronouns in Gōnd); genitive *tena*, dative *tene*. *tān*, self (like *nān*, I, and *nīn*, thou), is of no gender.

The use of this pronoun agrees, on the whole, with the use of the corresponding Indo-European reflexive. When not itself used as the nominative of a sentence, it always agrees with the principal nominative and with the governing verb, that is, with that verb which is in agreement with the principal nominative. It is also used as an emphatic addition to each of the personal and demonstrative pronouns, like the Latin *ipse*, the Sanskrit *svayam*, or the English self, in the compounds myself, yourself, &c.—*e.g.*, we say in Tamil *nān-tān*, I myself; *nī-tān*, thou thyself; *avan-tān*, he himself; *avaḷ-tān*, she herself; *adu-tān*, itself or that itself; and *tām*, the plural of *tān*, is in like manner appended to the plurals of each of those pronouns and demonstratives. The reduplicated

form of the inflexion, *tat-tam,* for *tam-tam,* is used to mean 'theirs respectively.' The Sanskrit *svayam* is indeclinable; the Dravidian *tan* is regularly declined, which is a difference worthy of notice. *tān* acquires also an adverbial signification by the addition of the usual adverbial formatives—*e.g., tānāy* (for *tān-āgi*), Tam., of myself, of yourself, or spontaneously; and when appended to nouns of quality or relation its use corresponds to that of our adverbs really, quite, &c.—*e.g., mey tān,* Tam. it is really true, *śari tān,* quite right. In most of the above instances *t* is a sonant, and is pronounced like soft *th* or *d.*

One use to which the reflexive is put is peculiar to these languages—viz., as an honorific substitute for the pronuoun of the second person; and in this connection either the singular, the plural, or the double plural may be used, according to the amount of respect intended to be shown. When used in this manner, it is not annexed to, or compounded with, the pronoun of the second person, but is used alone: and though, when it stands alone, it generally and naturally denotes the third person, yet when thus used honorifically for the second person, the verb with which it is connected receives the pronominal terminations, not of the third person, but of the second. This use of *tān* as an honorific pronoun of the second person, illustrates the possibility, if not the probability, of the ultimate origin of the Indo-European pronoun *tu,* thou, from a demonstrative base.

A very interesting class of Dravidian words, the nature of which has generally been overlooked, has originated from the honorific use of the reflexive pronoun. Its inflexion, or possessive, has been prefixed honorifically to most of the pure Dravidian words which denote parents and other near relations, in a manner which somewhat resembles our modern periphrasis, Her Majesty, your worship, &c. In general the plural *tam* has been used in this connection instead of the singular *tan,* as a prefix of greater honour. In some instances also the crude base *ta* has been used as the first member of the compound instead of the regularly organised *tam.* This class of compounds especially abounds in Tamil, in which also *em* and *nam,* our, and *um,* your, are optionally used in poetry instead of *tam* or *ta,* with the same honorific signification. The following illustrations are from Tamil alone. In the other dialects (except Malayāḷam, which here is in agreement with Tamil), some of the most interesting of these compounds are unknown, or the different numbers of the compound have become so corrupted that it is more difficult to identify them than in Tamil.

tambirān (Mal. *tamburān*), God, lord, the abbot of a Saiva monastery: the nearest English is his lordship; from *tam*, used honorifically, and *pirān*, lord (probably a derivative from the Sans. *pra*, before). *embirān*, our lord, and *umbirān*, your lord, are also used. *pirāṭṭi, tambirāṭṭi*, lady. Comp. *enberumān* (*em*, our, *perumān*, great person), our lord, literally our great one, a title common in poetry and in inscriptions (fem. *perumāṭṭi*, lady).

tagappan, father; from *tam*, used honorifically, and *appan*, father. This word is sometimes pronounced by Brahmans in the ancient manner, *tamappan;* in Malayāḷam it is both *tagappan* and *tammappan*: nearest English, his fatherhood.

tandei, father, his fatherhood; a more classical word than *tagappan*, yet almost as common (Can. *tande*, Tel. *taṇḍri*, Mal. *tanda*). There can be no doubt that the first portion of this word is the honorific reflexive *tam*, seeing that we find also in the Tamil poets *endei* (*em*), *nandei* (*nam*), our father; and *undei* (*um*), *nundei* (*num*), your father. Comp. also *mundei*, ancestor, first father, from *mun*, before. It is difficult to explain *tei* (*dei*), the second member of the compound. It is plain that it means father; but the only word for father at all resembling it in Tamil is *attan*, father (also *āttan*, a superior person; comp. *attei*, *āttāl*, mother). If the *tei* of *tandei*, &c., is connected with this word, it must have come from an older abstract form, *attei*, meaning either father or mother, according to the connection (as *tannei*, mother, elder sister, is also used in the poets for elder brother); and this word *attei* we might possibly derive from the verbal root *attu*, to join, to lean upon. (See "Glossarial Affinities, Sanskrit and Scythian.")

tāy, mother, her maternity; from *tā*, the base of *tam*, used honorifically, and *āyi*, mother (*ta-āyi*); Can. *tāyi*. *āyi*, mother, matron, lady, is a more classical word than *tāy*, though retained in many compounds in daily use. Another form is *āy* (Tam.) This is identical in sound with a verbal root signifying to select; but it is difficult to suppose that select, pretty, can have been the original meaning of one of the most ancient patriarchal Dravidian words for matron, mother. Another and perhaps more probable derivation is from *ā*, ancient Tam., cow, from which *āyi*,

fem., would naturally be formed, with the meaning of mistress of the cows. Comp. *duhitṛi,* Sans., a daughter, literally a milkmaid. *āchchi,* matron, is a South Malayāḷam form for *āyi. āyar,* Tam.-Mal., the epicene plural of this word, is a common poetical epithet for cowherds.

tammei, mother; from *ta,* honorific for *tam,* and *ammei,* an honorific word for mother, matron (also *amman, ammā, ammāl*).

tannei, mother; from *ta,* honorific, and *annei,* an honorific word for mother, probably identical in origin with *ammei.* This word means not only mother, but also both elder sister and elder brother.

tameiyan, elder brother, his eldership; from *tam,* used honorifically, and *eiyan* (sometimes *ayan*), a senior or elder, and therefore meaning also father, elder brother, or *guru.* Another very common word for elder brother is *aṇṇan, aṇṇal,* from *aṇṇu,* to resort to, to lean upon (Tel. *anna,* Can. *aṇṇa*). Comp. *tammun* (poetical), an elder brother, from *tam* and *mun,* before, his precedence-ship.

tamakkei, elder sister, her eldership; from *tam* and *akkei,* elder sister (also mother). The ordinary Tamil forms are *akkā* and *akkāḷ.*

tambi, younger brother; from *tam,* honorific, and *pi,* a word or portion of a word of doubtful origin and meaning. The Telugu *tammuḍu* and the Canarese *tamma* throw no light on the meaning of *pi* (Mal. both *tambi* and *tambān*). Comp. with *pi, peidal,* Tam. and Mal., a boy, literally that which is fresh and green. The most probable explanation, though one which is not free from difficulty, is that *pi* is for *pin,* after. Comp. *tammun,* Tam., from *tam* and *mun,* before, a poetical word for elder brother. *tambi* is explained by the native lexicographers as meaning *pin-piṛandōn,* he who has been born afterwards. They also give *pinnōn,* he who is after, as a synonym for *tambi,* and *pinnei,* the corresponding feminine or neuter abstract, as a synonym for *tangei,* younger sister. Probably *pi* was the primitive shape of *pin,* as *mu* was certainly the primitive form of *mun*; still it is difficult to see how the formative *n* (changing to *r* in *piṛagu,* after), which was retained in *mun* when used as the final member of a compound, happened to be omitted altogether from *pin.* Equivalent forms of this word in poetical Tamil are *embi,* our younger brother, *umbi* and *numbi,* your younger brother; probably

also *nambi* (which see) is to be regarded as another form of the same word.

tangei, younger sister; from *tam*, used honorifically, and *kei*, a word of doubtful origin (Mal. *tanga*, Can. *tangi*, Coorg *tange*). It would seem from the Tamil poetical word *nangei*, a lady, that *kei* does not mean one that is young, or one that comes afterwards, as I have supposed the *pi* of *tambi* to mean, but must have had a meaning in some way suitable to be applied to women in general (*mangei*, a girl, looks as if it included the same *kei*); yet, on the other hand, we find in the Tamil poets this very word *kei*, in the shape of *keiyei*, an abstract noun, used as a synonym for *tangei*, a younger sister. This appears to settle the question as regards the *meaning* of *kei*; but the *origin* of the word continues doubtful. It cannot be connected with *keimmei*, *keimbeṉ*, Tam., a widow, that word being most naturally derived from *kei* (another shape of which is *kaśu*), to be bitter; hence also the noun *kei*, adversity. We seem, therefore, to be obliged to fall back on *kei*, a hand, in the sense of a help, a handmaid, and to explain *tangei* as meaning her handmaidship*—a meaning which suits well the position a younger sister would naturally have assigned to her. The corresponding Telugu word *chellelu*, younger sister, includes the meaning of playful, petted.

nambi, a title of inferior priests, meaning probably, like *tambi*, younger brother (which see). Comp. *nambūri*, properly *nambūtiri*, the title of a class of Malayāḷam Brahmans. Comp. also Telugu *tammali*, a petty priest.

I notice in Coorg two instances of *tam* used honorifically, which are not in Tamil—viz., *tammāvu*, father-in-law, from *tam* and *māvu* (Tam. *māman*), the same, and *tammāvi*, mother-in-law, from *tam* and *māvi* (Tam. *māmi*), the same.

Another remarkable use of the reflexive pronoun is the adoption of its possessive, or inflexional base, *tan*, of self, or self's, as the base of the abstract noun *tan-mei* or *tanam*, quality or nature, literally selfness. *tanam* is the form of this word used in Telugu. Tamil uses both *tanam* and *tanmei*; but the latter can stand alone,

* Compare with this meaning of a younger sister the name of spinster, which is applied by ourselves to unmarried females; and also the derivation attributed to *duhitṛi* (*duhitar*), Sans. daughter, viz., a milkmaid, the milkmaid of the family.

whilst *tanam* is used only in compounds. *mei* is the regular formative of Tamil abstracts; like our English *ness*, the Latin *tas*, or the Sanskrit *twam*. *tanmei* is identical in meaning with the Sanskrit *tatvam*, nature, property, which is derived from *tad* or *tat*, that, and is possibly allied to it in origin, though indirectly.

tā or *ta*, the base of the Dravidian reflexive pronoun, has no connection with, or resemblance to, any other pronoun of this family of languages, though it is unquestionably a pure Dravidian root. If we look at its meaning and range of application, it must, I think, have originated from some emphatic demonstrative base; and it will be found that there is no lack, either in the Indo-European or in the Scythian family, of demonstratives closely resembling *ta* or *ta-n*. We see examples of this resemblance in the Sanskrit *tat*, that (from *ta*, the demonstrative base, and *t*, the sign of the neuter singular); in *tadā*, then, at that time; and also (with the *t* weakened into *s*) in *sah*, he, *sā*, she. The reflexive pronouns of this family, *sva*, *se*, &c., are probably derived from the same base, though considerably altered. Compare also the old Greek article, which is properly a demonstrative pronoun, τός (*tos*), τῆ (*tē*), τό (*to*), and the corresponding German *der*, *die*, *das*. We find the same or a similar demonstrative (with an annexed nasal, as in the Dravidian *tan*) in the Doric τῆν-ος (*tēn-os*), he, that, which is the form from which the Æolian κῆν-ος (*kēn-os*), and the later Greek ἐ-κεῖν-ος (*e-kein-os*), is supposed to have been derived (by a change similar to that by which the Hebrew pronominal suffix *kā* was derived from *tā*). The resemblance between τῆν (*tēn*) and *tān* is certainly remarkable; and may not this Dravidian reflexive pronoun, which is used honorifically as a pronoun of the second person, throw some light on that curious indeclinable Greek word which is sometimes used as a form of polite address, viz., τᾶν (*tan*) or ὦ τᾶν (*o tan*), Sir, My good friend, &c., and which has been derived by some etymologists from τῆν-ος (*tēn-os*), by others from an obsolete vocative of τῦ (*tu*) or τύνη (*tunē*)?

The same demonstrative base, with a similar final *n*, appears also in the Old Persian *tan's* (for *tana-s*), he; and in the Scythian tongues we find it, either nasalised or pure, in the Finnish remote demonstrative *tuo*, and the proximate *tama*; in the Lappish *tat*, he, *tan*, of him (root *ta*); and in the Ostiak remote demonstrative *toma*, and proximate *tema*. The reflexive pronoun is used by the Seoni Gōnd both as a reflexive and as a demonstrative. Thus, in the "Song of Sandsumjee," in Dr Manger's paper (*Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*), *ten* means him (not *se*, but *illum*); *tunna*,

his; and *tāne,* her and it. The reflexive signification also appears in the same song in *tunwa* (Tam. *tan*), *suus-a-um.* This seems to indicate that *tā* was originally a demonstrative. Even in Tamil we find, I think, a distinct trace of the demonstrative signification of the reflexive *ta* still surviving in the use in poetry of the oblique cases of *tān, tām,* instead of the oblique cases of the nouns to which they belong, in a manner similar to the use of *adu,* it, with its cases—*e.g., marandanei* (*tanei,* the accusative of *tān*) (*k*)*kaṇḍēn,* I saw the tree, instead of *maramadei,* the other poetical form, or the colloquial *marattei.* (See the Noun—inflexional formative *am.*)

The strongest argument, perhaps, for considering the Dravidian *ta* or *tān,* self, to be allied to the Sanskrit-Scythian demonstrative *ta,* is the circumstance that *tan,* the inflexional base of *tān,* is used, as has been already mentioned, in the formation of the word *tanmei* or *tanam,* quality, selfness, in precisely the same manner as the Sanskrit *tad,* that, which forms the basis of the corresponding Sanskrit word *tatvam,* quality, quiddity, thatness. The Dravidian word may have been, and probably was, framed in imitation of the Sanskrit (for so abstract a term is necessarily of late origin), but it cannot have been directly derived from the Sanskrit word. It seems very probable that both bases are remotely allied; and if they are so allied, their alliance carries us back to a very remote period; for whilst the Dravidian reflexive pronoun retains the original demonstrative *t,* the corresponding reflexive in every one of the Indo-European tongues (*sva, se,* &c.) had already allowed *t* to be weakened into *s,* before those tongues separated from the parent stem.

4. Pluralisation of the Personal and Reflexive Pronouns.

I class the plurals of these pronouns together because they are formed from the same pronominal bases as their singulars (which have already been investigated), and because they are all formed on one and the same plan, viz., either by the addition of a pluralising particle (generally *m*) to the pronominal base, or by the substitution of that particle for the singular formative. Exceptions exist, but they are few and unimportant.

Comparison of dialects.—In the classical dialect of Tamil, the plurals of the personal and reflexive pronouns (*nān,* I; *nī,* thou; *tān,* self) are *yām* or *nām,* we; *nīr, nīyir,* or *nīvir* (instead of the more regular *nīm*), you; and *tām,* selves. In the colloquial dialect a double plural has got into extensive use, which is formed by the

addition to the classical plurals of *gaḷ*, the sign of plurality which especially belongs to the class of irrationals. In consequence of the existence of these two sets of plurals, a difference in their use and application has gradually established itself. The classical or pure and simple plurals are now used in the colloquial dialect as honorific singulars; whilst the double plurals—*nāṅgaḷ* (*nām-gaḷ*), we; *nīṅgaḷ* (*nīm-gaḷ*), you; and *tāṅgaḷ* (*tām-gaḷ*), selves—are used as the ordinary plurals. A double plural has crept into Telugu also—*e.g.*, *mīralu* (for *mīru*), you, *vāralu* (for *vāru*), they. Another point of difference between *nām* and *nāṅgaḷ*, the two Tamil plurals of the first personal pronoun, will be inquired into under a subsequent head. The formation of these secondary double plurals of the Tamil and Telugu is in harmony with a usage which is observed in some of the Gaurian languages. Of the Oriya, Mr Beames writes (*Indian Antiquary* for October 1872):—"The plural of *mu*, I, is *amhe* (pronounced *ambhe*), and that of *tu*, thou, is *tumhe* (*tumbhe*); but as the learned have taken *ambhe* and *tumbhe* into use as equivalents for I and thou, they have had to make fresh plurals, *ambhemāne, tumbhemāne.* Din Krishna (a poet who lived at the close of the fifteenth century) uses only the two first (*ambhe*, and *tumbha*), and always in their proper ancient signification. The same process is observed in the Turkish. In that language *ben*, I, is regularly pluralised into *biz*, we; and *sen*, thou, into *siz*, you; but those plurals are sometimes pluralised over again by the addition of *ler*, the ordinary suffix of plurality—*e.g.*, *biz-ler*, we, *siz-ler*, you."

In the verbal inflexions the initial consonant of each of the pronominal plurals (as of the corresponding singulars) disappears; and the pronoun is represented solely by the included vowel and the sign of plurality. The personal termination of the first person plural in the colloquial dialect is *ōm*; in the classical dialect *am*, *ām*, *em*, *ēm*. The termination of the second person plural is *īr* or *ir*, the representative of *nīr*. The reflexive pronoun *tām*, selves, has no place in the verbal inflexions. Of the three High Tamil or classical plurals which have been mentioned—*nām*, *nīr* and *tām*—two form their plurals by substituting *m* for the final *n* of the singular, or by adding *m* to the crude root. This I consider to be the regular method of pluralising the personal pronouns; and the use of *nīr*, you, instead of *nīm*, is an abnormal exception. This appears on comparing it with *nīṅ-gaḷ*, the corresponding plural in the colloquial dialect, which is formed from *nīm*—the plural that is required by rule, and which is found in classical Canarese. It

also appears from the circumstance that *nīr* is not the base of the oblique cases of the plural of this pronoun in any dialect of the Tamil. *m* constitutes the sign of plurality instead of *r* in the oblique cases of *nīr*, precisely as in those of *nām*, we. *nām* is represented in the oblique cases in the classical dialect by *nam* and *em;* and by *nam* and *eṅgaḷ* (*em-gaḷ*) in the colloquial dialect. In like manner, the oblique cases of the plural of the second personal pronoun are *um* and *num* in the higher dialect; and *uṅgaḷ* (*um-gaḷ*) in the colloquial. *nin*, the abbreviation of *nīn*, being used in the classics as the inflexion of the old singular, we should have expected to find the corresponding *nim* (from *nīm*) in the plural: but in the oblique cases *i* has given place to *u*.

The final *n* of *nān*, *nīn*, *tān*, may be omitted in the nominative in several of the Dravidian dialects, but the final *m* of the plurals (though softened in the colloquial Canarese to *vu*) is never omitted. The reason is that the singular might often be taken for granted, or would appear sufficiently from the context, whilst, if the plural were meant, it was more necessary that it should be distinctly expressed.

In Canarese the plurals of all the personal pronouns are formed in the classical dialect with perfect and beautiful regularity—*e.g.*, *ān*, I, *ām*, we; *nīn*, thou, *nīm*, you; *tān*, self, *tām*, selves. In the oblique cases the included vowel is shortened as usual; and the only other change which takes place is in the weakening (as in Tamil) of the radical *a* of the nominative of the first person into *e* in the oblique cases—*e.g.*, *emma*, our. In this particular, *namma*, the form which has survived in the colloquial dialect, is more regular, and probably more ancient. The colloquial dialect substantially agrees with the classical, the chief difference consisting in the softening, in the nominatives alone, of the final *m* into *vu*—*e.g.*, *nāvu*, *nīvu*, and *tāvu*, instead of *nām*, *nīm*, and *tām*. In the personal terminations of the verb, the modern dialect uses *ēve*, *evu*, and *ēvu*, as representatives of *nāvu*, we; the *e* of which forms corresponds to *ēn*, the termination of the Tamil singular. This final *vu* of the modern Canarese is not euphonic, like the *vu* of the Telugu singular, *nī-vu*, thou; but is softened from, and is the representative of, an older *m*. Though *m* is the true sign of the plural of the second person, as of the other personal pronouns, *r* is used instead in all the Canarese verbal terminations, as in those of all the other dialects. The ancient Canarese uses *ir*, the modern *iri* and *īri*.

In Telugu the second personal pronoun is pluralised in the

nominative by *r* instead of *m*—*e.g.*, *mīr-u*, higher dialect *īru*, you; and in Telugu, as in all the other Dravidian dialects, *r* invariably forms the plural of the terminations of the second person of the indicative mood of the verb. It will be seen, however, in the sequel that there are indications in Telugu that the use of *r* in the nominative plural of the pronoun is abnormal.

The *m* which constitutes the pronominal sign of plurality in Telugu is not softened into *vu* in the termination of the first person plural of the verbs, as in Canarese. That termination is *amu*, *āmu*, *emu*, *ēmu*; and in the preterite it takes the shape of *imi*, through the influence of *ti*, the preterite formative. The plural of the second person is represented by *āru*, *īri*, *eru*, *ēru*, *uru*, and *ru*; of which *r*, the pluralising suffix of *mīru*, you, is the only essential element. Telugu differs from Tamil-Canarese in occasionally using *tār-u*, softened from *tamar-u*, instead of *tām-u*, as the nominative plural of the reflexive pronoun. This irregularity, however, like that of the pluralisation of the second personal pronoun by means of *r* instead of *m*, disappears in the oblique cases; the plural inflexion or possessive of this pronoun being *tam-a*, in Telugu, as in the other dialects. *tamar-u* is properly a possessive noun. The Telugu plurals *mēm-u*, we, and *mīr-u* (or *mīralu*), you, present some peculiarities which require to be investigated.

In common with their singulars, the inflexions of these pronouns reject altogether the final consonant—the sign of number—and retain the long included vowel of the nominative unaltered. Thus, the inflexion or possessive of *mēmu* is *mā*, and that of *mīru*, *mī*—corresponding to the singular inflexion *nā* and *nī*. The objective case, however, follows the rule of the Tamil and Canarese—*e.g.*, *mamu* or *mammu*, us, *mimu* or *mimmu*, you. It may, therefore be concluded that the mode in which the inflexions *mī* and *mā* are formed is irregular and of comparatively late origin; and that in Telugu, as in the other dialects, *m* is to be regarded as the ancient and regular sign of the plural of the personal pronouns.

The chief peculiarity of these pronouns (*mēm-u* and *mīr-u*) in Telugu, is the change of the initial *n* into *m*. How is it to be accounted for that the Telugu plurals have *m* as their initial, instead of *n*?—*mēm-u* and *mīr-u*, instead of *nēm-u* and *nīm-u* or *nīr-u*—the sign of plurality prefixed, instead of being suffixed? I believe that this *m* is not to be considered as the representative of an older pronominal root; but that it is merely the result of the euphonic attraction of the final *m*, which constitutes the regular sign of plurality. If the plural of the Telugu first person alone had *m* for

its basis, we might possibly suppose that *m* to be radical and primitive, on account of *m* being, as we have seen, the basis of the corresponding Scytho-Sanskrit pronoun; but we find the same initial *m* in the plural of the Telugu second person also. Now, as it can scarcely be doubted that *nī*, the singular of that pronoun (agreeing as it does with the Behistun-Scythian and the Chinese, as well as with many of the Finnish forms) faithfully represents the earliest organised form of the Dravidian pronoun of the second person, it seems evident that *mīm* (the supposititious nominative from which the objective *mim-mu* has been derived) must have been altered from *nīm*. We may, therefore, conclude that the same process must have taken place in the pronoun of the first person also. Telugu is more addicted to harmonic changes than any other Dravidian dialect. It alters both vowels and consonants for harmonic reasons so frequently, that the change from *nēm-u* to *mēm-u*, and from *nīm-u* to *mīm-u* would be thought by Telugu people a very natural and easy one. It occasionally drops also the initial *n* or *m* of these words.

We have seen that the first person forms its plural in all the Dravidian idioms, properly so called, by changing the final formative of the singular *n* into *m*; and that the second person originally formed its plural in the same manner—viz., by substituting *m* for *n*, though the verbal endings and the nominative of the isolated pronoun in some of the dialects are now found to prefer *r*. We have seen that the reflexive pronoun also forms its plural by discarding *n* and annexing *m*. Consequently we are now entitled to regard *m* as the most regular and ancient sign of plurality used by the Dravidian personal pronouns.

Origin of Pluralising Particles. (1.) *Origin of 'r.'*—We have already seen, under the head of the "Pluralisation of Nouns," that the epicene plural of the Dravidian languages is *ar* or *ir*; and that the *a* and *i* of *ar* and *ir* are probably the remote and proximate demonstrative bases, *a* and *i*, to which *r*, a sign of plurality, has been appended. *ar* and *ir*, we have seen, may be regarded as equivalent to the more fully developed *a(v)ar*, *i(v)ar*, those people, these people. But how has a termination which is naturally appropriate to the third person only found its way into the second? In this manner, I apprehend. *nīr*, Tam., you, takes also, as we have seen, in the Tamil classics, the form of *nīvir*, and *nīyir*, and in this instance I have no doubt that the more classical form is also the more ancient. *nī-(y)-ir* or *nī-(v)-ir* will thus mean thou+they, and this compound will naturally acquire the signification of you.

The Sanskrit *yushmē*, you (*yu*+*smē* = thou+they), is supposed to have a similar origin. The Tamil word, however, is still more suitable than the Sanskrit one to express the meaning required. *ir* in Tamil means not, as the Sanskrit *smē* is supposed to do, they, indiscriminately, without reference to the distance or proximity of the persons referred to, but, they who are standing nearer than certain other people. It means not those people, but these people. The Tamil *nī-(v)-ir* means, therefore, thou+these people; and this supplies us with a more suitable origin for the word used for 'you' than is to be found in Sanskrit, or, I believe, any other language. An alternative explanation is that the *ir* of the plural pronouns is identical in origin with *ir*, two. On this supposition *nīyir*, *nīvir*, *nīr*, would mean 'two thous,' and would have been used first as a dual, then as a plural.

(2.) *Origin of 'm.'*—Can the origin of *m*, the most distinctive sign of the plural of the Dravidian personal and reflexive pronouns, be discovered? It is only in the event of our being unable to discover its origin in the Dravidian languages themselves, that it will be desirable or necessary for us to seek for it elsewhere. It will be found, I think, to be capable of satisfactory explanation. It appears to me to have been derived from *um*, the conjunctive or copulative particle of almost all the Dravidian dialects. Being a conjunctive it is used for conjoining person to person—that is, for pluralising. (See "The Plural Imperative.") This particle is *um* in Tamil and Malayāḷam, *um* or *am*, more commonly *um*, in classical Canarese, *ū* in colloquial Canarese, *u* in Telugu. The Telugu particle takes euphonically the shape of *yu* or *nu*, according to the preceding vowel, but in itself is simply *u*, and identical with the Tamil-Malayāḷam-Canarese *um*, the *m* of which appears to be the ordinary formative *m* of neuter nouns. *u* is best explained as the intermediate demonstrative base *u*, correlative to the remote demonstrative base *a* and the proximate *i*. Tuḷu stands alone in using *lā* as its copulative particle. Whatever be the origin of *um*, its use as a copulative particle is of very great antiquity. Like the Latin *que*, it is incapable of being used separately, and is agglutinated to the word it qualifies. On the supposition of the final *m*, which constitutes the sign of plurality in Dravidian pronouns, personal and reflexive, being a relic of the copulative *um*, *nām*, we, and *nīm*, you, resolve themselves into *nā-um*, I-and, *egoque*, and *nī-um*, thou-and, *tuque*. This view is corroborated by the extensive use which is avowedly made of this very *um* in the formation of Tamil distributive and universal nouns and pronouns. Thus,

evanum, every one, *quisque; engum*, everywhere, *ubique;* and *epporudum*, always, every time ; are unquestionably derived from *evan*, who, *engu*, where, and *epporudu*, what time, with the addition in each instance of the conjunctive particle *um*, and ; so that the compound pronoun 'every one' is regularly expressed in Tamil, like *quisque* in Latin, by 'who, and—'; everywhere, like *ubique*, by 'where, and—'; always, by 'what time, and—.' In the same manner *um* is annexed as an auxiliary to some affirmative universals for the purpose of widening their application—*e.g.*, *ellā-(v)-um*, Malayāḷam, all, literally 'all and—,' from *ellvā*, all, and *um*, and. This form is abbreviated in Tamil into *ellām;* which is regarded and treated by grammarians as a neuter plural. The corresponding epicene plural is *ellār-um*, all persons. In Tamil poetry *elām* is regarded as a plural of the first person, meaning all we, in which *ām* probably represents *ām*, we. If then the addition of *um*, abbreviated to *m*, undoubtedly constitutes pronominal distributives and universals, may not the sign of plurality which is employed by the personal pronouns be an abbreviation of the same *um?* In poetical Tamil, personal verbs are sometimes pluralised by the addition of *um*—*e.g.*, *śeygu*, I will do ; *śeygum* (*śeyg'-um*), we, ye, they will do. So also *śeygum vandēm*, we have done (so and so) and come. Here *śeygu* is an old future or aoristic verbal participle, capable of being used also as a finite verb, and we find that by the addition of *um* it is pluralised, so as to correspond with the more fully expressed plural *vandēm*, we came. In the same dialect of Tamil *śeydu* (which in the modern colloquial dialect means having done) is sometimes used in the sense of I did, and *śeyd-um* in the sense of we did. We have here distinct and evidently very ancient traces of the use of *um* as a sign of personal plurality. This use of *um* appears still more distinctly in the second person plural of the imperative of Tamil verbs in the colloquial dialect, which is much used as an honorific singular—*e.g.*, *kēḷ* (the root used as the first person singular imperative), hear thou; *kēḷum*, hear ye. This form has been still further vulgarised by the addition of *gaḷ*, the sign of plurality belonging to irrational nouns—*e.g.*, *kēḷuṅgaḷ*, hear ye. Compare the Telugu honorific singular (properly a plural) *rammu*, come ye, the regular singular of which is *rā*, come thou. Neither the Tamil *um* of the second person imperative, nor the corresponding Telugu *mu* or *urnu*, can be satisfactorily explained by identifying it with the Tamil *um*, the inflexion of the pronoun of the second person plural. It is best explained by identifying it with the *um* by which that inflexion *um* itself (from *nīm*), together

with the other plurals of the personal and reflexive pronouns, was originally pluralised.

A parallel instance of the use of a copulative conjunction as a sign of plurality appears in Ostiak, in which the sign of the dual (*ga*, *kq̦*, *gai*, &c.) is derived by Castrén from *ka* or *ki*, also.

Extra-Dravidian Relationship.—We now proceed to inquire whether the final *m*, the distinctive Dravidian plural of the personal pronouns, forms the plural of this class of words in any other family of languages.

m having a tendency to be weakened into *n* (of which there are many examples in the terminations of Tamil nouns), and *m* and *n* being generally equivalent nasals, the use of a final *n* as a sign of the plural of pronouns may possibly be equivalent to that of *m*. If so, we may adduce as examples of plurals resembling the Dravidian the Brahui *nan*, the Chaldee *anān*, and the Ostiak *men*, we; as also the Persian *tan*, you. A slight trace of the use of *m* as a sign of the plural may be noticed in the Beluchi *mimiken*, we, when compared with *menik*, I. In the Ostiak, a Finno-Ugrian dialect, the first person plural of the verb terminates in *m*, whilst the plural of the corresponding pronoun terminates in *n*. On comparing the Finnish proper *olen*, I am, with *olemme*, we are, we are struck with their resemblance to the Dravidian rule. The resemblance, however, is illusory; for the *m* of the Finnish *me* is a sign of personality, not of plurality. *me*, we, is the plural of *ma*, the old Finnish I; of which *na* (from which the *n* of *olen* arises) is, as I have shown, an euphonic modification. We can scarcely indeed expect to find in the pronouns of the Scythian languages any sign of plurality perfectly corresponding to that of the Dravidian *m*; for in those languages the personal pronouns are generally pluralised by a change of the final vowel, not by any change or addition of consonants—*e.g.*, Manchu *bi*, I, *be*, we; Magyar *te*, thou, *ti*, you; Ostiak and Finnish *ma*, I, *me* (or *men*), we.

I have reserved till now the consideration of a series of remarkable analogies which run through the whole of the Indo-European family of languages, and which are found also in the Gaurian or North Indian vernaculars. In those languages we find very frequent use of *m* in the plurals of the personal pronouns, in which it either constitutes the final consonant, or occupies a place of evident importance; and this *m* in some instances appears to replace a final *n* or *ñ* which is used by the corresponding singulars.

In the vernaculars of Northern India we find the following in-

stances of the use of *n* or *ñ* in the singular and *m* in the plural. Hindi *maiñ*, I; *ham*, we; *tū*, *tūñ*, or *taiñ*, thou; *tum*, you. Gujarāthi *huñ*, I; *hame*, we; *tūñ*, thou; *tame*, you. Marāṭhi *tūñ*, thou; *tumhi*, you. In Bengali and Oriya, *ñ* disappears from the terminations of the singulars, but in the plural *m* retains its place as in the other dialects—*e.g.*, Bengali *toma* or *tumi*, the inflexional base of the plural of the second person; and Oriya *tumbha*, the base of the double plural, *tumbhamāne*. The same distinctive *m* appears in the Pāli-Prākrit, the stock from which the Gaurian vernaculars radiated, in *tumhe*, you, *amhe*, we. Compare also the new Persian *shumā*, you, and the final *m* of *hastēm*, we are. I quote the following from an article by Mr Beames in the *Indian Antiquary* for November 1872:—"*hām*, plural of personal pronoun, first person; Hindi, *ham*. This is a peculiarly instructive form. The origin of this word in all the seven languages (of Northern India) is the Prākrit *amhē*. The Oriya, with its usual fondness for archaisms, still retains this form almost unchanged in *āmbhe*, where the *b* is merely the natural thickening of the pronunciation after *m*. Hindi has thrown the *h* backwards to the beginning of the word, making *hamē*. In *hām* we have the tendency, natural to Bengali, towards lengthening the short vowel, so that this form may be regarded as transitional between middle Hindi and the modern Bengali *āmi*."

Similar and very striking analogies meet us in Greek. Compare the singulars ἔγων (*egōn*) and τοῦν (*toun*), ἐγώνη (*egōnē*) and τοῦνη (*tounē*), with the plurals ἦμ-εῖς (*hēm-eis*) and ὕμ-εῖς (*hum-eis*). This resemblance, too, is strengthened when the vowels of the Greek plurals are compared with some of the corresponding Dravidian ones—*e.g.*, compare ἡμ-εῖς (*hēm-eis*) with the Telugu *ēm-u*, we; and ὑμ-εῖς (*hum-eis*) with *um*, which is the base of the oblique cases of the Tamil plural of the second person. It also deserves to be noticed, that in the Greek, Persian, Gaurian, &c., *m* is not used indiscriminately by all nouns, or even by all pronouns, as a sign of plurality in general, but is invariably restricted to the pronouns of the first and second persons—a usage which precisely accords with that of the Dravidian languages.

A strong case for regarding the *m* of the above-mentioned Aryan idioms as closely allied to the *m* which constitutes the most distinctive sign of the plural of the three personal pronouns in the Dravidian family (in Canarese, *ām*, we; *nīm*, you; *tām*, selves) has now been established. I do not wonder, therefore, that the late Mr Gover (in a privately printed paper on the Dravidian personal pronouns) considered that there was "no possible doubt as

to their real and intimate connection"; or that Dr Pope, in his "Outlines of the Tuda Grammar" (p. 5), should have said, though with hesitancy, "Nor can I think it clear that *ōm* (Tuda, we) is not related to the Sanskrit *vayam,* or to the Greek ἡμ-εῖς (*hēm-eis*) or ἄμμες, (*ammes*) and Vedic *asme.*" The evidence of relationship appears to me to be weakened by this reference to *vayam.* We have already seen that the *am* of *vayam* is properly a sign of the neuter singular, constituting *vayam,* we, like *yūyam,* you, an abstract noun—plural, indeed, in signification, but singular in form. It has been seen, also, that the same *am* appears in *aham,* I; *tvam,* thou; and *svayam,* self. When *vayam* and *yūyam* are set aside as not really related to the Dravidian forms, the probability of the existence of a real relationship between the Dravidian *ām, yām,* we, and the Græco-Vedic ἄμμ-ις, (*amm-is*), *asm-e,* and still more between the Dravidian *ām* and the Bengali *hām, āmi,* becomes, I admit, very great; so also the probability of a relationship between *um,* the Dravidian oblique form of you, and the Græco-Vedic ὔμμ-ες (*umm-es*), *yushm-e,* and the *um* of the Hindi *tum.* I feel still, however, obliged to say, as I said in the first edition, that, on a more extended comparison and on closer consideration, this resemblance appears to me first to diminish and then to disappear. The more it is examined, the more the difficulties in the way of its reception appear to increase. Perhaps, indeed, no better illustration could be found of the danger of confiding in apparent resemblances, however close and exact, and of the necessity of tracing words back to their earliest shapes before concluding that resemblances imply relationship.

We have seen that the plural *m* of the Dravidian personal pronoun resolves itself most naturally into *um,* the Dravidian conjunctive particle, and, also. What is the history of the plural *m* of the Græco-Gaurian personal pronouns? How far soever we trace back the Dravidian *m,* it is found to sustain no change, and to exhibit no signs of being descended from anything extrinsic to itself. On the other hand, though the *m* of the Greek and the Gaurian presents itself to us simply as *m* in these languages; yet on carrying our comparison a few stages further back, and inquiring into its origin and history, we find it losing its simplicity, and presenting itself to us as only one member in a composite formative, to which the Dravidian *m* bears no resemblance.

ἡμεῖς (*hēmeis*) and ὑμεῖς (*humeis*), as is well known, are not the oldest forms of the Greek plurals. For ἡμεῖς (*hēmeis*), the Doric and Æolic dialects have ἅμες (*hames*), ἄμμες (*ammes*), and ἄμμε (*amme*); for ὑμεῖς (*humeis*) they have ὕμες (*humes*), ὔμμες (*ummes*), and

ὔμμε (*umme*); of which forms the oldest and most reliable appear to be ἄμμες (*ammes*), or its uninflected type ἄμμε (*amme*) and ὔμμες (*ummes*) or ὔμμε (*umme*). In like manner the Gaurian forms of the plurals of the personal pronouns are not the oldest forms of these plurals we have to deal with. The Hindi *ham,* the Gujarāthi *hame,* the old Bengali *hām,* the modern Bengali *āmi,* the Oriya *āmbhe,* are all derived from the Prākrit *amhe.* The Greek ἄμμε (*amme*) and the Prākrit *amhe* are evidently identical; but what is the origin of both? In Zend the *m* and *h* of the Prākrit *amhe* change places, so that *ahme* may have been an older form. The plural nominative in Zend is *vaem,* answering to the later Sanskrit *vayam;* but all the oblique cases are built upon *ahma* (pointing to a nominative *ahme*)—*e.g.,* ablat. *ahmat* (Sans. *asmat*). Already the Dravidian *m* is losing its resemblance to the Aryan; but when we come to the next stage, the Vedic-Sanskrit *asme* (*a+sme*), the fountain-head of all these pronominal forms, the resemblance appears almost wholly to vanish. The Aryan genealogical tree is very clearly made out: *asme, ahme, amhe,* αμμε (*amme*), ἄμμϊ-ες=ἥμεῖς (*ammi-es=hēmeis*); *āmbhe, hame, ham, hām, āmi.* In the Dravidian languages, on the other hand, even if we trace our way back to the time when the Tamilians and the Khonds were still one people, inhabiting the same districts and speaking the same tongue—a time earlier by many ages than the degradation of the Prākrits into the modern Gaurian vernaculars —we still find an unvarying *m* (irresoluble except into *um*) used for the pluralisation of the personal pronouns.

In like manner, on comparing ὔμμες (*ummes*) or ὔμμε (*umme*), you, with the Zend *yūshem* (in the oblique cases *yusma* or *yūsma*), and with the Vedic-Sanskrit *yushme* (for *yusme*), it is equally obvious that *yusme* is the root of the whole. *yusme,* you, the plural of *tu,* thou, has probably been softened from *tusme=tu-sme* (as *asme* from *masme=ma-sme*); and this supposititious *tusme* (weakened into *tuhmė,* like *asme* into *ahme*) becomes a reality when we turn to the Prākrit *tumhe,* you, from which comes directly the Gaurian *tumhi, tumbha, tame, tum,* &c. Compare also the New Persian *shumā.*

When we find that the Dravidian *m* or *um* is to be compared, not with the apparently identical *m* of the Gaurian *ham* and *tum,* but with the Vedic-Sanskrit *sme* of *asme* and *yushme,* it is evident that the improbability of *m* or *um* being identical with *sme,* or nearly related to it, becomes very great. This improbability increases when the uses of *sme* and those of *m* are compared.

sme is a compound consisting of two members, *sma* and *e*, of which *e* alone is characteristic of the plural. *sma*, which contains the *m* that has been supposed to be connected with the Dravidian sign of plurality, is a particle the origin of which is doubtful, and the force of which is still more doubtful. When used as an isolated particle, it gives to the present tense of verbs a species of past signification. Its use in the inflexion of pronouns, when inserted between the pronominal base and the signs of case and number, suggests the idea that it was originally a pronoun of the third person, meaning, perhaps, self or the same, which came to be added on occasionally to the other pronominal bases for the purpose of imparting additional emphasis. We find a somewhat similar use in Tamil of *tan, tām,* the inflexion of the reflexive pronoun self, selves, which is occasionally, especially in poetry, inserted between nouns and their case-signs. The *e* of *sme* is the ordinary sign of the nominative plural of pronominals of the class of *sme*, all, and has obviously no resemblance to the Dravidian *m*; and the *sma* into which the *m* of *sme* resolves itself, whatever be its origin, seems to resemble it as little.

It is also worthy of notice, that *sma* makes its appearance not only in the inflexion of the plurals of the personal pronouns, but also in the singular. It is used in the plural alone in connection with the pronouns of the first and second persons in Sanskrit; but Bopp recognises it in the singular also in Zend in *thwahmī*, in thee, and more doubtfully in Gothic and Latin; and there can be no doubt of its use in the singular of the personal pronouns in the Prākrit (which may be defined as early colloquial Sanskrit), in *mamasmi* or *mamammi*, in me, and *tumasmi* or *tumammi*, in thee. Bopp supposes this use of *sma* in singular pronouns to be of late origin, and to have arisen from imitation of the plurals; but as the reason why *sma* was used in the inflexion of pronouns has only been guessed at, and is not certainly known, there is no proof that the plural has a better right to it than the singular. But however this may be, it is evident that its resemblance to the Dravidian *m*, which is used in the inflexion of the personal pronouns in the plural alone (never in the singular) has become less and less. The resemblance, as it appears to me, wholly vanishes when it is found that, whilst this use of *m* as a sign of plurality is absolutely restricted in the Dravidian languages to the pronouns of the first and second persons and the reflexive 'self,' in Sanskrit, and more or less distinctly in the other Aryan languages, *sma* makes its appearance (in three of the cases in the singular) in the inflexion of the pronouns of *the third person*, in-

cluding the demonstrative, the relative, and the interrogative pronouns. Nothing could be further than this from the Dravidian use; and nothing also, I think, could show more clearly that the *sma* of *asme* and *yushme* cannot safely be regarded as in any sense a sign of the plural.

Twofold Plural of the Dravidian Pronoun of the First Person.— The ordinary plural of the Dravidian first personal pronoun is constantly used, not only as a plural, but also as an honorific singular, precisely as the royal and editorial 'we' is used in English; and the plural of every other Dravidian pronoun may optionally be used as an honorific singular in the same manner. It is not, however, this twofold signification or use of the same pronoun to which I now refer, but the existence of two pronouns of the first person plural, which differ from one another in signification almost as much as the plural and the dual of other languages. In all the Dravidian dialects, with the exception of Canarese, there are two plurals of the pronoun of the first person, of which one denotes, not only the party of the speaker, but also the party addressed, and may be called *the plural inclusive;* the other excludes the party addressed, and denotes only the party of the speaker, and may be called *the plural exclusive.* Thus, if a person said "We are mortal," he would naturally use the 'we' which includes those who are spoken to, as well as the speaker and his party, or *the plural inclusive*: whilst he would use *the plural exclusive,* or that which excludes the party addressed, if he wanted to say "*We* are Hindus; *you* are Europeans."

There is a similar distinction between the two plurals of the first person used in the Marāṭhi and the Gujarāthi—*e.g., hame* in Gujarāthi means we—the party speaking; whilst *āpane* means we—the party speaking, and you also who are addressed. There is no connection between the particular pronominal themes used for this purpose in Northern India and in the languages of the South; but the existence of so remarkable an idiom in the North Indian family, as well as in the Southern, seems to demonstrate the existence in the Northern family of an ancient under-current of Dravidian, or at least of non-Aryan influences. The idiom in question is a distinctively Scythian one, and is one of those points which seem to connect the Dravidian family with the Scythian group. There is no trace of this twofold plural in Sanskrit, or in any of the languages of the Indo-European family, but it is found everywhere in Central Asia. Thus Manchu has *mū,* we—of the one party, and *be,* we—the whole company. Mongolian has a similar idiom. This peculiarity is found also in the northern

dialect of the Chinese. In that dialect, *tsa-men,* we, includes the persons addressed, whilst *wo-men,* we, does not. It is remarkable that it is found also in the Polynesian languages, in many of the languages of America, and also in those of the Australian tribes.

All the Dravidian languages do not use precisely the same plural pronouns as *inclusive* and *exclusive* plurals. The colloquial Tamil (with which the Malayāḷam agrees) forms the plural exclusive from *nām,* the ordinary and regular plural, by the addition of *gaḷ,* which is properly a neuter sign of plurality; by which addition *nām* becomes *nāṅgaḷ* in Tamil, *ñaṅaḷ* or *ñaṅṅaḷ* in Malayāḷam. The corresponding plural in Tuḷu is *enkuḷu.* Telugu, on the other hand, uses *mēm-u* (answering not to the Tamil *nānggaḷ,* but to *nām*) as its plural exclusive; and as this is the simplest form of the pronoun, it seems better suited to this restricted use than the reduplicated form. Telugu, though differing from Tamil in this point, agrees with Tamil in using *mēmu* as its honorific singular; and this use of the plural exclusive in Telugu as an honorific is more in accordance with philosophical propriety than the Tamilian use of the plural inclusive for this purpose; for when a superior addresses inferiors, it is evidently more natural for him to make use of a plural which excludes those whom he addresses, than one in which they would be included together with himself. Ku agrees with Telugu, and uses *ām-u* (identical in origin with the Tamil *yām, nām*) to express the restricted signification which Tamil gives to *nāṅgaḷ.* Its plural inclusive is *āju,* the oblique form of which is *ammā;* and the Telugu plural which corresponds to *āju* (but which in meaning corresponds to *nām*) is *manam-u,* the base and inflexion of which is *mana. manam-u* is probably derived from *mā,* the inflexional base of *mēmu,* with an euphonic addition, or possibly with a weakened reduplication.

The above results are exhibited, for convenience of comparison, in the accompanying table. In this list, I include only those dialects which have been carefully studied, and of which grammars have been published. The pronouns of the first person contained in the Rajmahāl and Ūrāon are exhibited in a separate list, together with those found in Dr Hunter's lists of words contained in the rest of the Central Indian dialects. It is obvious, however, that it would be unsafe to deduce any inference, except one of the vaguest kind, from lists of isolated words collected by persons who had little or no real acquaintance with the dialects to which they belonged. We tread on firmer ground when we compare with one another dialects which have attained to the dignity of possessing published grammars.

DRAVIDIAN PRONOUN OF THE FIRST PERSON.

	Singular.			Plural.		
	Nominative "I."	Inflexion, *i.e.*, inflexional basis of "my," "me," &c.	Pronominal terminations of the Verb.	Nominative, "We."	Inflexion, *i.e.*, inflexional basis of "our," "us," &c.	Pronominal terminations of the Verb.
Tamil	*yān, nān.*	*en.*	*en, ēn; an.*	*yām, nām, nāṅgaḷ.*	*em, nam, eṅgaḷ.*	*am, ām, em, ēm, ōm.*
Malayāḷam	*ñān.*	*en; in.*	*ēn.*	*nām, nōm, nammaḷ, nummaḷ, ñāṅgaḷ.*	*em, nō, nōm, nom, num, eṅgaḷ.*	*ōm.*
Telugu	*ēn-u, ē, nēn-u, nē.*	*nā, nan'.*	*nu, ni, vu, vi.*	*ēm-u, mēm-u, manam-u.*	*mā, mam', mana.*	*mu, mi.*
Canarese	*yān, ān, nān-u, nā.*	*en, nan'*	*en, en', ēn-u, ēne, e.*	*ām, āv-u, nāv-u.*	*em, nam.*	*ev-u, ēv-u, ēv-e.*
Tuḷu	*yān'.*	*yen', yena.*	*e.*	*yenkuḷu, nama.*	*yenkuḷe, nama, nam.*	*a.*
Coorg	*nan'.*	*en.*	*i, e, u.*	*nanga, enga.*	*enga.*	*a, i, u.*
Gōnd	*annā.*	*nā.*	*ān, na.*	*ammāṭ.*	*mā.*	*ām, am, ōm.*
Ku	*ān-u.*	*nā.*	*in, iñ, e.*	*ām-u, āj-u.*	*mā, ammā.*	*ām-u.*
Tuda	*ān.*	*en.*	*en, eni, ini.*	*ām, ōm, ēm.*	*am; ām?*	*emi, imi.*
Kōta	*āne.*	*en.*	*e.*	*āme, nāme, ēme.*	*em, nam.*	*eme, ēme.*
Rājmahāl	*en.*	*on?*		*nam, em, om; en?*	*em, nām.*	
Ūrāon	*en.*	*en.*		*em, nām.*	*em.*	

DRADIDIAN PRONOUN OF THE SECOND PERSON.

	Singular.			Plural.		
	Nominative, "Thou".	Inflexion, *i.e.*, inflexional basis of "they," "thee," &c.	Pronominal terminations of the Verb.	Nominative, "You."	Inflexional basis of "your," &c.	Pronominal terminations of the Verb.
Tamil .	*nī, ṇīy.*	*nin, nun, un.*	*āy, ōy, ei, i.*	*nīr, nīyir, nīvir, nīṅgaḷ.*	*num, um, uṅgaḷ.*	*ir, īr ; min ?*
Malayāḷam .	*nī.*	*nin.*		*niṅṅaḷ, nīṅṅaḷ.*	*niṅṅaḷ, nim.*	
Telugu ..	*nīv-u, nī, īv-u.*	*nī, nin'.*	*vu. vi.*	*mīr-u, īr-u.*	*mī, mim',*	*ru, ri.*
Canarese .	*nīn, nī, nīn-u.*	*nin.*	*ay. ; i, ī, īye, e.*	*nīm, nīv-u.*	*nim.*	*ir, iri, īri, ari.*
Tuḷu . .	*ī.*	*nina, ni.*	*a.*	*nikuḷu, īr'.*	*nikuḷe, īre.*	*ar'.*
Coorg . .	*nin'.*	*nin.*	*iya.*	*ninga.*	*ninga.*	*ira.*
Gōnd . .	*immā.*	*ni.*	*ni, i.*	*immāṭ.*	*mī.*	*īt.*
Ku . .	*īn-u.*	*nī.*	*i.*	*īr-u.*	*mī.*	*ēr-u, ār-u.*
Tuda . .	*nī.*	*nin.*	*i, e.*	*nima.*	*nim.*	*i, e.*
Kōta . .	*nī.*	*nin.*	*i.*	*nīme, nīve.*	*nim.*	*iri, īri.*
Rājmahāl	*nina, nin.*	*nin.*		*nima ; nina ?*	*nim.*	
Ūrāon .	*nin, nīen.*	*nin, nīen.*		*nim ; ās-u ?*	*nim ; āss' ?*	
Brahui .	*nī.*	*nā.*		*num.*	*num.*	*ri.*

PRONOUN OF THE FIRST PERSON IN SEVENTEEN DIALECTS OF CENTRAL INDIA.

Dr Hunter's "Comparative Dictionary."

	Singular.		Plural.	
	"I."	"Mine."	"We."	"Our."
Ho (Kol) . . .	*ing.*	*inya.*	*álle, ábú.*	*alléa, abúá.*
Kol (Singbhúm) .	*aing.*	*iyan.*	*áling, ále.*	*alle-á*
Santáli	*ing, inge.*	*ting ; ing-reá.*	*áling, álang ; ále, ában.*	*tálnig; tále, taban (alleá?)*
Bhúmij	*ing.*	*inya.*	*ále.*	*ábusa-ban.*
Mundala . . .	*ing.*	*jhátaná.*	*állege.*	*ahuá-tana.*
Gayeti	*nana.*	*idana, awá.*	*mamad.*	*idana, awa.*
Rutluk	*nan-na.*	*náwá.*	*caret.*	*mawa.*
Naikude . . .	*an.*	*anet.*	*ále (?)*	*ámed.*
Kolami	*an.*	*aneten.*	*anandun.*	*anet.*
Mádi	*nanna, nan.*	*náwá.*	*mam.*	*mawa, adunawaná.*
Mádia	*ana.*	*caret.*	*caret.*	*caret.*
Kuri	*in (ing ?)*	*ing.*	*ále.*	*nan.*
Keikádi . . .	*nanu.*	*namtu.*	*nang.*	*caret.*
Sàvara . . .	*gná.*	*gnánate.*	*mo-ni.*	*moni-nate.*
Gadaba . . .	*nai-sa.*	*noinyo.*	*ne-yam.*	*niyyino.*
Yerukala . . .	*ná-nu.*	*nungudedi, namburudu.*	*nama, nam-buru.*	*namburudu.*
Chentsu . . .	*há-me, há-mi.*	*hamár.*	*hame.*	*hamár.*

PRONOUN OF THE SECOND PERSON IN SEVENTEEN DIALECTS OF CENTRAL INDIA.

Dr Hunter's "Comparative Dictionary."

	Singular.		Plural.	
	"Thou."	"Thine."	"Ye."	"Your."
Ho (Kol) . . .	*um.*	*umma.*	*áppe.*	*appéa.*
Kol (Singbhúm) .	*um (ám ?)*	*ummá.*	*ape (?)*	*appea.*
Santáli	*ám, umge.*	*tám ; ám-rea (ámi ?)*	*aben ; ápe.*	*taben ; tápe (appe ?)*
Bhúmij	*ám (am ?)*	*ummá.*	*ápc (?)*	*(áppe, tápe ?)*
Mundala . . .	*ám (am ?)*	*ámá-tana.*	*inkoghi.*	*ápiá-tana.*
Gayeti	*ime.*	*niwá.*	*im.*	*ida-wonan.*
Rutluk	*imá.*	*niwá.*	*caret.*	*miwa.*
Naikude . . .	*niwa.*	*inet.*	*ápe (?)*	*imed.*
Kolami	*niwa.*	*ineten.*	*niwa.*	*yeinnaton.*
Mádi	*nima.*	*niwa.*	*mirad.*	*miwa, aduniwand.*
Mádia	*caret.*	*caret.*	*caret.*	*caret.*
Kuri	*am.*	*āma.*	*ápe.*	*caret.*
Keikádi . . .	*ninu.*	*nimtu.*	*ne.*	*miwa.*
Sávara . . .	*aman.*	*ammanate.*	*aman.*	*ammanate.*
Gadaba . . .	*no.*	*nenne.*	*pen.*	*caret.*
Yerukala . . .	*ni-nu.*	*ningaḍeo, ninaḍiḍi.*	*ning-alu, avaru.*	*ningalide, nine-buḍuḍu.*
Chentsu . . .	*yi-ke, tu-myi, tu.*	*thor.*	*te, tu-myi.*	*thor.*

SECTION II.—DEMONSTRATIVE AND INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS.

It is very difficult to treat the demonstrative and interrogative pronouns of the Dravidian family separately. The bases are different, but they are built up on those bases in precisely the same manner, and obey one and the same law, so that what is said about the one class may be regarded as said about the other also. I shall discuss them separately as far as possible, but it will often be necessary to treat them together.

1. Demonstrative and Interrogative Bases.

1. *Demonstrative Bases.*—The Dravidian languages, like most other primitive uncompounded tongues, are destitute of pronouns (properly so called) of the third person, and use instead demonstratives signifying this or that, with the addition of suffixes of gender and number. In these languages 'he,' means literally that man; 'she,' that woman; and 'they,' those persons or things. The interrogatives are formed in the same manner by the addition of suffixes of gender and number to an interrogative base signifying 'what.'

The words which signify man and woman have gradually lost the definiteness of their original signification, and shrunk into the position of masculine and feminine terminations. They are no longer substantives, but mere suffixes or signs of gender; and are so closely incorporated with the demonstrative bases that it requires some knowledge of the principles of the language to enable us to separate them. In comparison, therefore, with the Turkish and Ugrian languages, in which there is but one pronoun of the third person, the Dravidian languages, which possess a great variety, appear to considerable advantage. Nevertheless, the speech of the Dravidians appears to have been originally no richer than the other Scythian idioms, and to have at length surpassed them only by the Aryanistic device of fusing that-man, that-woman, that-thing, into single euphonious words. The signification of man and woman still shines through in the masculine and feminine terminations; but no trace remains of the words by which a thing and things were originally expressed, and which are now represented only by *d*, the sign of the neuter singular, and *a*, that of the neuter plural.

Four demonstrative bases are recognised by one or another of the Dravidian dialects, each of which is a pure vowel—viz., *a*, the remote *i*, the proximate, and *u*, the medial demonstrative; to-

gether with *ē*, which is the suffix of emphasis in most of the dialects, but is a demonstrative in Ku. The first two—viz., *a*, the remote, and *i*, the proximate demonstrative—are the most widely and frequently used. The medial *u* is occasionally used by the Tamil poets, more frequently in classical Canarese and in Tuḷu, to denote a person or object which is intermediate between the remote and the proximate; and it will be found that it has ulterior affinities of its own. *ē*, the ordinary Dravidian suffix of emphasis, is used as a demonstrative in Ku alone—in addition however to *a* and *i*—*e.g.*, *ēvāru*, they. It appears also in the Ūrāon *ēdah*, this, the correlative of *hūdah*, that. The use of *ē* being chiefly emphatic, I refer the reader, for an account of it, to a subsequent head. The ordinary demonstratives of the Dravidian dialects are the simple, short vowels *a*, *i*, and *u*; and it will be found that every other form which they assume is derived from this by some euphonic process.

2. *Interrogative Bases.*—There are two classes of interrogatives in the Dravidian languages—viz., interrogative pronouns or adjectives, such as, who ? which ? what ? and syntactic interrogatives, such as, is it ? is there ? Interrogative pronouns and adjectives resolve themselves in the Dravidian tongues into interrogative prefixes, resembling the demonstrative prefixes already considered, by suffixing to which the formatives of number and gender we form interrogative pronouns. The interrogative particle itself, when simply prefixed to a substantive, constitutes the interrogative adjective what ?

(*a*.) The most common interrogative prefix is the vowel *e*. In all the Dravidian dialects this prefix is used in the formation of pronominals, in precisely the same manner as the demonstrative bases *a* and *i*. It forms one of a set of vocalic prefixes (*a*, *i*, *u*, and *e*), which occupy one and the same position, obey one and the same law, and differ only in the particular signification which is expressed by each. The unity of principle pervading these prefixes will be clearly apparent from the subjoined comparative view. The forms which are here exhibited are those of the Tamil alone; but in this particular all the dialects agree on the whole so perfectly with the Tamil, and with one another, that it is unnecessary to multiply examples. I exhibit here an alternative (probably an older) interrogative base in *yā*, which will be inquired into further on.

I need not call attention to the beautiful and philosophical regularity of this quadruple set of remote, proximate, and intermediate demonstratives and interrogatives. In no other language

	Proximate Demonstrative *i.*	Remote Demonstrative *a.*	Intermediate Demonstrative *u*	Interrogative *e* or *ya.*
Mas. sing.	*ivan,* hic.	*avan,* ille.	*uvan.*	*evan* or *yāvan,* quis?
Fem. do.	*ivaḷ,* hæc.	*avaḷ,* illa.	*uvaḷ.*	*evaḷ* or *yāvaḷ,* quæ?
Neut. do.	*idu,* hoc.	*adu,* illud.	*udu.*	*edu* or *yādu,* quid?
Epic. plu.	*ivar,* hi, hæ.	*avar,* illi, illæ.	*uvar.*	*evar* or *yāvar,* qui? quæ?
Neut. do.	*ivei,* hæc.	*avei,* illa.	*uvei.*	*evei* or *yāvei,* quæ?

or family of languages in the world shall we find its equal, or even its second. In addition to which, the circumstance that the demonstrative vowels are not only used in these languages with an invariable and exact discrimination of meaning which is not found in the Indo-European tongues (with the solitary and partial exception of the New Persian), but are also associated with a corresponding interrogative vowel of which the Indo-European tongues are totally ignorant, tends to confirm the supposition which I have already expressed, that the Dravidian family has retained some præ-Sanskrit elements of immense antiquity; and, in particular, that its demonstratives, instead of being borrowed from Sanskrit, represent those old Japhetic bases from which the demonstratives of Sanskrit itself, as well as of various other members of the Indo-European family, were derived.

(b.) The other interrogative base of the Dravidian languages is *yā*. *yā* is not used at all in Telugu, but is largely used in Canarese, and somewhat more rarely in Tamil. Probably there was originally only one interrogative base, and if so, it must have been *yā*, and *e* must have been corrupted from it. The process by which *yā* became *e* is tolerably clear. *a* evinces a tendency to be weakened into *e*. (See "Part I., Sounds.") We have seen an illustration of this in the circumstance that the Sanskrit *yama,* the name of the god of death, becomes in Tamil *ema* (*n*), pronounced *yema* (*n*). In Tuḷu, *yār,* who, becomes *yēr'*. This is a considerable step towards *e*. Then, also, *e* is commonly pronounced as *ye,* and

ē as *yē*; and in Telugu this *y* is frequently written, as well as heard. This would facilitate the omission of the *y* in writing, when *yā* came generally to be weakened into *yē*. *ē* alone would in time have the same force as *yē*, and would come to be regarded as its equivalent. The long form *ē* still survives in the Malayāḷam *ēvan*, *ēvaḷ*, he, she, for *evan*, *evaḷ*; and in the Tamil and Malayāḷam *ēdu*, and the Telugu *ēdi*. In Telugu *ē* sometimes directly corresponds to the Tamil *yā*—*e.g.*, compare *yāṇḍu*, Tam. where, when, a year (nasalised from *yāḍu*), with the Telugu *ēḍu*, where, *ēḍi*, a year. We see also this long interrogative *ē* in the Telugu *ēla*, how, in what manner, compared with *āla*, *īla*, in that manner, in this manner.

There is a remarkable change in Canarese of the interrogative *yā* into *dā*. We may say either *yāvan-u* or *dāvan-u*, what man? *yāvaḷ-u* or *dāvaḷ-u*, what woman? *yāvadu* or *dāvadu*, what thing? So also the crude interrogative is *yāva* or *dāva*, who, which, what? In Tuḷu we find the same *dā*, which? alternating with *vā* and *vōva*; also *dāne*, what? *dāye*, why? In these instances the analogy of the other dialects leads me to conclude *yā* to be the older and more correct form of the interrogative base. In *yēr*, who? *yā* appears as *yē*, which is a very trifling change. The Gōnd interrogative *bā* and *bō* appear to be hardened from *yā*, like the Tuḷu *vā*.

In High Tamil, *yā* is not only prefixed adjectivally to substantives (like *a*, *e*, and *e*)—*e.g.*, *yā-(k)kālam*, what time? but it is even used by itself as a pronoun—*e.g.*, *yā-(ś)śeydāy*, what hast thou done? It forms the basis of only one adverbial noun—viz., *yāṇḍu*, Tam. when? a year, a correlative of *āṇḍu*, then, and *īṇḍu*, now. The only use to which *yā* is put in the colloquial dialect of Tamil, is that of forming the basis of interrogative pronouns; a complete set of which, in Tamil as well as in Canarese, are formed from *yā*—*e.g.*, *yāvan*, *quis?* *yāvaḷ*, *quæ?* *yādu*, *quid?* *yāvar*, *qui, quæ?* *yāvei*, *quæ?* The Canarese interrogative pronouns accord with these, with a single unimportant exception. The neuters, singular and plural, of the Canarese are formed from *yāva*, instead of *yā*—*e.g.*, *yāvadu*, *quid?* (for *yādu*,) and *yāvavu*, *quæ?* (for *yāva*.) This additional *va* is evidently derived by imitation from the euphonic *v* of *yāvanu*, he, and its related forms; but it is out of place in connection with the neuter, and is to be regarded as a corruption. In Tamil, a peculiar usage with respect to the application of the epicene plural *yāvar*, *qui*, *quæ*, has obtained ground. It is largely used in the colloquial dialect, with the signification

of the singular as well as that of the plural, though itself a plural only and epicene; and when thus used, *yāvar* is abbreviated into *yār*—*e.g.*, *avan yār*, who is he? (literally he who;) *avaḷ yār*, who is she? *yār* has also been still further corrupted into *ār*, especially in compounds.

1. *Demonstrative and Interrogative Pronouns.*—The original character of the demonstrative bases, like that of the interrogative, is best exhibited by the neuter singular, the formative of which does not commence with a vowel, like *an* and *aḷ* (Tamil), the masculine and feminine suffixes, but consists in a single consonant, *d*, followed by an enunciative vowel—that is, a vowel intended merely as a help to enunciation. This vowel is *i* in Telugu, a very short *u* in the other languages. The remote and proximate neuter singulars are in Telugu *adi, idi,* that (thing), this (thing); the interrogative *ēdi,* what (thing); in Tamil, Malayāḷam, and Canarese they are *adu, idu* (with the intermediate *udu*), and *edu.* In Gōnd the demonstratives are *ad, id.* The anomalous forms of the Tuḷu and the Tuda will be considered further on.

d having already been shown to be the sign of the neuter singular used by pronominals and appellatives, and there being no hiatus between *a, i,* or *u* and *d,* and therefore no necessity for euphonic insertions, it is evident that the *a, i,* and *u* of the neuter singulars cited above constitute the purest form of the demonstrative bases. The suffixes which are annexed to the demonstrative bases *a, i,* and *u,* for the purpose of forming the masculine and feminine singulars and the epicene and neuter plurals, commence with a vowel. Those suffixes are in Tamil *an* for the masculine, *aḷ* for the feminine, *ar* for the epicene plural, and *ei* or *a* for the neuter plural; and *v* is the consonant which is most commonly used to prevent hiatus. The following, therefore, are the demonstrative pronouns of Tamil—viz., *avan,* ille; *ivan,* hic; *avaḷ,* illa; *ivaḷ,* hæc; *avar,* illi; *ivar,* hi; *avei,* illa; *ivei,* hæc. To these must be added the intermediates *uvan, uvaḷ, udu, uvar, uvei,* which do not admit of being translated by a single word. I quote examples from Tamil alone, because, though different formatives of number and gender are sometimes annexed in the other dialects, those differences do not affect the demonstrative bases. The anomaly which will be noticed in the case of Tuḷu will be found, when examined, to be only apparent. All the above suffixes of gender have already been investigated in the section on "The Noun." The mode in which they are annexed to the demonstrative bases is the only point which requires to be examined here.

The demonstrative bases being vocalic, and all the suffixes, with the exception of the neuter singular, commencing with a vowel, some euphonic consonants had to be used to keep the concurrent vowels separate and pure. *v*, though most frequently used to prevent hiatus, is not the only consonant employed for this purpose. The Ku̥ being but little attentive to euphony, it sometimes dispenses altogether with the euphonic *v*, and leaves the contiguous vowels uncombined—*e.g.*, *āāñju*, he; *āālu*, she. Even Tamil sometimes combines those vowels instead of euphonically separating them—*e.g.*, *yāvar*, who? is commonly abbreviated into *yār;* and this is still further softened to *ār* in the colloquial dialect.

In the higher dialect of Tamil, *n* is often used euphonically instead of *v*, especially in the personal terminations of the verbs. Thus, instead of *irundān* (for *irundavan*), he was, the poets sometimes say *irundanan;* and for *irundava*, they (neuter) were, the form which we should expect to find used, *irundana* is universally used instead. This euphonic *v* has in some instances come to be regarded as an integral part of the demonstrative itself. In the nominative plural of the Gōnd neuter demonstrative, the final and characteristic vowel *a* has disappeared altogether, without leaving any representative—*e.g.*, *av*, those (things); *iv*, these (things). In the oblique cases *a* is represented by *e*. In Telugu, though the nominatives of the neuter plural demonstratives *avi* and *ivi* use *v* merely as an euphonic, yet in the oblique cases, the bases of which are *vā* and *vī*, the demonstrative vowels have got displaced, and *v* stands at the beginning of the word, as if it were a demonstrative, and had a right *per se* to be represented. In the masculine singulars *vāḍu*, ille; *vīḍu*, hic; and in the epicene plurals *vāru*, illi; *vīru*, hi, *v* euphonic has advanced a step further, and assumed the position of a demonstrative in the nominative as well as in the inflexion. That this *v*, however, is not a demonstrative, and that the use to which it is put in Telugu is abnormal, is shown by the fact that in *dā* and *dī*, the inflexions of *adi* and *idi*, illud and hoc, the neuter singular demonstratives of the Telugu, *d*, though certainly not a demonstrative, nor even euphonic, but simply a sign or suffix of neuter singularity, has been advanced to as prominent a position (by a similar euphonic displacement) as if it belonged to the root. Compare especially the corresponding Telugu interrogative.

In Tuḷu the proximate neuter singular demonstrative is *indu* or *undu*, the remote *avu*. *indu* and *undu* correspond to the Tamil proximate *idu* and intermediate *udu*: the only difference consists in the nasalisation of the *d*. *avu*, the remote demonstrative, though a neuter singular, is identical in form with the Canarese *avu*, they

(neuter). The *v* of *avu* seems to be merely euphonic, as it disappears altogether in the plural, which is not *avukuḷu* but *eikuḷu* (*avu* = *ayu* = *ei*). The corresponding masculine pronoun is *āye*, he, in which *y* is used euphonically where *v* would have been used in Tamil. In the feminine *āḷ'*, she (Tam. *avaḷ*), even the *y* has disappeared, and the two contiguous vowels have coalesced. The proximate pronouns of the Tuḷu masculine and feminine singular and plural present several peculiarities. *imbe*, he (*hic*), corresponds to the Tamil *ivan*, the Old Canarese *ivam*. The euphonic *v* of those languages seems to have been hardened into *m*, and this *m* to have become *mb*. The plural of the same is *mēr'* (the remote is *ār*, for *avar*). The feminine proximate she (hæc) is *mōḷ'*, the plural of which is *mōkuḷu*. *mēr* stands for *ivar* = *imar*, and *mōḷ'* for *ivaḷ* = *imaḷ*. Compare the apparent disappearance of the demonstrative bases *i* and *a* in the Telugu *vīru* and *vāru*, they, proximate and remote, for *ivar* and *avar*. See also "The Noun," epicene plural, in *mār*. The same peculiarity appears in the Tuḷu demonstrative adverbs. *avuḷu*, there, corresponds with similar words in the other dialects (Can. *alli*) ; but *mūḷu*, here, presents the same peculiarity as *mōl*, hæc.

In the Tuda dialect the pronoun of the third person is the same for both numbers and for all three persons, like the Sanskrit reflexive pronoun *svayam*. *atham* represents everything of which 'that' can be predicated ; *itham* is the equivalent for this. With *atham*, *itham*, compare the Telugu *ataḍu, atanu, ātañdu, ātaḍu, itaḍu, itanu,ītaḍu, ītanu* ; the Old Canarese singlar masculines *ātam, ītam, ūtam*. The final *am* of the Tuda is occasionally dropped.

Tamil possesses a complete set of abstract demonstrative and interrogative nouns of perfect regularity and great beauty. I class them here (for convenience of comparison) with demonstrative and interrogative pronouns ; but they are in reality nouns, expressing abstractly the ideas that are embodied in the pronouns in a concrete shape. They consist of the demonstrative and interrogative vowel bases (*a, i, u, e*), with the addition of *mei*, the ordinary formative of abstract nouns, which we have already noticed in *tan-mei*, nature, literally selfness, in the section on the reflexive pronoun *tān*. The initial consonant of *mei* is doubled by rule after the demonstrative and interrogative vowels. The words referred to are *immei*, thisness ; *ammei*, thatness ; *ummei*, an intermediate position between that-ness and this-ness ; *emmei*, what-ness. In use, the words chiefly denote the different states of being or births. *immei*, the present state or birth, is the only word of the set in common use ; the rest are found only in the poets. *ammei* (common

equivalent *maṟumei*, otherness) denotes the future birth; *ummei*, the birth before the present; *emmei*, what birth? generally found with the addition of *um*, and so as to give the meaning 'in whatsoever birth.'

We have seen that the neuter singular of the demonstrative and interrogative pronouns, properly so called, is formed by the addition of the neuter formative *d* to the vowel bases, *a, i, u; e* or *yā*.

There are traces also of the existence of two classes of pronouns formed by means of the addition to the same vowel bases of *m*, the equivalent of which is *n*, or of *l*. Pronominals ending in *l* are used chiefly as adverbs of place and mode. There are exceptions, however—*e.g.*, *alla*, Tel. that, has the force of an adjective (*alladi*, that thing). See Adverbs: formative *l, ḷ'*. The demonstrative pronouns and pronominals ending in *m* or *n* are not free from doubt. I shall, therefore, adduce first the interrogatives belonging to this class, about which no doubt can be entertained.

Each of the dialects possesses a neuter interrogative pronoun, formed from the interrogative base *e* or *ē*, and the neuter formative *n* or *m*. This formative is more abstract than *d*, but less so than *mei*. *ed-u* means which? *en*, what? In Tamil we find *en*, what? from which is formed the singular appellative *ennadu*, what thing? and the plural *enna*, what things? *en* is also lengthened into *ēn*, the ordinary meaning of which is why? Though *enna* is properly a plural neuter, it has come to be used also as a singular, and is even turned colloquially into a singular neuter noun, *ennam* —*e.g.*, *ennamāy*, how? Malayāḷam uses *ēn*, like Tamil, meaning what? rather than why? but does not use *en*; instead of this we have *endu*, what? which, however, is probably the Malayāḷam shape of the Tamil *ennadu* = *en-du*. In Canarese *ēnu* is not a mere interrogative particle, but a regularly declined interrogative pronoun, like the vulgar Tamil *ennam*. We have substantially the same word in the Telugu *ēmi*, what? why? *ēmi* bears the same relation to *ēdi*, Tel. what (thing)? that *en* in Tamil bears to *edu*. The only difference is in the use of the more abstract *n* or *m* as a neuter formative, instead of *d*, which gives more distinctly the sense of the neuter singular. In the compound word *ēmō*, Tel. I know not what (Tam. Mal. Can. *ēnō*), from *ēm* and *ō*, the particle of doubt, we see that *ēmi* is a secondary form of *ēm*; and by the help of Tamil we are able to trace this *ēm* back to the shorter form *em*. *ēni*, which I consider the equivalent of *ēmi*, is used in the conjugation of Telugu verbs as a conditional particle; properly it implies a question.

We now return to the demonstratives which appear to be formed from the demonstrative vowels *a, i, u,* with the addition of *m* or *n*. *am,* that, appears to survive in the *am* which is used so largely as a formative by neuter nouns in Tamil and Malayāḷam; and possibly also in *am,* which seems to be the oldest sign of the Dravidian accusative case. In each of these instances *an* is often used instead of *am.* See the sections treating on these formatives and case-signs in Part III., "The Noun." *im* shows itself in the Canarese sign of the ablative case, originally a locative, and in the corresponding Tamil *in,* with which *il* corresponds. The primitive meaning seems to be this place, here, and hence, a place, a house. Both *al* and *il* appear also in verbal derivatives, especially in Tamil, in which, *e.g.*, the number of nouns derived from verbal roots which take *al* or *il* as their formative, is almost as large as those which take *am* or *an.* Dr Gundert derives from *am* or *im* the Tamil demonstrative adjectives *anda,* that, *inda,* this; and I presume would attribute the same origin to the Telugu and Canarese adjectives *anta, inta,* &c., which are more or less demonstratives in meaning. On the whole, however, I still prefer to regard these forms as nasalised from *ad',* that, *id',* this. We had an instance of this nasalisation before us just now in the Tuḷu pronoun *indu, undu,* this (thing), which must be identified with the *idu, udu* of the other dialects. On the other hand, I have no doubt of the origin of *inda,* the Canarese sign of the ablative, from *im;* and the Tamil adverbial nouns *andru, indru, endru,* that day, to-day, what day, seem to be formed either from *am, im, em,* or from *al, il, el.* See the Demonstrative and Interrogative Adverbs.

A very interesting inquiry remains. Is *um,* the Tamil-Malayāḷam particle of conjunction, and, even (Tel. *u,* classical Can. *um, am;* coll. Can. *ū*), to be regarded as a demonstrative pronoun, formed from *u,* the intermediate demonstrative base, and the formative *m,* corresponding in origin to the demonstrative *am* and *im,* and also to the interrogative *em,* considered above? That this is the origin of *um* is one of the many ingenious suggestions contained in Dr Gundert's communication. In his Malayāḷam dictionary he prefers to derive *um* from *u,* the supposed root of the verbal noun *uyar,* height, with the meaning of above. In classical Canarese *am* is sometimes used as the equivalent of *um;* and this seems to connect the particle at once with the demonstratives. In Tamil poetry we find an adverbial demonstrative of place, *umbar,* with the meaning of the intermediate demonstrative *u,* the correlatives of which are *ambar,* that place, *imbar,* this place, and *embar,* which place? *umbar* means literally a place intermediate between

two other places; but it is remarkable that it is also used in a secondary sense to signify on, upon, above, and even *uyar*, height. We thus get for *um*, the conjunctive particle, the meaning above, which is one that suits it exceedingly well, without any inconsistency with its ultimately demonstrative origin. *um* at the end of verbs changes occasionally in the Tamil poets to *undu*, which reminds one of the *undu*, this (thing), and also yes, of the Tuḷu.

2. *Demonstrative and Interrogative Adjectives.*—When the demonstrative bases *a* and *i* are simply prefixed to substantives, they convey the signification of the demonstrative adjectives that and this. When prefixed, they are indeclinable; but on thus prefixing them to substantives, either the initial consonant of the substantive is euphonically doubled—*e.g.*, *annāḷ* (*a*-(*n*)-*nāḷ*), Tam. that day; or if this euphonic doubling is not resorted to the demonstrative vowels are lengthened. Tamil invariably adopts the former plan: the latter is more common in Malayāḷam and Canarese. When the substantive commences with a vowel, and *v* is inserted as usual to prevent hiatus, Tamil, by a dialectic rule of sound, doubles this *v*, as if it were regarded as an initial consonant—*e.g.*, when *ūr*, Tam. a village, receives this prefix, it becomes not *avūr* (*a*-(*v*)-*ūr*), but *avvūr*. The origin of this doubling of the initial consonant of the word to which the demonstrative vowel is prefixed, is to be ascribed to the emphasis which is necessarily included in the signification of the demonstrative. Through this emphasis *a* and *i* assume the character, not of ordinary formatives, but of qualifying words; and the energy which they acquire influences the initial consonant of the following substantive, which is no longer an isolated word, but the second member of a compound. In the same manner and from a simlar cause, when Sanskrit words which commence with *a* privative are borrowed by Tamil, the consonant to which *a* is prefixed is often doubled, at least in the colloquial dialect—*e.g.*, *aññānam* (*a*-(*ñ*)-*ñānam*), ignorance.

The occasional lengthening of the demonstrative vowels, when used adjectivally, in Malayāḷam, Canarese, and the other dialects (without the doubling of the succeeding consonant), is merely another method of effecting the same result. The emphasis which is imparted in this manner to the demonstrative, is equivalent to that which the doubled consonant gives; and hence when the demonstrative vowels are lengthened, from *ă* and *ĭ* to *ā* and *ī*, the succeeding consonant always remains single. The fact that the demonstrative vowels are short in the pronouns of the third person in each of the Dravidian dialects without exception, shows that those vowels could not originally have been long, and that the use

of long *ā* and *ī* as adjectival prefixes, instead of *a* and *i*, is owing to emphasis. Some curious illustrations of the lengthening of a vowel through emphasis alone, are furnished by the common speech of the Tamil people—*e.g.*, *adigam*, much, large—a word which is borrowed by Tamil from Sanskrit—when it is intended to signify very much, is colloquially pronounced *adīgam*. Similar instances might be adduced from each of the colloquial dialects.

The only peculiarity which requires notice in the use of the interrogative prefix *e*, is the circumstance that it is occasionally lengthened to *ē*, precisely as *a* and *i* are lengthened to *ā* and *ī*. In Tamil this emphatic lengthening is very rare. It is found only in the neuter singular interrogative pronoun *edu*, what or which (thing ?), quid ? which sometimes, especially in composition, becomes *ēdu;* and in the interrogative *en*, what, why ? which is ordinarily lengthened to *ēn*. In Malayāḷam *ēdu* and *ēn* have entirely displaced *edu* and *en*. In Telugu also this increase of quantity is common. It appears not only in *ēmi* and *ēla*, why ? but is often used as the interrogative prefix, where Tamil invariably has short *e*. Thus, whilst Tamil has *evvidam*, what manner ? how ? Telugu says either *evvidhamu* or *ēvidhamu*. So also, whilst Tamil occasionally only uses *ēdu*, quid, instead of the more classical *edu*, the corresponding interrogative of Telugu is invariably *ēdi*, and its plural *ēvi*. On the other hand, the Telugu masculine interrogative pronoun *evvaḍu* quis ? preserves the same quantity as the Tamil *evan;* and even when the prefix is used adjectivally, it is sometimes *e* (not *ē*) as in Tamil—*e.g.*, *eppuḍu*, what time ? when ? and *epuḍu, epḍu*, in poetry, but not *ēpuḍu*. In the Tuḷu interrogatives of time, *ē* is the interrogative base; in those of place—*e.g.*, *ōḷu*, where (pronounced *wōḷu*)—*ē* is replaced by *ō*.

In addition to the use of the simple vowels *a*, *i*, and *e*, and their equivalents *ā*, *ī*, and *ē*, as demonstrative and interrogative adjectives, much use is also made in Tamil of a triplet of adjectives derived from the above. The simple vowels may be styled merely demonstrative prefixes. The adjectives referred to may be called by right demonstrative adjectives. They are *anda*, that, *inda*, this, *enda*, which ? or what ?—*e.g.*, *anda maram*, that tree, *inda nilam*, this land, *enda āḷ*, which person? These demonstrative and interrogative adjectives are unknown to the other dialects of the family. They are unknown even in Malayāḷam, and in the higher dialect of Tamil itself they are unused. They appear to have been developed in Tamil subsequently to the separation from it of Malayāḷam, and subsequently to the first beginnings of its literary

cultivation. We find demonstrative and interrogative adjectives similar to these in form, and probably in origin, but differing somewhat in meaning, both in Telugu and in Canarese. The Tamil *anda, inda, enda,* mean simply that, this, which ? the parallel Telugu and Canarese words have the meaning of such, like that or this, so much, &c., and are used more like adverbs than like adjectives. They are in both languages *anta, inta, enta,* with a few dialectic differences of no importance. Connected with these is the Tam.-Mal. adjective *inna,* such and such—*e.g., inna ūr,* such and such a town. There is no corresponding adjective derived from *a.* The final *a* of all these adjectives is clearly identical with the *a* which is one of the most common formatives of the relative participle, and the most common case-sign of the possessive, by means of which also so many adjectives are formed. The first part of these words (*and', ant',* &c.) has been considered above under the head of "Demonstrative Pronouns."

I should here add the Telugu triplet of adjectives *iṭṭi, aṭṭi, eṭṭi,* this like, that like, what like ? Also the Canarese triplet, with a signification partly adjectival, partly adverbial, *initu, anitu, enitu,* this much, that much, how much ? With this is connected the Telugu set of secondary pronouns, *indaru,* so many people, *inni,* so many things, with their corresponding remote and interrogative forms, *andaru, anni ; endaṛu, enni.*

The demonstrative and interrogative bases *il, al, el* are used, as has been mentioned, almost exclusively as adverbs. One of them makes its appearance in Telugu as an adjective, viz., *alla,* that (*e.g., alladi,* that thing). Both in Tamil and Malayāḷam the demonstrative pronouns *adu, idu* are often used instead of the demonstrative adjectives *a, i, anda, inda,* in Tamil, and *ā, ī* in Malayāḷam—*e.g., adu kāriyam,* Tam. that matter, *adu poṛudu,* Mal. that time. This usage illustrates the manner in which I suppose *anda,* &c., to have been derived from *adu,* &c.

3. *Demonstrative and Interrogative Adverbs.*—All Dravidian adverbs, properly speaking, are either nouns or verbs. Adverbs of manner and degree are mostly infinitives or gerunds of verbs. Adverbs of place, time, cause, and other relations are mostly nouns. Some of those adverbial nouns are indeclinable, and those of them which are capable of being declined are rarely declined. Whether declined or not declined, they have generally the signification either of the dative or of the locative case. The latter is the more usual, so that words literally signifying that time, what time ? really signify at or in that time, at or in what time ? Any noun whatever,

conveying the idea of relation, may be converted into a demonstrative or interrogative adverb by simply prefixing to it the demonstrative or interrogative vowels.

There is a class of words, however, more nearly resembling our adverbs, formed by annexing to the demonstrative and interrogative vowels certain formative suffixes. The suffix is not of itself a noun, like the second member of the class of words mentioned above. It is merely a formative particle. But the compound formed from the union of the vowel base with the suffixed particle is regarded as having become a noun, and is treated as such, though in signification it has become what we are accustomed to call an adverb. A comparison of the demonstrative and interrogative adverbs of the various dialects shows that the same, or substantially the same, word is an adverb of place in one dialect, an adverb of time in another, an adverb either of place or of time, as occasion may require, in a third, and an adverb of mode or of cause in a fourth. It seems best therefore to arrange them, not in the order of their meanings, but in the order of the different suffixes by means of which they are formed.

(1.) *Formative k, g, ṅ.*—Tam. *iṅgu, īṅgu; aṅgu, āṅgu; eṅgu, yāṅgu,* here, there, where? Can. *īga, āga, yārāga,* now, then, when? *hīge, hāge, hyāge,* in this manner, in that manner, in what manner? *yāke,* why? Gōnd, *hoke,* thither, *hike,* thither, *haga, aga,* there, *iga,* here, *baga,* where? *inga,* now.

I consider the Tamil *aṅgu,* &c., nasalised from *agu.* The primitive unnasalised form is seen in the Canarese and Gōnd. The change of the *gu* of the other dialects into *ngu* in Tamil is exceedingly common. The resemblance between the Gōnd *iga,* here, and the Sanskrit *iha,* here, is remarkably close; yet there is no appearance of the Gōnd word having been borrowed from the Sanskrit one. The demonstrative base *i* is, as we have seen, the common property of the Indo-European and the Dravidian languages; but though *iga* seems to bear the same relation to *iha* that *eg-o* bears to *ah-am,* yet the Dravidian formative *k, g, ṅg,* by suffixing which demonstrative vowels become adverbs of place and time, and so many nouns are formed from verbs, does not seem to have any connection with the merely euphonic *h* of *iha.* Comp. Mongolian *yago,* what?

(2). *Formative ch, j, ñ.*

The only instances of this are in Tuḷu. *iñchi, añchi, oñchi,* hither, thither, whither? *iñcha, añcha, eñcha,* in this, that, what

manner? In Tinnevelly, in the southern Tamil country, *iṅgē*, here, is vulgarly pronounced *iñje*.

(3.) *Formative ṭ, ḍ, ṇ.*

Tamil (classical dial.), *īṇḍu*, here, in this present life, in this manner; *āṇḍu*, there (vulgarly, but erroneously used for *yāṇḍu*, a year); *yāṇḍu*, where? when? a time, a year. *āṭṭei*, annual, should be *yāṭṭei*. *ivan, avan, evan*, here, there, where? Telugu, *iṭa, aṭa, eṭa*, here, there, where? *iṭu, aṭu, eṭu*, in this, that, what manner? *īḍa, āḍa, ēḍa*, here, there, where? From *ēḍa*, with the secondary meaning 'when,' comes *ēḍu*, a year. Tuḷu, *iḍe, aḍe, oḍe*, hither, thither, whither? We see now that the primitive, unnasalised form of the Tamil *yāṇḍu* must have been *yāḍu*, formed regularly from *yā*+*ḍu*, like *edu*, which? from *e*+*du*.

(4.) *Formative t, d, n,* also *ndr.*

Tamil, *indru, andru, endru* (secondary forms, *ittrei, attrei, ettrei*); Canarese, *indu, andu, endu*; Malayāḷam, *inn', ann', enn'*; Tuḷu, *ini, āni, ēni*. In each case the meaning is the same—viz., this day, that day, what day? or now, then, when? In the Telugu, *indu, andu, endu*, we have evidently the same triplet of words. The only difference is that they are used as adverbs of place, not, as in the other dialects, as adverbs of time. They are used to mean, in this, that, what place—*i.e.*, here, there, where? *indu* and *andu* have acquired the special meaning of, this life and the next, here and hereafter, like the Tamil *immei, ammei*; and *andu*, there, is commonly used as the sign of the locative case, like the Canarese *alli*. In all the dialects these adverbs are declinable. In form they are simply nouns. It appears on the whole most probable that these words have been nasalised from the pronouns *idu, adu, edu*. There is a peculiarity in the Tamil form of these words, consisting in this, that *ndr* suggests the idea that *andru* is formed from *al*, that, like the corresponding *andru*, not, it is not (from *al*, not+*du*), or *endru*, classical Tam. the sun (from *el*, the sun, time+*du*); but the testimony of the other dialects does not confirm this idea. As, however, in Tamil *endru* (the sun) is formed from *el*, so another *endru* is formed from *en*—viz., *endru*, having said, which is from *en*+*du*.

(5.) *Formative mb.*

Tamil-Malayāḷam, *imbar, ambar, embar*, here, there, where?

The formative *mb* is as commonly used in the formation of derivative nouns as *ng*, but the demonstrative adverbial nouns formed from *mb* are now obsolete. They survive in poetry alone.

The final *ar* is the equivalent of *al.* Strange to say, there is an interrogative in Mongolian which looks almost identical with this, *yambar*, what? This might be supposed to be a mere accident were it not that the Mongolian *yambar* is formed from the interrogative base *ya*, which is also the true, primitive Dravidian base. This base appears also in the Mongolian *yage*, what?

(6.) *Formative l, ḷ.*

Canarese, *illi, alli, elli*, here, there, where? In Telugu *il*, the proximate, is not used as a demonstrative, but survives in *ilu, illu*, a house, the root-meaning of which appears to be this place, here. The longer form of this word, however, is used demonstratively—*e.g.*, *īlā*, in this manner; *ala*, there, *ālā*, in that manner; *elli*, where? *elli* is used also to mean to-morrow (in Tuḷu *elle* is to-morrow); *ēla, ēlā*, in what way? These words show that *l* holds an important place amongst the demonstrative and interrogative formatives. In some Tuḷu adverbs *l* is replaced by the lingual *ḷ*—*e.g.*, *mūḷu, avaḷu, ōḷu*, here, there, where?

The existence in Tamil of demonstratives and interrogatives formed from *l*, like those we find in Telugu and Canarese, is by no means certain, but traces of them, particularly of the interrogative *el*, may, I think, be discovered. *el* is not now used directly as an interrogative, but there are many words formed from *el*, the meanings of which seem to me to presuppose the existence of a primary interrogative sense. Compare *yāṇḍu*, Tam. a year, primarily where? when? also Tel. *ēḍu*, a year, primarily where (*ēḍa*)? I shall here set down the various meanings of the Tamil *el* in what appears to me to be the order of their growth. It will be found, I think, that they include the words for 'a boundary,' and for 'all,' not only in Tamil, but in all the Dravidian dialects.

(1.) What, where, when? as in Canarese and Telugu (supposititious meaning).

(2.) A period of time, a day, to-morrow (compare Telugu and Tuḷu), the sun (the cause of day), night (that being also a period of time). Other forms of this word are *elvei, ēlvei*, time, a day; *elli, ellavan, endru* (*el*+*du*), *endravan*, the sun. The meaning of the sun appears in *eṟpāḍu*, properly *el-pāḍu*, sunset. *elli* means night, as well as the sun.

(3.) A boundary. This in Tamil is *ellei*, old Tamil *elgei* (*gei*, a formative of verbal nouns). This word means in Tamil, not only a boundary, but also a term, time, the sun, end, the last. There appears to me no doubt of the identity of this word with meaning

No. 2. The meaning of boundary is derived from that of termination. Compare the poetical compound *ellei-(t)-tī*, the last fire, the fire by which the world is to be consumed.

(4.) All. This stage of development is more doubtful, but I find that Dr Gundert agrees with me here, at least as to *el*, the first part and base of the word meaning a boundary. I explain *el* to mean 'whatever is included within the boundary,' everything up to the last. Dr Gundert thinks *ell-ā* a negative, meaning boundless. This would be a very natural derivation for a word signifying all, but I am obliged to dissent, as I find no trace of this *ā* of negation in any of the older poetical forms of this word in Tamil—*e.g.*, *el-ām*, all we, *el-īr*, all ye. The colloquial word *ellām* (properly *ellāvum*) is not to be confounded with the classical word *elām*, all we. It does not contain the meaning of 'we.' The *ā* of *el(l)-ā-(v)um* is the abbreviated relative participle of *āgu*, commonly used as a connective or continuative link, and meaning properly 'that which is.' *um* is added in Tamil to give the word a universal application. This use of *um* confirms me in the idea that *el*, all, is identical not only with *el*, a boundary, but with *el*, what? The latter and primitive meaning seems to me to shine through that of a boundary, and to throw light on that of all. Just as *evan-um*, who-and, means whosoever, so if *el* were originally an interrogative, *el(l)-ā-(v)um* would naturally be used to mean whatsoever, all. The Tamil *ellavan*, the sun, from *el*, when ? time, is a singular noun. Pluralise it, and we get *ellavar*, which is a classical Tamil form of the word all. We may safely, therefore, I think, conclude that these words are identical.

The traces we find in Tamil of the existence of demonstratives in *il* and *al* are more indistinct than those of the interrogative *el*; but if an interrogative *en*, *ēn*, pointed to the existence of the corresponding demonstratives *in*, *im*, *an*, *am*, we may reasonably regard the existence of *il* and *al* as testified to by the existence of *el*.

We find *il* in the locative case-sign alternating with *in*, and meaning also 'house'; also, I think, in verbal nouns ending in *il*, such as *kaṭṭ-il*, a cot, *vaṇḍ-il*, a wheel, a cart. *al* we find in a still larger class of verbal nouns, such as *kaḍ-al*, the sea, in which *al* seems to be equivalent to *am* and *an* (*e.g.*, *āṛ-am*, depth, *kaḍ-an*, debt). The most conclusive illustrations of the use in Tamil of *il* and *al* as demonstratives, and of *el* as an interrogative, would be furnished by *indru*, *andru*, *endru*, this day, that day, what day ? if we could be sure that they are formed from a base in *l*, and not from one in *n* or *m*. The peculiar combination *ndr* could be deriv-

ed from either. This, *en*+*du*, having said, becomes *endru*, and equally also *el*+*du*, the sun, becomes *endru*. Considering the identity of *endru*, the sun, with *el*, the sun, time, a day, to-morrow, it seems to me probable that *endru*, what day ? must be the same word, and if so, *indru* and *andru*, this day, and that day, will become representatives, not of *in* and *an*, but of *il* and *al*, and the original existence of demonstratives in *il* and *al* will then be placed beyond the reach of doubt. *andru* in Tamil, though derived from *al*, might possibly become *andu*, *annu*, in the other dialects. On the whole, however, the evidence of those dialects is unfavourable to this supposition.

The Dravidian negatives *il* and *al* bear a strong apparent resemblance to demonstratives. *il* negatives existence (there is not such a thing); *al* negatives attributes (it is not so and so). *al*, Tam. as a verbal root, means to diminish, and as a noun, means night (*alli*, night, a night flower). No similar extension of the idea of negation seems to proceed from *il*. *il* and *al* resemble demonstratives not only in sound, but in the structure of the derivatives formed from them. Compare *andru*, it is not, with *andru*, that day ; *indru*, there is not, with *indru*, this day. I am unable, however, in this matter, to go beyond resemblance and conjecture. No connection between the demonstrative and negative meanings of *il* and *al* seems capable of being historically traced.

Affiliation of Demonstrative Bases: Extra-Dravidian Affinities.—There is only a partial and indistinct resemblance between the remote *a*, proximate *i*, and medial *u*, which constitute the bases of the Dravidian demonstratives, and the demonstratives which are used by the languages of Northern India. In Bengali and Singhalese, *ē* is used as a demonstrative; in Marāṭhi *hā*, *hī*, *heñ*: in Hindustani we find *vuh*, that, *yih*, this; but in the oblique cases the resemblance increases—*e.g.*, *is-ko*, to this. *i* is used as the proximate demonstrative in the North Indian languages more systematically than *a* or any corresponding vowel is used as the remote—*e.g.*, Marāṭhi *ikaḍe*, here ; Hindi *idhar*, hither ; Mar. *itake*, so much. The Sindhi proximate is *hī* or *hē*. In the Lar dialect, *h* is commonly dropped, and the base is seen to be *ī*, as in the Dravidian tongues. The remote in Sindhi is *hū* or *hō ;* in Lar *ū* or *ō*.

A general resemblance to the Dravidian demonstrative bases is apparent in several of the Himalayan languages—*e.g.*, Bodo *imbe*, this, *hobe*, that; Dhimal *ī*, *ū ;* Ūrāon *ēdah*, *hūdah*. The Rajmahāl *ēh* and *āh* are perfectly identical with the Dravidian

demonstratives, and form another evidence of the Dravidian character of a portion of that idiom. The connection which appears to subsist between the Dravidian medial demonstrative *u* and the *ū* of the Ūrāon and Dhimal is deserving of notice. Perhaps the Dravidian medial *u* (Dhimal *ū*, Ūrāon *hūdah*) may be compared with the Old Hebrew masculine-feminine pronoun of the third person, *hū*; and thus with the Old Persian remote demonstrative *huava*, of which the first portion appears to be *hu*, and the second *ava*—which *ava* forms the base of the oblique cases. It may also be compared with the *u* or *o* which forms the remote demonstrative in some of the Scythian languages—*e.g.*, Finnish *tuo*, that, *tāma*, this; Ostiak *toma*, that, *tema*, this. Compare also the Hind. *vuh*, that; Bodo *hobe*. The Magyar demonstratives are more in accordance with the Dravidian *a* and *i*—*e.g.*, *az*, that, *ez*, this. The demonstratives of the other languages of the Scythian family (*e.g.*, the Turkish *bou*, that, *ol*, this) are altogether destitute of resemblance.

When we turn to the languages of the Indo-European family, they appear in this particular to be closely allied to the Dravidian. Throughout that family both *a* and *i* are used as demonstratives; though not to so large an extent, nor with so perfect and constant a discrimination between the remote and the proximate, as in the Dravidian family. In Sanskrit *a* is used instead of the more regular *i* in most of the oblique cases of *idam*, this; and the correlative of this word, *adas*, means not only that, but also this. Nevertheless, *a* is more generally a remote than a proximate demonstrative, and *i* more generally a proximate than a remote. In derived adverbial words *i* has always a proximate force; but *ta*, the consonantal demonstrative, is more generally used than *a*. The following are examples of each vowel:—*i-ha*, here; *i-dānīm*, now; *ta-dānīm*, then: also *i-ti*, so, this much; *a-tha*, so, thus, in that manner. *i*, the proximate demonstrative root, is in all probability identical with *i*, the sign of the locative in such words as *hrid-i*, heart. Probably, also, we see the same root in the preposition *in*. We may compare the Old Persian *avadā*, thither, in that direction; and the corresponding proximate *i-dā*, hither, in this direction. The resemblance between the bases of these forms, notwithstanding the irregularity of their application, and the Dravidian remote and proximate demonstrative bases, seems to amount to identity. All irregularity disappears in the New Persian, which in this point accords as perfectly with the Dravidian languages as if it were itself a Dravidian idiom. Its demonstratives are *ān*, that, *īn*, this. These

demonstratives are adjectival prefixes, and naturally destitute of number; but when plural terminations are suffixed, they acquire a plural signification—*e.g.*, *ānān*, those (persons), *īnān*, these (persons). The same demonstratives are largely used in modern Turkish, by which they have been borrowed from Persian. *ān* and *īn* are undoubtedly Aryan demonstratives. This is apparent when we compare *ān* with the Zend *aēm*, that, and that again with the Sanskrit *ayam*; but *īn* is still more clearly identical with the Zend *īm*, this. This same *īm* constitutes the accusative in Vedic Sanskrit (and is also identical with *iyam*, the masculine-feminine singular of the Old Persian, and the feminine of Sanskrit); but in Zend *īm* is the nominative, not the accusative, and it is to this form that the New Persian is most closely allied. The demonstrative base *i* (without being restricted, however, to a proximate signification) appears in the Latin *is* and *id*, and in the Gothic *is*; and the Dravidian and New Persian distinction between the signification of *a* and that of *i*, has been re-developed in our English that and this. Whilst the New Persian *ān* and *īn* are closely connected with Sanskrit and Zend demonstratives, it does not follow that they are directly derived from either the one tongue or the other. On the contrary, the exactness with which the Persian discriminates between the remote and the proximate, leads me to conclude that it has retained more faithfully than either of those languages the primitive characteristics of the præ-Sanskritic speech. If so, instead of supposing the Dravidian dialects to have borrowed their demonstratives, which are still purer than the Persian, from Sanskrit (which are irregular and greatly corrupted), it is more reasonable to suppose that the Dravidian demonstrative vowels retain and exhibit the primeval bases from which the demonstratives of the Sanskrit and of all other European tongues have been derived.

Affiliation of Interrogative Bases: Extra-Dravidian Relationship.—There seems to be no analogy between either *e* or *yā* and any of the interrogative bases of the Indo-European family. Both in that family and in the Scythian group, the ordinary base of the interrogative is guttural *k*—*e.g.*, Sanskrit, *kim*, what? The same base appears in the Sanskrit interrogative initial syllables *ka-*, *ki-*, *ku-*, which correspond to the Latin *qu-*, the Gothic *hva-*, and the English *wh-*. We find the same base again in the Turkish *kim* or *kīm*, who? what? in the Magyar *ki*, who? plural *kik*; and in the Finnish *kuka* (root *ku*). I am unable to suppose the Dravidian *yā* derived from the Sanskrit and Indo-European *ka*. I see no-

where else any trace of a Sanskrit *k* changing into a Dravidian *y*. It would be tempting, but unsafe, to connect *ka-t* (Sans.) with *yā-du* (Tam.) which ?

In the absence of a real relative pronoun, the interrogative is used as a relative in many of the Scythian languages. The base of the Sanskrit relative pronoun *ya* (*yas, yā, yat*) bears a close apparent resemblance to the Dravidian interrogative *yā*. The Sanskrit *ya*, however, like the derived North Indian *jō*, and the Finnish *yo*, is exclusively used as a relative, whereas the Dravidian *yā* is exclusively and distinctively an interrogative.

It has been conjectured that the Sanskrit *ya*, though now a relative, was a demonstrative originally; and if (as we shall see that there is some reason for supposing) the Dravidian interrogatives *e* and *a* were originally demonstratives, it may be supposed that *yā* was also a demonstrative, though of this no direct evidence whatever now remains. If *yā* were originally a demonstrative, the connection which would then appear to exist between it and the Sanskrit relative would require to be removed a step further back; for it is not in Sanskrit that the relative *ya* has the force of a demonstrative, but in other and more distant tongues—viz., in the Lithuanian *yis*, he; and in the Slavonian *yam*, and the Zend *yim*, him.

Emphatic ē.—It has been seen that in Ku *ē* is used as a demonstrative—*e.g.*, *ēvāru* (*ē*-(*v*)-*ār*), they; and this may be compared with the demonstrative *ē* of the Sanskrit *ētat*, this (neuter), and the corresponding Zend *aētat*. In the other Dravidian dialects, however, *ē* is not used as a demonstrative, but is postfixed to words for the purpose of rendering them emphatic. The manner in which *ē* is annexed, and the different shades of emphasis which it communicates, are precisely the same in the various dialects, and will be sufficiently illustrated by the following examples from Tamil. When *ē* is postfixed to the subject of a proposition, it sets it forth as the sole depositary of the quality predicated—*e.g.*, *kalvi*- (*y*)-*ē* *śelvam*, learning (alone is) wealth; when postfixed to the predicate, it intensifies its signification—*e.g.*, *kalvi śelvam-ē*, learning is wealth (indeed). When postfixed to a verb or verbal derivative, it is equivalent to the addition of the adverb truly, certainly —*e.g.*, *alla*-(*v*)-*ē* (certainly) not. In the colloquial dialect, it has often been annexed to the case terminations of nouns without necessity, so that it has sometimes become in that connection a mere euphonic expletive; in consequence of which, in such instances, when emphasis is really required by a sign of case, the *ē*

has to be doubled—*e.g.*, *ennālēyē* (*ennāl-ē-*(*y*)*-ē*), through me (alone). In Tuḷu, emphatic *ē* becomes euphonically, not only *y*(*ē*) and *v*(*ē*), as in Tamil, after certain vowels, but also *n*(*ē*). *ē* however, is always to be regarded as the sign of emphasis. The same sign of emphasis forms the most common vocative case-sign in the various Dravidian dialects, the vocative being nothing more than an emphatic enunciation of the nominative. Compare with this the use of the nominative, with the addition of the definite article, as the vocative in Hebrew and in Attic Greek. The Persian *ē* of supplication may also be compared with it.

Some resemblance to the use of *ē* as a particle of emphasis may be discovered in the Hebrew '*he* paragogic,' which is supposed to intensify the signification of the words to which it is annexed. The '*he* directive' of the same language is also, and not without reason, supposed to be a mark of emphasis. A still closer resemblance to the emphatic *ē* of the Dravidian languages is apparent in Chaldee, in which *ā* suffixed to nouns constitutes their emphatic state, and is equivalent to the definite article of many other languages. The Persian *ē* of particularity, the *ē* of ascription of greatness, &c., in addition to the *ē* of supplication, which has already been referred to, probably spring from a Chaldaic and Cuthite origin, though each of them bears a remarkable resemblance to the Dravidian emphatic *ē*.

Honorific Demonstrative Pronouns.—I have deferred till now the consideration of a peculiar class of honorific demonstratives, which are found only in Telugu and Canarese, and in which, I think, Aryan influences or affinities may be detected. In all the Dravidian dialects the plural is used as an honorific singular when the highest degree of respect is meant to be expressed; but when a somewhat inferior degree of respect is intended, the pronouns which are used by the Telugu are *āyana*, he, ille, and *āme*, she, illa; with their corresponding proximates *īyana*, hic, and *īme*, hæc. These pronouns are destitute of plurals. When a little less respect is meant to be shown than is implied in the use of *āyana* and *īyana*, and of *āme* and *īme*, Telugu makes use of *ataḍu*, ille, *āse*, illa, with their corresponding proximates *itaḍu* and *ise; atanu* and *itanu* are also used, also the longer forms *ātanu ātaḍu*, &c. Here Canarese agrees with Telugu—*e.g.*, *ātanu*, ille, *ītanu*, hic (class. Can. *ātam; ītam*). The Canarese feminines *āke*, illa, *īke*, hæc, do not appear so perfectly to accord with the Telugu *āse*, *īse*. Both the above sets of Telugu pronouns are destitute of plurals, but both are pluralised in Canarese—*e.g.*, *ātagaḷu*, *ītagaḷu*, those and these men;

ākeyar, īkeyar, those and these (women). The Tuda *atham,* he, she, it, appears to be allied to the pronouns now referred to. I consider it to be a neuter singular, synonymous with *adu,* the neuter singular of the Tamil-Canarese, and used corruptly for the masculine and feminine, as well as for the neuter.

An Aryan origin may possibly be attributed to some of these words, especially to *āyana, īyana, āme, īme*; and this supposition would account for the circumstance that they are found in Telugu only, and not in any other dialect of the family (except the Tuḷu *āye,* he, is to be regarded as a connected form): it would also harmonise with their use as honorifics. Compare *āyana* with the Sanskrit masculine *ayam,* ille, and *īyana* with the Sanskrit feminine, and the Old Persian mas. fem. *yam,* hic, hæc. *āme,* illa, and *īme,* hæc, the corresponding feminine pronouns of the Telugu, may be compared not only with the plurals of the Sanskrit pronoun of the third person (*ime,* mas., *imāh,* fem., *imāni,* neut.), but also with *amum* and *imam,* him, which are accusative singulars, and from which it is evident that the *m* of the plural forms is not a sign of plurality, but is either a part of the pronominal base, or an euphonic or formative addition. Bopp considers it to be the former, but Dravidian analogies incline me to adopt the latter view, and the *m* of these forms I conceive to be the ordinary neuter formative of Dravidian, and especially of Tamil, nouns, whilst the *v* seems to be merely a softening of *m*. *me* is a common suffix of Telugu neuter nouns.

When the Telugu masculine of respect *ātaḍu, ātanu,* and the corresponding Canarese honorific *āta-nu,* are scrutinised, it is evident that in addition to the vocalic demonstrative bases, *a* and *i*, which are found in Dravidian demonstratives of every kind, the *ta* which is subjoined to *a* and *i*, possesses also somewhat of a demonstrative or pronominal signification. It cannot be regarded like *v*, as merely euphonic; and its restriction to masculine shows that it is not merely an abstract formative, as the *k* of the feminine *āke* may be presumed to be. It can scarcely be doubted, I think, that the affinities of this *ta* are Aryan; for we find in all the Aryan languages much use made of a similar *ta,* both as an independent demonstrative, and as an auxiliary to the vocalic demonstrative. *ta-d,* Sans. that, is an instance of the former; whilst the secondary or auxiliary place which *ta* or *da* occupies in the Sanskrit *ētad* (*ē-ta-d*), this, and *adam, adas* (*a-da-m, a-da-s*), this, or that, is in perfect agreement with the Telugu and Canarese *ā-ta-nu, ā-ta-ḍu.* The final *e* of *āse, īse, āme, īme, āke, īke,* is equivalent to the Tamil

ei. *e* or *ei* is an ordinary termination of abstracts in these languages, and a suitable one, according to Dravidian notions, for feminine honorific pronouns.

Syntactic Interrogatives, ā and ō.—The interrogative prefixes *e* and *yā* are equivalent to the interrogative pronouns and adjectives, who ? which ? what ? &c. Another interrogative is required for the purpose of putting such inquiries as are expressed in English by a change of construction—*e.g.,* is there ? is it ? by transposition from there is, it is. This species of interrogation is effected in all the Dravidian languages in one and the same manner, viz., by suffixing an open vowel to the noun, verb, or sentence which forms the principal subject of interrogation; and in almost all these languages it is by the suffix of *ā* or *ō* alone, without any syntactic change, or change in the collocation of words, that an interrogative verb or sentence differs from an affirmative one—*e.g.,* compare the affirmative *avan tandān,* Tam. he gave, with *avan tandān-ā ?* did he give ? *avan ā tandān ?* was it he that gave ? compare also *adu ūr,* that is a village, with *adu ūr-ā?* is that a village? This interrogative is never prefixed to nouns or pronominals, or used adjectivally; but is invariably postfixed, like an enunciated or audible note of interrogation.

ō is used instead of *ā* in Malayāḷam, in which the interrogative use of *ā* is almost unknown. *ā* seems to survive only in *idā* (Tam. *idō*) lo, literally what is this ? *ō* is used occasionally in Tamil also as a simple interrogative; but its special and distinctive use is as a particle expressive of doubt. Thus, whilst *avan-ā* means is it he ? *avan-ō* means can it be he ? or, I am doubtful whether it is he or not. *ō* is postfixed to words in precisely the same manner as *ā,* and is probably only a weakened form of it, in which, by usage, the interrogation has been softened into the expression of doubt. It has acquired, however, as a suffix of doubt a position and force of its own, quite independent of *ā*; in consequence of which it is often annexed even to interrogative pronouns—*e.g.,* *evan-ō,* Tam. I wonder who he can be; *enna* (*v*) *-ō,* what it may be I know not—compound forms which are not double interrogatives, but which consist of a question *evan,* who ? or *enna,* what ? and an answer *ō,* I am doubtful, I know not, there is room for further inquiry. In Tuḷu, in addition to the use of *ā* and *ō,* as in the other dialects, *ē* (euphonically (*v*) *ē* or (*n*) *ē*) is used syntactically as an interrogative. This *ē* is doubtless identical with the *ē* of emphasis in origin. The use of *ā* or *ō* as an interrogative suffix does not seem to have any counterpart in any

language either of the Scythian or of the Indo-European family. It is altogether unknown to Sanskrit; and Cashmirian is the only non-Dravidian tongue in which it is found.

I am inclined to consider *ā*, the ordinary Dravidian interrogative, as derived from, or at least allied to, *a* or *ā*, the remote demonstrative of the same family. The quantity of that demonstrative *a* is long or short, as euphonic considerations may determine; and though the interrogative *ā* is always long in Tamil, yet in consequence of its being used as a postfix, it is pronounced long by necessity of position, whatever it may have been originally. In Telugu it is generally short; always so in poetry. Hence the question of quantity may, in this inquiry, be left altogether out of account. The only real difference between them is the difference in location; *a* demonstrative being invariably placed at the beginning of a word, *a* interrogative at the end of it. If the interrogative *a* were really connected with *a* the demonstrative we should expect to find a similar connection subsisting between *e* or *ē*, the adjectival interrogative, and some demonstrative particle, with a similar interchange of places; accordingly this is found to be the case, for *ē* is not only the ordinary sign of emphasis in all the Dravidian tongues, but it is used in Ku as an adjectival demonstrative; and it is curious that in this instance also there is a change of location, *ē* emphatic being placed at the end of a word, *e* interrogative at the beginning. *ō* would naturally be derived from *ā*, as in the change of *yām*, we, Tam., into *ōm*, in the pronominal terminations of the Tamil verb.

A similar change in the position of particles, to denote or correspond with some change in signification, is not unknown in other tongues. Thus in Danish, the article *en* has a definite sense in one position, and an indefinite in another—*e.g.*, *en konge*, a king, *kongen*, the king. But it is still more remarkable, and more corroborative of the supposition now advanced, that in Hebrew, one and the same particle, *he* (for it must be regarded as one and the same, and any difference that exists seems to be merely euphonic), imparts emphasis to a word when postfixed to it, and constitutes an interrogative when prefixed. Even in English the interrogative is founded upon the demonstrative. 'That ?' differs from 'that' only in the tone of voice with which it is pronounced.

Distributive Pronouns.—In all the Dravidian tongues distributive pronouns are formed by simply annexing the conjunctive particle to any of the interrogative pronouns. Thus, from *evan*, who ? by the addition of *um*, and, the conjunctive or copulative

particle of the Tamil is formed, viz., *evanum*, every one, whosoever (literally who ?-and); and from *epporudu*, when ? is formed in the same manner *epporudum*, always (literally when ?-and). In Canarese similar forms are found, though not so largely used as in Tamil—*e.g.*, *yāvāgalū* (*yā-āgal-ū*), always; and in Telugu *u* (the copulative particle which answers to the Tamil *um* and the Canarese *u*) is used in the same manner in the formation of distributives—*e.g.*, *evvaḍunu* (*evvaḍu-*(*nn*)*-u*), every one, *eppuḍunnu* (*eppuḍu-*(*nn*)*-u*), always.

SECTION III.—RELATIVE PRONOUNS.

I give this heading a place in the book solely for the purpose of drawing attention to the remarkable fact that the Dravidian languages have no relative pronoun, a participial form of the verb being used instead.

Instead of relative pronouns, they use verbal forms which are called by English grammarians relative participles; which see in the part on "The Verb." All other words which correspond either in meaning or in use to the pronouns of other languages will be found on examination to be nouns, regularly formed and declined.

PART VI.

THE VERB.

THE object in view in this part of the work is to investigate the nature, inflexions, and relations of the Dravidian verb. It seems desirable to commence with some general preliminary remarks upon its structure.

1. A large proportion of Dravidian roots are used indiscriminately, either as verbs or as nouns. When case-signs are attached to a root, or when, without the addition of case-signs, it is used as the nominative of a verb, it is regarded as a noun; the same root becomes a verb without any internal change or formative addition, when the signs of tense (or time) and the pronouns or their terminal fragments are suffixed to it. Though, abstractly speaking, every Dravidian root is capable of this twofold use, it depends upon circumstances whether any particular root is actually thus used; and it often happens, as in other languages, that of three given roots one shall be used solely or generally as a verbal theme, another solely or generally as the theme of a noun, and the third alone shall be used indiscriminately either as a noun or as a verb. Herein also the *usus loquendi* of the various dialects is found to differ; and not unfrequently a root which is used solely as a verbal theme in one dialect, is used solely as a noun in another.

2. The inflexional theme of a Dravidian verb or noun is not always identical with the crude root or ultimate base. In many instances formative or euphonic particles (such as *vu, ku, gu* or *ṅgu, du* or *ndu, bu* or *mbu*) are annexed to the root,—not added on like isolated post-positions, but so annexed as to be incorporated with it. (See Part II., "Roots.") But the addition of one of those formative suffixes does not necessarily constitute the root to which it is suffixed a verb: it is still capable of being used as a noun, though it may be admitted that some of the roots to which those suffixes have been annexed are more frequently used as verbs than as nouns.

3. The structure of the Dravidian verb is strictly agglutinative. The particles which express the ideas of mood and tense, transition, intransition, causation, and negation, together with the pronominal fragments by which person, number, and gender are

denoted, are annexed or agglutinated to the root in so regular a series and by so quiet a process, that generally no change whatever, or at most only a slight euphonic change, is effected either in the root or in any of the suffixed particles. (See this illustrated in "Roots.")

4. The second person singular of the imperative may perhaps be considered as an exception to the foregoing rule. The crude theme of the verb, or the shortest form which the root assumes, and which is capable of being used also as the theme of a noun, is used in the Dravidian languages, as in many others, as the second person singular of the imperative; and the ideas of number and person and of the conveyance of a command, which are included in that part of speech, are not expressed by the addition of any particles, but are generally left to be inferred from the context alone. Thus, in the Tamil, sentences *aḍi viṛundadu,* the stroke fell; *ennei aḍi-ttān,* he struck me; and *idei aḍi,* strike thou this; the theme, *aḍi,* strike, or a stroke, is the same in each instance, and in the third illustration it is used without any addition, and in its crude state, as the second person singular of the imperative.

5. As the normal Dravidian noun has properly but one declension, so the normal Dravidian verb has properly only one conjugation and but very few irregular forms. It is true that grammarians have arranged the Dravidian verb in classes, and have sometimes styled those classes conjugations; but the differences on which this classification is founded are generally of a trivial and superficial character. The structure of the verb, its signs of tense, and the mode in which the pronouns are suffixed, remain invariably the same, with such changes only as euphony appears to have dictated. Consequently, though class differences exist, they are hardly of sufficient importance to constitute different conjugations. When I speak of the normal Dravidian nouns and verbs I mean those of the more highly cultivated dialects, Tamil, Malayāḷam, Canarese, and Telugu. The Tuḷu and Gōnd verbs will be found exceptionally rich in moods and tenses.

Such is the simplicity of the structure of the normal Dravidian verb, that the only moods it has are the indicative, the infinitive, the imperative, and the negative, and that it has only three tenses, the past, the present, and the aorist or indefinite future. There is reason to suspect, also, that originally it had no present tense, but only a future and a past. The ideas which are expressed in other families of languages by the subjunctive and optative moods, are expressed in all the members of the Dravidian family, except in Tuḷu and

Gōnd, by means of suffixed particles; and the imperfect, perfect, pluperfect, future perfect, and other compound tenses, are expressed by means of auxiliary verbs. In these respects the normal Dravidian verb imitates, though it does not equal, the simplicity of the ancient Scythian verb. The modern Turkish has, it is true, an extraordinary number of moods—conditionals, potentials, reciprocals, inceptives, negatives, impossibles, &c., together with their passives, and also a large array of compound tenses; but this complexity of structure appears to be a refinement of a comparatively modern age, and is not in accordance with the genius of the Oriental Turkish, or Tartar properly so called. Remusat conjectures that intercourse with nations of the Indo-European race, some time after the Christian era, was the occasion of introducing into the Turkish language the use of auxiliary verbs and of compound tenses. "From the extremity of Asia," he says, "the art of conjugating verbs is unknown. The Oriental Turks first offer some traces of this; but the very sparing use which they make of it seems to attest the pre-existence of a more simple method."

All the Dravidian idioms conjugate their verbs, with the partial exception of Malayāḷam, which has retained the use of the signs of tense, but has rejected the pronominal terminations, except in the ancient poetry. Nevertheless, the system of conjugation on which most of the Dravidian idioms proceed is one of primitive and remarkable simplicity.

Tuḷu and Gōṇḍ verbs possess more complicated systems of conjugational forms, almost rivalling those of the Turkish in abundance. Tuḷu has a perfect tense, as well as an imperfect or indefinite past. It has conditional and potential moods, as well as a subjunctive. Tamil has but one verbal participle, which is properly a participle of the past tense, whilst Tuḷu has also a present and a future participle. All these moods, tenses, and participles have regularly formed negatives. I do not refer here to the pluperfect and second future, or future perfect tense, of Tuḷu, these tenses being formed, as in the other dialects, by means of the substantive verb used as an auxiliary.

Gōnd has all the moods, tenses, and participles of Tuḷu, and in addition some of its own. It has an inceptive mood. Its imperfect branches into two distinct tenses, an imperfect, properly so called (I was going), and a past indefinite (I went). It has also a desiderative form of the indicative—that is, a tense which, when preceded by the future, is a subjunctive, but which, when standing alone implies a wish.

On comparing the complicated conjugational system of the Gōnd with the extreme and almost naked simplicity of the Tamil, I conclude that we have here a proof, not of the superiority of the Gōnd mind to the Tamilian, but simply of the greater antiquity of Tamilian literary culture. The development of the conjugational system of Tamil seems to have been arrested at a very early period (as in the parallel, but still more remarkable, instance of the Chinese) by the invention of writing, by which the verbal forms existing at the time were fossilised, whilst the uncultured Gōnds, and their still ruder neighbours the Kōls, went on age after age, as before, compounding with their verbs auxiliary words of time and relation, and fusing them into conjugational forms by rapid and careless pronunciation, without allowing any record of the various steps of the process to survive.

The Dravidian languages do not make a distinction, as the Hungarian does, between subjective and objective verbs. In Hungarian, 'I know' is considered a subjective verb ; I know (it, them, something), an objective verb. A like distinction is made by the Bornu or Kanuri, an African language, but not by any of the Dravidian dialects.

6. The Dravidian verb is as frequently compounded with a noun as the Indo-European one ; but the compound of a verb with a preposition is unknown. An inexhaustible variety of shades of meaning is secured in Sanskrit and Greek by the facility with which, in those languages, verbs are compounded with prepositions ; and the beauty of many of those compounds is as remarkable as the facility with which they are made. In the Scythian tongues, properly so called, there is no trace of compounds of this kind ; and though at first sight we seem to discover traces of them in the Dravidian family, yet when the component elements of such compounds are carefully scrutinised, it is found that the principle on which they are compounded differs widely from that of Indo-European compounds. The Dravidian preposition-like words which are most frequently compounded with verbs are those which signify over and under, the use of which is illustrated by the common Tamil verbs *mēṟ-koḷ*, to overcome, and *kīṟ-(p)paḍi*, to obey. Dravidian prepositions, however (or rather, postpositions), are properly nouns—*e.g.*, *mēl* (from *mi-(y)-al*), over, literally means overness, superiority ; and *mēl-koḷ* (euphonically *mēṟ-koḷ*), to overcome, literally signifies to take the superiority. These and similar verbal themes, therefore, though compounds, are not, after all, compounds of a preposition and a verb, but are com-

pounds of a noun and a verb; and the Greek verbs with which they are to be compared are not those which commence with περί (*peri*), κατά (*kata*), ἀνά (*ana*), &c., but such compounds as πολιορκέω (*poliorkeō*), to besiege a city, literally to city-besiege; ναυπηγέω (*naupēgeō*), to build a ship, literally to ship-build. In such cases, whether in Greek or in Tamil, the first member of the compound (the noun) does not modify the signification of the second (the verb), but simply denotes the object to which the action of the verb applies. It is merely a crude noun, which is used objectively without any signs of case, and is intimately combined with a governing verb.

Dravidian verbs acquire new shades of meaning, and an increase or diminution in the intensity of their signification, not by prefixing or combining prepositions, but by means of auxiliary gerunds, or verbal participles and infinitives—parts of speech which in this family of languages have an adverbial force—*e.g.*, *mundi* (*p*) *pōnān,* Tam. he went before, literally having-got-before he went; *śuṟṟi* (*śuttri*) (*p*) *pōnān,* he went round, literally rounding he went; *tāṟa* (*k*) *kudittān,* he leaped down, literally so-as-to-get-down he leaped. A great variety of compounds of this nature exists in each of the Dravidian dialects. They are as easily made, and many of them are as beautiful, as the Greek and Sanskrit compounds of prepositions with verbs. See especially Dr Gundert's "Malayāḷam Grammar."

SECTION I.—CLASSIFICATION.

1. Transitives and Intransitives.

Dravidian grammarians divide all verbs into two classes, which are called in Tamil *piṟa vinei* and *tan vinei,* transitives and intransitives, literally outward-action words and self-action words. These classes correspond rather to the *parasmai-padam* and *ātmanē-padam,* or transitive and reflexive voices, of the Sanskrit, than to the active and passive voices of the other Indo-European languages.

The Dravidian *piṟa vinei* and *tan vinei,* or transitive and intransitive verbs, differ from the *parasmai-padam* and *ātmanē-padam* of the Sanskrit in this, that instead of each being conjugated differently, they are both conjugated in precisely the same mode. They differ, not in their mode of conjugation, but in the formative additions made to their themes. Moreover, all *piṟa vinei,* or transitive verbs, are really, as well as formally, transitives, inasmuch as they necessarily govern the accusative, through the transition of their action to some object; whilst the *tan vinei,* or intransitive verbs, are

all necessarily, as well as formally, intransitives. The Dravidian transitives and intransitives closely resemble in force and use, though not in shape, the objective and subjective verbs of the Hungarian. The Hungarian objective verbs, like the Dravidian transitives, imply an object—an accusative expressed or implied—*e.g.*, *szeretem,* I love (some person or thing) ; whilst the Hungarian subjective verbs, like the Dravidian intransitives, neither express nor imply an object—*e.g.*, *szeretek,* I love—*i.e.*, I am in love.

In a large number of instances in each of the Dravidian dialects, including entire classes of verbs, there is no difference between transitives and intransitives, either in formative additions to the theme, or in any structural peculiarity, the only difference is that which consists in the signification. Thus, in Tamil, all verbs of the class which take *i* as the sign of the past participle are conjugated alike, whether they are transitives or intransitives—*e.g.*, from *paṇṇ-u,* trans. to make, are formed the three tenses (first person singular) *paṇṇu-giṟ-ēn,* I make, *paṇṇ-i-*(*n*)*-ēn,* I made, and *paṇṇu-v-ēn,* I will make ; and in like manner from *pēś-u,* intrans. to talk, are formed, precisely in the same manner, the corresponding tenses *pēśu-giṟ-ēn,* I talk, *pēś-i-*(*n*)*-ēn,* I talked, and *pēśu-v-ēn,* I will talk. In a still larger number of cases, however, transitive verbs differ from intransitives, not only in signification and force, but also in form, notwithstanding that they are conjugated alike. The nature of the difference that exists and its rationale are more clearly apparent in Tamil than in any other Dravidian dialect ; my illustrations will, therefore, chiefly be drawn from the Tamil.

There are three modes in which intransitive Tamil verbs are converted into transitives.

1. Intransitive themes become transitive by the hardening and doubling of the consonant of the appended formative—*e.g.*, *peru-gu,* to abound, by this process becomes *peru-kku,* to increase (actively), to cause to abound. Transitives of this kind, which are formed from intransitives in actual use, are often called *causals,* and they are as well entitled to be called by that name as many causal verbs in the Indo-European tongues ; but as there is a class of Dravidian verbs which are distinctly causal (and which are formed by the annexing to the transitive theme of a causal particle —*e.g.*, *paṇṇuvi* (*v-i*), Tam. to cause to make, from *paṇṇu,* to make), it will contribute to perspicuity to regard the whole of the verbs of which we are now treating simply as transitives, and to reserve the name of *causal verbs* for the double transitives referred to. When

transitives are formed from intransitives by doubling the consonant of the formative, there is no change in any of the signs of tense, or in the mode in which those signs are added; and the hardened formative appears in the imperative, as well as in the other parts of the verb. The nature of these formatives has already been investigated in Part II., on "Roots"; and it has been shown that they are generally either euphonic accretions, or particles of specialisation, which, though permanently annexed to the base, are not to be confounded with it. I subjoin a few illustrations of this mode of forming transitives by the doubling and hardening of the consonant of the formative.

(1.) *gu,* or its nasalised equivalent *ṅgu,* becomes *kku—e.g.,* from *pō-gu,* to go (in the imperative softened into *pō*), comes *pō-kku,* to drive away; from *aḍa-ṅgu,* to be restrained, comes *aḍa-kku,* to restrain.

(2.) *śu* becomes *chchu—e.g.,* from *aḍei-śu,* to be stuffed in, comes *adei-chchu,* to stuff in, to stick on.

(3.) *du,* euphonised into *ndu,* becomes *ttu—e.g.,* from *tiru-ndu,* to become correct, comes *tiru-ttu,* to correct.

(4.) *bu,* euphonised into *mbu,* becomes *ppu—e.g.,* from *nira-mbu,* to be full, comes *nira-ppu,* to fill.

When intransitives are converted into transitives in this manner in Telugu, *gu* or *ngu* becomes, not *kku* as in Tamil, but *chu*—a difference which is in accordance with dialectic rules of sound. Thus from *tū-gu,* or euphonically *tū-ṅgu,* to hang, to sleep, comes *tū-chu,* or euphonically *tū-ñchu,* to weigh, to cause to hang (Tam. *tū-kku*). Telugu also occasionally changes the intransitive formative *gu,* not into *chu,* the equivalent of *kku,* but into *pu—e.g.,* from *mēy,* to graze, comes *mē-pu,* to feed; and as *ppu* in Tamil is invariably hardened from *bu* or *mbu,* the corresponding Telugu *pu* indicates that *bu* originally alternated with *gu;* for the direct hardening of *gu* into *pu* is not in accordance with Dravidian laws of sound. This view is confirmed by the circumstances that in Telugu the use of *pu* instead of *chu* (and of *mpu* instead of *ñchu*) is in most instances optional, and that in the higher dialect of Tamil the formative *pp* sometimes supersedes *kk—e.g.,* the infinitive of the verb 'to walk' may in that dialect be either *naḍa-kka* or *naḍa-ppa.* It is obvious, therefore, that these formative terminations are mutual equivalents.

If the transitive or causal *p* of such verbs as *nira-ppu,* Tam. to fill, *mē-pu,* Tel. to feed, were not known to be derived from the hardening of an intransitive formative, we might be inclined to

affiliate it with the *p*, which is characteristic of a certain class of causal verbs in Sanskrit—*e.g.*, *jīvā-p-ayāmi*, I cause to live, *jñā-p-ayāmi*, I make to know. It is evident, however, that the resemblance is merely accidental, for etymologically there is nothing of a causal nature in the Dravidian formatives; it is not the formative itself, but the *hardening* of the formative which conveys the force of transition; and on the other hand, the real sign of the causal in Sanskrit is *aya*, and the *p* which precedes it is considered to be only an euphonic fulcrum.

It has already been shown (in "Roots") that the various verbal formatives now referred to are used also as formatives of nouns, and that when such nouns are used adjectively, the consonant of the formative is doubled and hardened, precisely as in the transitives of verbs—*e.g.*, *maruttu*, medicinal, from *marundu*, medicine; *pāppu*, serpentine, from *pāmbu*, a snake. When nouns are used to qualify other nouns, as well as in the case of transitive verbs, there is a transition in the application of the meaning of the theme to some other object; and the idea of transition is expressed by the doubling and hardening of the consonant of the formative, or rather by the forcible and emphatic enunciation of the verb of which that hardening of the formative is the sign. There is something resembling this in Hebrew. The doubling of a consonant by *Dagesh forte* is sometimes resorted to in Hebrew for the purpose of converting an intransitive verb into a transitive—*e.g.*, compare *lāmad*, he learned, with *limmēd*, he caused to learn, he taught.

2. The second class of intransitive verbs become transitives by the doubling and hardening of the initial consonant of the signs of tense.

Verbs of this class are generally destitute of formatives, properly so called; or, if they have any, they are such as are incapable of change. The sign of the present tense in colloquial Tamil is *giṟ*; that of the preterite *d*, ordinarily euphonised into *nd*; and that of the future, *b* or *v*. These are the signs of tense which are used by intransitive verbs of this class; and it will be shown hereafter that they are the normal tense-signs of the Dravidian verb. When verbs of this class become transitives, *giṟ* is changed into *kkiṟ*, *d* or *nd* into *tt*, and *b* or *v* into *pp*. Thus, the root, *śēr*, to join, is capable both of an intransitive sense—*e.g.*, to join (a society)—and of a transitive sense—*e.g.*, to join (things that were separate). The tense-signs of the intransitive remain in their natural conditions—*e.g.*, *śēr-giṟ-en*, I join, *śēr-nd-ēn*, I joined, *śēr-v-ēn*, I will join; but when the signification is active or transitive—*e.g.*, to join (planks), the

corresponding parts of the verb are *śēr-kkiṟ-ēn,* I join, *śēr-tt-ēn,* I joined, *śēr-pp-ēn,* I will join. The rationale of this doubling of the first consonant of the sign of tense appears to be exactly the same as that of the doubling of the first consonant of the formative. It is an emphasised, hardened enunciation of the intransitive or natural form of the verb; and the forcible enunciation thus produced is symbolical of the force of transition by which the meaning of the transitive theme overflows and passes on to the object indicated by the accusative. In verbs of this class the imperative remains always unchanged; and it is the connection alone that determines it to a transitive rather than an intransitive signification.

It should here be mentioned, that a few intransitive verbs double the initial consonant of the tense-sign, and that a few transitive verbs leave the tense-sign in its original, unemphasised condition. Thus, *iru,* to sit, to be, is necessarily an intransitive verb; nevertheless, in the present tense *iru-kkiṟ-ēn,* I am, and in the future *iru-pp-ēn,* I shall be, it has made use of the ordinary characteristics of the transitive. So also *paḍu,* to lie, though an intransitive, doubles the initial consonant of all the tenses—*e.g., paḍu-kkiṟ-ēn,* I lie, *paḍu-tt-ēn,* I lay, *paḍu-pp-ēn,* I shall lie. On the other hand *ī,* to give, to bestow, though necessarily transitive, uses the simple, unhardened, unemphatic tense-signs which are ordinarily characteristic of the intransitive—*e.g., ī-giṟ-ēn,* I give, *ī-nd-en,* I gave, *ī-v-ēn,* I will give. These instances are the result of dialectic rules of sound, and they are not in reality exceptions to the method described above of distinguishing transitive and intransitive verbs by means of the hardening or softening of the initial consonant of the tense-signs. Besides, this anomalous use of the transitive form of the signs of tense for the intransitive is peculiar to Tamil. It is not found in Telugu or Canarese.

3. A third mode of converting intransitives into transitives is by adding a particle of transition to the theme or root. This particle is *du* in Canarese, and *ttu* (in composition *tu* or *du*) in Tamil, and may be regarded as a real transitive suffix, or sign of activity. We have an instance of the use of this particle in the Canarese *tāḷ-du,* to lower, from *tāḷ-u,* to be low, and the corresponding Tamil *tāṛ-ttu,* to lower, from *tāṛ* or *tāṛ-u,* to be low. When the intransitive Tamil theme ends in a vowel which is radical and cannot be elided, the transitive particle is invariably *ttu*—*e.g., paḍu-ttu,* to lay down, from *paḍu,* to lie. It might, therefore, be supposed that *ttu* is the primitive shape of this particle; but on examining those instances in which it is compounded with the final consonant of the intransi-

tive theme, it appears to resolve itself, as in Canarese, into *du*. It is always thus compounded when the final consonant of the theme is *l* or *ḷ*, *ḍ* or *ṟ*; and in such cases the *d* of *du* is not merely placed in juxtaposition with the consonant to which it is attached, but is assimilated to it, or both consonants are euphonically changed, according to the phonetic rules of the language. Thus *l* and *du* become *ṟṟ-u* (pronounced *ttr-u*)—*e.g.*, from *suṛal*, intrans., to be whirled, comes *suṛaṟṟ-u* (*suṛattr-u*), trans., to whirl. *ḷ* and *du* become *ṭṭu*—*e.g.*, from *mīḷ*, to return, comes *mīṭṭ-u*, to cause to return, to redeem. From these instances it is clear that *du*, not *ttu*, is to be regarded as the primitive form of this transitive suffix.

What is the origin of this transitive particle, or sign of activity, *ttu* or *du?* I believe it to be identical with the inflexion or adjectival formative *attu* or *ttu*, which was fully investigated in Part III., "The Noun," and of which the Canarese form is *ad'*, the Telugu *ṭi* or *ti*. There is a transition of meaning when a noun is used adjectivally (*i.e.*, to qualify another noun), as well as when a verb is used transitively (*i.e.*, to govern an object expressed by some noun in the accusative); and in both cases the Dravidian languages use (with respect to this class of verbs) one and the same means of expressing transition, viz., a particle which appears to have been originally a neuter demonstrative. Nor is this the only case in which the Tamil transitive verb exhibits the characteristics of the noun used adjectivally, for it has been shown also that the doubling and hardening of the consonant of the formative of the first class of transitive verbs is in exact accordance with the manner in which nouns terminating in those formatives double and harden the initial consonant when they are used to qualify other nouns. Another illustration of this principle follows.

4. The fourth (a distinctively Tamil) mode of converting intransitive verbs into transitives consists in doubling and hardening the final consonant, if *ḍ* or *ṟ*. This rule applies generally, though not invariably, to verbs which terminate in those consonants; and it applies to a final *ṇḍ-u* (euphonised from *ḍ-u*), as well as to *ḍ-u* itself. The operation of this rule will appear on comparing *vāḍ-u*, to wither, with *vāṭṭ-u*, to cause to wither; *ōḍ-u*, to run, with *ōṭṭ-u*, to drive; *tīṇḍ-u*, to touch, with *tīṭṭ-u*, to whet; *māṟ-u*, to become changed, with *māṟṟ-u* (pronounced *māttr-u*), to change. The corresponding transitives in Telugu are formed in the more usual way by adding *chu* to the intransitive theme—*e.g.*, *māṟu-chu*, to cause to change, *vāḍu-chu*, to cause to wither. Tamil nouns which end in *ḍ-u*, *ṇḍ-u*, or *ṟ-u*, double and harden the final consonant in pre-

cisely the same manner when they are placed in an adjectival relation to a succeeding noun—*e.g.*, compare *kāḍ-u*, a jungle, with *kāṭṭ-u vaṛi*, a jungle-path; *iraṇḍ-u*, two, with *iraṭṭu nūl*, double thread; *āṟ-u*, a river, with *āṟṟu* (pronounced *āttru*) *maṇal*, river sand. Thus we are furnished by words of this class with another and remarkable illustration of the analogy which subsists in the Dravidian languages between transitive verbs and nouns used adjectivally.

2. Causal Verbs.

There is a class of verbs in the Dravidian languages which, though generally included under the head of *transitives*, claims to be regarded distinctively as *causals*. These verbs have been classed with transitives both by native grammarians and by Europeans. Beschi alone places them in a class by themselves, and calls them *ēval vinei*, verbs of command—*i.e.*, verbs which imply that a thing is commanded by one person to be done by another. *Causals* differ from transitives of the ordinary character, as well as from intransitives, both in signification and in form. The signification of intransitive verbs is confined to the person or thing which constitutes the nominative, and does not pass outward or onward to any extrinsic object—*e.g.*, *pō-giṟ-ēn*, I go. The signification of transitive or active verbs, or, as they are called in Tamil, *outward action-words*, passes outward, to some object exterior to the nominative, and which is generally put in the accusative—*e.g.*, *unnei anuppu-giṟ-ēn*, I send thee: and as to send is to cause to go, verbs of this class, when formed from intransitives, are in some languages, appropriately enough, termed causals. Hitherto the Indo-European languages proceed *pari passu* with the Dravidian, but at this point they fail and fall behind; for if we take a verb which is transitive of necessity, like this one, to send, and endeavour to express the idea of causing to send, *i.e.*, causing one person to send another, we cannot by any modification of structure get any Indo-European verb to express by itself the full force of this idea: we must be content to make use of a phrase instead of a single verb; whereas in the Dravidian languages, as in Turkish and other languages of the Scythian stock, there is a form of the verb which will express the entire idea, viz., the causal—*e.g.*, *anuppu-vi*, Tam. to cause to send, which is formed from *anuppu*, to send, by the addition of the particle *vi* to the theme. Transitives are in a similar manner converted in Turkish into causals by suffixing a particle to the theme—*e.g.*, *sev-dur*,

to cause to love, from *sev*, to love; and *ātch-ū*, to cause to work, from *ātch*, to work.

There is a peculiarity in the signification and use of Dravidian causal verbs which should here be noticed. Indo-European causals govern two accusatives, that of the person and that of the object—*e.g.*, I caused him (acc.) to build the house (acc.); whereas Dravidian causals generally govern the object alone, and either leave the person to be understood—*e.g.*, *vīṭṭei* (*k*) *kaṭṭuvittēn*, Tam., I caused to build the house (or, as we should prefer to say, I caused the house to be built); or else the person is put in the instrumental—*e.g.*, I caused to build the house, *avanei* (*k*) *koṇḍu*, through him, or employing him; that is, I caused the house to be built by him. Double accusatives are occasionally met with in classical compositions in Tamil, and are not uncommon in Malayāḷam. Dr Gundert quotes the Malayāḷam phrase *avane Yama-lōkam pūgichchu*, he caused him to enter the world of Yama—to die; but in all such instances, I think, Sanskrit influences are to be suspected.

Though the Dravidian languages are in possession of a true causal—formed by the addition of a causal particle—yet they sometimes resort to the less convenient Indo-European method of annexing an auxiliary verb which signifies to make or to do, such as *śeÿ* and *paṇṇ-u* in Tamil, *māḍ-u* in Canarese, and *chēy-u* in Telugu. These auxiliaries, however, are chiefly used in connection with Sanskrit derivatives. The auxiliary is annexed to the infinitive of the principal verb.

Tamil idiom and the analogy of the other dialects require that causals should be formed, not from neuter or intransitive verbs, but from transitives alone; but sometimes this rule is found to be neglected. Even in Tamil, *vi*, the sign of the causal, is in some instances found to be annexed to intransitive verbs. This usage is not only at variance with theory, but it is unclassical. In each of those cases a true transitive, derived from the intransitive in the ordinary manner, is in existence, and ought to be used instead. Thus, *varu-vi*, Tam., to cause to come, is less elegant than *varu-ttu*; and *naḍa-ppi*, to cause to walk, to guide, than *naḍa-ttu*.

The use of the causal, instead of the active, where both forms exist, is not so much opposed to the genius of the other dialects as to that of Tamil. The use of one form rather than another is optional in Telugu and Canarese; and in some instances the active has disappeared, and the causal alone is used. Thus *ra-*(*p*)*-piñchu*, or *rā-viñchu*, to cause to come, the equivalent of the Tamil *varu-vi*, is

preferred by Telugu to a form which would correspond to *varu-ttu;* and instead of *ākk-u,* Tam., to cause to become, to make, which is the active of *āg-u,* and is formed by the process of doubling and hardening which has already been described, Telugu uses the causal *kāv-inchu,* and the Canarese the corresponding causal *āg-isu.*

One and the same causal particle seems to me to be used in all the Dravidian dialects, with the exception of Tuḷu and Gōnd. It assumes in Tamil the shapes of *vi, bi* and *ppi;* in Telugu, *iñchu* and *piñchu;* in classical Canarese, *ichu;* in the colloquial dialect, *iśu.* It seems difficult at first sight to suppose these forms identical; but it will be found, I think, in every case that the real form of the causal particle is *i* alone, and that whatever precedes or follows it pertains to the formatives of the verb.

I begin with Telugu, which, in regard to this point, will be found to throw light on the rest of the dialects. In Telugu, causal verbs end either in *iñchu* or *piñchu*—*e.g.*, *chēy-iñchu,* to cause to do, from *chēy-u,* to do; *pili-piñchu,* to cause to call, to invite, from *pilu-chu,* to call. *ñchu,* the final portion of *iñchu* or *piñchu,* has first to be explained. *ñchu* (pronounced *ntsu*) is a nasalised form of *chu,* which is a very common formative of Telugu verbs. When *chu* follows *i*—*i.e.*, when the base to which it is attached ends in *i,* it is invariably euphonised or nasalised into *ñchu*—*e.g.*, *jayi,* a Sanskrit derivative, though not a causal, ends in *i;* hence the Telugu verb formed from it is *jayi-ñchu,* to conquer; and hence also, as the causal verb in Telugu is formed by affixing the particle *i* to an ordinary verbal root, all such causal verbs end in *iñchu.* *ichu* is to be regarded as the original form, and *ichu* is compounded of the causal particle and the affix *chu.*

What is this *chu?* We have already shown, in the section on "Formative Additions to Roots," that the Telugu *chu* is a verbal formative, identical in origin with the Tamil *kku.* The formative *kku* of Tamil is affixed to the verbal base of causals, as to various other classes of verbal bases, before adding the *a* which forms the sign of the infinitive. It is also affixed to the base before adding *um,* the sign of the indefinite future; and the identity of this Tamil *kku* with the Telugu *ñchu* will appear as soon as the Tamil infinitive is compared with the Telugu—*e.g.*, comp. *śeyvi-kka,* Tam., infinitive, to cause to do, with the Telugu *chēyi-ñcha; aṟeippi-kka,* Tam. infinitive, to cause to call, with the Telugu *pilipi-ñcha.* Comp. also an ordinary transitive verb in two languages—*e.g.*, *maṟa-kka,* Tam. infinitive to forget, with the Telugu *maṟa-cha.* It thus appears that

the *ch* or *nch* of the Telugu is as certainly a formative as the *kk* of the Tamil. Even in the vulgar colloquial Tamil of the extreme southern portion of the Tamil country *kk* systematically becomes *ch*. Thus *maṟakka*, the word just mentioned, is *maṟacha* in the southern patois, precisely as in Telugu. The chief difference between Tamil and Telugu with respect to the use of this formative is, that it is used by two parts of the Tamil verb alone (the infinitive and the neuter future), whereas in Telugu it adheres so closely to the base that it makes its appearance in every part of the verb.

What is the origin of the *p* which often appears in Telugu causal verbs before *inchu?* The causal formed from *viḍuchu*, Tel. to quit, is not *viḍiñchu*, but *viḍipiñchu*, to release. This *p* shows itself, not in all causals, but only in those of verbs ending in the formative *chu*, and it is a peculiarity of that class of verbs that *ch* changes optionally into *p*. Their infinitives may be formed by adding either *pa* or *cha* to the base. On the causal particle *i* being affixed to such verbs, *ch* changes by rule into *p*: thus, not *pili-ch-iñchu*, to cause to call, but *pili-p-iñchu*. This preference for *p* to *ch* before another *ch* looks as if it had arisen from considerations of euphony. But however this may be, *p* is frequently used in Telugu in the formation of verbal nouns, where such considerations could hardly exist—*e.g.*, *maṟap-u*, forgetfulness, from *maṟa-chu*, to forget (Tam. *maṟappu*); *teṟa-pa*, an opening, from *teṟa-chu*, to open (Tam. *tiṟappu*). This formative is sometimes doubled in Telugu—*e.g.*, *tepp-inchu*, to cause to bring, from *techch-u*, to bring. In Tamil *p* is always doubled, except after nasals or *ṟ*. Though the use of this hardened form of *p* is rare in Telugu, yet its existence tends still further to identify the Telugu causal with the Tamil.

Certain verbs in Telugu, ordinarily called causals (ending in *chu*, *ñchu*, *pu*, *mpu*, &c., without a preceding *i*), are to be regarded not as causals, but simply as transitives—*e.g.*, *viḍuchu*, *viḍupu*, to cause to quit; *vañchu*, to bend; *lēpu*, to rouse. They are formed, not by annexing *vi* or *i*, but by the doubling and hardening of the final consonant of the formative (*e.g.*, compare *lēpu*, to rouse, with the corresponding Tamil *eṟuppu*, the transitive of *eṟumbu*); and the verbs from which they are so formed are not actives, but neuters. Instead, therefore, of saying that *tīr-u*, to end, forms its causal either in *tīr-chu* or *tīr-piñchu*, it would be more in accordance with Tamil analogies to represent *tīr-u* as the neuter, *tīr-chu* as the transitive, and *tīr-piñchu* as the causal. It is of the essence of what I regard as the true causal that its theme is a transitive verb—*e.g.*, *kaṭṭ-iñchu*, to cause to build, from *kaṭṭ-u*, to build.

In Canarese, causal verbs are formed by suffixing *iśu,* or rather *i-śu,* to the transitive theme—*e.g.,* from *māḍu,* to do, is formed *māḍ-i-śu,* to cause to do. This causal particle *i-śu* (in the classical dialect *i-chu*) is annexed to the theme itself before the addition of the signs of tense, so that it is found in every part of the causal verb, like the corresponding Telugu particle *i-ñchu,* with which it is evidently identical. It has been shown that the Telugu *i-ñchu* has been nasalised from *i-chu* (the phonetic equivalent of the Tamil *i-kku*); and now we find this very *i-chu* in classical Canarese. The change in colloquial Canarese from *i-chu* to *i-śu* is easy and natural, *ś* being phonetically equivalent to *ch,* and *chu* being pronounced like *tsu* in Telugu.

An additional proof, if proof were wanting, of the identity of the Canarese *i-śu* with the Telugu *i-ñchu,* is furnished by the class of derivative verbs, or verbs borrowed from Sanskrit. Sanskrit derivative verbs are made to end in *i* in all the Dravidian dialects (*e.g., jay-i,* to conquer); and those verbs invariably take in Telugu, as has been said, the formative termination *ñchu—e.g., jayi-ñchu.* The same verbs invariably take *i-śu,* or *yi-śu,* in Canarese. Thus from the Sanskrit derivative theme, *dhari,* to assume, Telugu forms the verb *dhari-ñchu,* the Canarese equivalent of which is *dhari-śu,* Tamil infinitive *tari-kka.* These verbs are not causals; but the use which they make of the formative *ñchu* or *śu,* preceded by *i,* illustrates the original identity of the Canarese causal particle *i-śu* with the Telugu *i-ñchu,* and of both with the Tamil *i-kku.* Generally the older and harsher sounds of Canarese have been softened by Tamil; and in particular, the Canarese *k* has often been softened by Tamil into *ś* or *ch;* but in the instance of the formative annexed to the causative particle, exactly the reverse of this has happened; the Tamil *kk* having been softened by the Canarese into *ś.* Canarese, like Telugu, does not so carefully discriminate between transitive and causal verbs as Tamil. The true causal of Tamil is restricted to transitive themes; but Canarese, notwithstanding its possession of transitive particles (*e.g.,* compare *nera-hu,* to fill, with *neri,* to be full, and *tiru-pu,* to turn (actively) with *tiru-gu,* to turn (of itself), often annexes the causal particle *i-śu* to intransitive themes—*e.g., ōḍ-i-śu,* to cause to run (Tam. *ōṭṭ-u*), from *ōḍ-u,* to run. In Japanese, causative verbs are formed by affixing *si* to the root. *si* means to do.

We now return to consider the causal particle of Tamil, instead of beginning with it. *vi* is generally supposed to be the causal particle of Tamil, hardening in certain connections into *bi* or *ppi.* In the

first edition I adopted this view in substance, though regarding *i* alone as the causal particle in Telugu and Canarese, but preferred to consider *bi*, rather than *vi*, the primitive form, seeing that *v* does not readily change into *b* in Tamil (though *v* in Tamil often becomes *b* in Canarese—*e.g.*, *vā*, Tam. to come = Can. *bā*), whilst *b* would readily soften into *v* on the one hand, or harden into *pp* on the other. On reconsideration, however, it seems to me better to regard *i* alone as the causal particle of Tamil, as of Telugu and Canarese, provided only the *v*, *b*, or *pp*, by which it is always preceded, be found capable of some satisfactory explanation.

A clue to the right explanation seems to be furnished by the use of *p* instead of *ch* in Telugu. *kk* in Tamil answers to *ch* in Telugu, and we find the Tamil *kk* changing optionally in classical Tamil into *pp*, precisely in accordance with Telugu usage. Instead of the infinitive *naḍa-kka*, to walk, *naḍa-ppa* may also be used. On comparing the Tamil *naḍakka*, to walk, with the Telugu *naḍucha*, and the Tamil *naḍappikka*, to cause to walk, with the Telugu *naḍipiñcha*, we find them substantially identical. No difference exists but such as can be perfectly explained either by the change of *kk* into *ch*, nasalised into *ñch* after *i* as already mentioned, or by the "harmonic sequence of vowels" explained in "Sounds." The *p* preceding *i* has clearly the same origin, and is used for the same purpose in both dialects. As it is certainly a formative in Telugu, it must be the same in Tamil; and accordingly we find it actually used as a verbal formative in the classical Tamil infinitive *naḍappa*, to walk, as mentioned above. It will be seen hereafter that *a* alone is the sign of the infinitive, and that whatever precedes it belongs to the verbal theme, or its formative. This circumstance might explain the *pp* of the Tamil causals; but it is necessary to go a little further in order to be able to explain the *v* or *b* which alternates with *pp*. The most common formative of Tamil causals is *vi*—*e.g.*, *varu-vi*, to cause to come; the next is *ppi*—*e.g.*, *paḍi-ppi*, to cause to learn. The remaining form is *bi*, used only after nasals—*e.g.*, *en-bi*, to cause to say, to prove, from *en*, to say, *kāṇ-bi*, to show, from *kāṇ*, to see. There is no doubt that neither the *b* of *bi* nor the *pp* of *ppi* can have been inserted merely for euphony. *v* before *i* (as in *vi*) might be merely euphonic; but this is rendered improbable by the circumstance that *vi* is added, not only to verbs ending in vowels, but also to certain verbs ending in consonants (*y* and *ṛ*)—*e.g.*, *śey-vi*, to cause to do, from *śey*, to do. Telugu and Canarese add *i* nakedly to the base (*e.g.*, *chēy-iñchu*, from *chēy-u*, *gēy-isu*, from *gēy-u*). We have an ins-

tance of the use of *vi* after the soft, deep *ṛ* in Tamil, as well as after *y*, in *vāṛ-vi,* to cause to flourish, from *vāṛ,* to flourish. *vi* is almost always used after *u* (*e.g., kaṭṭu-vi,* to cause to build), but in some instances *ppi* is used by rule after *u*—viz., where *u* is preceded by a short vowel and a single consonant—*e.g., eḍu-ppi,* to cause to take up, to erect, from *eḍu,* to take up.

The Tamil future tense-signs seem to throw light on the formatives to which the causal particle *i* is affixed. It is remarkable, at all events, that those three signs, *v, b, pp,* are identical with the formatives of the causal verb, in what way soever this identity may be accounted for, so that if we know which of those three signs is used by any verb in the formation of its future tense, we know at once how the causal of the same verb is formed. Compare *varu-v-ēn,* I will come, with *varu-v-i,* to cause to come; *eḍu-pp-ēn,* I will take up, with *eḍu-pp-i,* to cause to take up, to erect; *paḍi-pp-ēn,* I will learn, with *paḍi-pp-i,* to cause to learn, to teach. This rule applies also to verbal roots ending in consonants—*e.g.,* compare *vār-pp-ēn,* I will pour, with *vār-pp-i,* to cause to pour, to cast; *vāṛ-v-ēn,* I will flourish, with *vāṛ-v-i,* to cause to flourish; *kāṇ-b-ēn,* I will see, with *kāṇ-b-i,* to cause to see, to show. Tamil admits of the use of a double causal—that is, of a verb denoting that one person is to cause another to cause a third person to do a thing. In this case also the new causal agrees with the future of the first causal, on which it seems to be built. Compare *varu-vi-pp-ēn,* I will cause to cause to come, with *varu-vi-pp-i,* to cause to cause to come.

The explanation of this curious coincidence seems to be that the Tamil future was originally a sort of abstract verbal noun. which came to be used as a future by the addition of pronominal signs. whilst the same abstract neuter noun was converted into a causal (as we have seen was probably the case also with Telugu causals in *p-i-ñchu*) by the addition to it of the causal particle. The addition of the causal particle in all cases in Canarese to the verbal root would seem to indicate an older and simpler period of Dravidian speech. Tuḷu forms its causal verbs in a somewhat different manner from the other Dravidian dialects—viz., by suffixing *ā* instead of *i* to the verbal theme, or sometimes *ḍu,* and then adding the signs of tense—*e.g.,* from *malp-u,* to make, is formed *malp-ā-vu,* to cause to make, from *naḍapu,* to walk, *naḍapuḍu,* to cause to walk. This *ā* of the Tuḷu resembles the Hindustani causal —*e.g., chal-wā-nā,* to cause to go, from *chal-nā,* to go; and as the

Hindustani causative particle *wā* has probably been derived from the Sanskrit *aya* or *p-aya*, the Tuḷu *ā* might possibly be supposed to proceed from the same or a similar source. In Gōnd *ha* or *h* is the causal particle, and is added to the present participle of transitive verbs, not to the theme.

Origin of the Dravidian Causal Particle 'i.'—The oldest form of the Indo-European causative particle is supposed to be the Sanskrit *aya* (with *p* prefixed after a root in *ā*). *aya* becomes *i* in old Slavonic, and the apparent identity between this *i* and the Dravidian *i* is noteworthy. Notwithstanding this, it does not seem to me either necessary or desirable to seek for the origin of Dravidian particles out of the range of the Dravidian languages, if those languages themselves provide us with a tolerably satisfactory explanation. The Dravidian causative particle *i* may be supposed to have been derived from *ī*, to give. This *i* is short in various portions of the Telugu verb. The crude base is *i-chch-u*, the infinitive *ī-va* or *i-vva*. The Canarese *īśu* also, the causal of *ī*, seems to be formed, not from *ī*, but from *i* (*i-isu-=īsu*). In nearly all cases in the Dravidian languages the short vowel seems to be older than the long one. The meaning of 'give' seems tolerably suitable for a causal particle; but we find it developing into a still more appropriate shape in Telugu, in which *ī* is used after an infinitive to mean to let, permit, &c.—*e.g.*, *pō* (*n*) *-ī*, let it go, from *pō*, to go, literally give it to go. In Canarese also *ī-su*, the causal of *ī*, is used in the same sense of to let, permit, &c., as the original verb itself in Telugu—*e.g.*, *pōgal-īsṅ*, permit to go. It is remarkable also that in Canarese the corresponding and more common word *koḍu*, give, is used in the same manner as a permissive or causal.—*e.g.*, *māḍa koḍu*, permit (him) to do.

3. Frequentative Verbs.

There is a class of verbs in all the Dravidian languages that have sometimes been called iterative or frequentative. The following are Tamil examples: *minuminu-kku*, to glitter, from *min*, to shine; *veḷuveḷu-kku*, to whiten, from *veḷu-kku*, to be white, root *veḷ*, white; *muṟa-muṟa-kku*, to murmur, *muṇamuṇa-kku*, to mutter, *kiṟukiṟu-kka*, to be giddy. It does not seem to me, however, necessary to enter into the examination of these and similar words, seeing that there is no peculiarity whatever in the mode in which they are conjugated, the iterative meaning resides in the root alone,

and is expressed by the device, in common use in all languages, of doubling the root. Compare Latin *murmuro, tintinno*, &c. In Tuḷu, however, there is a form of the verb rightly called frequentative. It is formed by inserting ē (probably the particle of emphasis) between the base and the personal signs, whereupon a new verbal base is formed, which is regularly conjugated—*e.g., maḷpēve* (*maḷpu*+ē+(*v*)*e*), I make again and again.

4. Intensive Verb.

This form of verb is also found only in Tuḷu. Compare *malpuve*, I make, with *maḷtruve*, I make energetically; *kēṇuve*, I hear, with *kēṇḍruve*, I hear intensely; *būruve*, I fall, with *būrḍuve*, I fall heavily.

5. Inceptive Verb.

We find a fully developed inceptive or inchoative form of the verb in Gōnd alone. It is formed by annexing the signs of person and tense, not to the base, as in the case of the ordinary verb, but to the infinitive.

6. The Passive Voice.

Each of the primitive Indo-European languages has a regular passive voice, regularly conjugated. The Sanskrit passive is formed by annexing the particle *ya* (supposed to be derived from *yā*, to go) to the verbal theme, and adding the personal terminations peculiar to the middle voice. Most of the languages of the Scythian family also form their passives by means of annexed particles. In order to form the passive, the Turkish suffixes to the verbal theme *il* or *ïl;* the Finnish *et;* the Hungarian *at, et, tet;* and to these particles the pronominal terminations are appended in the usual manner. Japanese has a passive voice, the form of which is active. The Dravidian verb is entirely destitute of a passive voice, properly so called, nor is there any reason to suppose that it ever had a passive. None of the Dravidian dialects possesses any passive particle or suffix, or any means of expressing passivity by direct inflexional changes; the signification of the passive voice is, nevertheless, capable of being expressed in a variety of ways.

We have now to inquire into the means adopted by the Dravidian languages for conveying a passive signification; and it will be found that they correspond in a considerable degree to the means used for this purpose by the Gaurian vernaculars of Northern India, which also are destitute of a regular passive voice. In the

particulars that follow, all the Dravidian dialects (with the exception of the Gōnd) agree: what is said of one holds true of all.

(1.) The place of a passive voice is to a large extent supplied by the use of the neuter or intransitive form of the verb, somewhat as in Japanese. This is in every dialect of the family the most idiomatic and characteristic mode of expressing the passive; and wherever it can be used, it is always preferred by classical writers. Thus, it was broken, is ordinarily expressed in Tamil by *uḍeindadu,* the preterite (third person singular neuter) of *uḍei,* intransitive, to become broken; and though this is a neuter, rather than a passive properly so called, and might literally be rendered, 'it has come into a broken condition,' yet it is evident that, for all practical purposes, nothing more than this is required to express the force of the passive. The passivity of the expression may be increased by prefixing the instrumental case of the agent—*e.g., ennāl uḍeindadu,* it was broken by me, literally it came into a broken condition through me.

(2.) A very common mode of forming the passive is by means of the preterite verbal participle of any neuter or active verb, followed by the preterite (third person singular neuter) of the verbs to become, to be, to go, or (occasionally) to end. Thus, we may say either *muḍindadu,* it is finished, or *muḍind' āyittru,* literally, having finished it is become. This form adds the idea of completion to that of passivity: not only is the thing done, but the doing of it is completed. Transitive or active verbs which are destitute of intransitive forms may in this manner acquire a passive signification. Thus *kaṭṭ-u,* to bind or build, is necessarily a transitive verb, and is without a corresponding intransitive; but in the phrase *kōvil kaṭṭi āyittru,* the temple is built, literally, the temple having built has become, a passive signification is acquired by the active voice, without the assistance of any passive-forming particle. *pōyittru,* it has gone, may generally be used in such phrases instead of *āyittru,* it is become.

Verbal nouns, especially the verbal in *dal* or *al,* are often used in Tamil instead of the preterite verbal participle in the formation of this constructive passage—*e.g.,* instead of *śeÿd' āyittru,* it is done, literally, having done it has become, we may say *śeÿdal āyittru,* which, though it is used to express the same meaning, literally signifies the doing of it has become—*i.e.,* it has become a fact, the doing of it is completed.

The Dravidian constructive passives now referred to require

the third person neuter of the auxiliary verb. The force of the passive voice will not be brought out by the use of the masculine or feminine, or by the epicene plural. If those persons of the verb were employed, the activity inherent in the idea of personality would necessitate an active signification; it would tie down the transitive theme to a transitive meaning; whereas the intransitive relation is naturally implied in the use of the actionless neuter gender, and therefore the expression of the signification of the passive (viz., by the intransitive doing duty for the passive) is facilitated by the use of the third person neuter.

A somewhat similar mode of forming the passive has been pointed out in the Hindustani and Bengali—*e.g.*, *jānā yāy*, Beng. *it is known*, literally, *it goes to be known*. *jānā* is represented by some to be a verbal noun, by others to be a passive participle; but, whatever it be, there is some difference between this idiom and the Dravidian one; for in the corresponding Tamil phrase *terind' āyittru*, it is known, *terind-u* is unquestionably the preterite verbal participle of an intransitive verb, and the phrase literally means 'having known it is become.' *terindu pōyittru*, literally, having known it is gone, conveys the same signification. It is remarkable, however, that a verb signifying to go should be used in the Dravidian languages as a passive-making auxiliary, as well as in the languages of Northern India.

Occasionally Dravidian active or transitive verbs themselves are used with a passive signification, without the addition of any intransitive auxiliary whatever. Relative participles and relative participial nouns are the parts of the verb which are most frequently used in this manner—*e.g.*, *eṛudina śuvaḍi uṇḍu; achch' aḍitta pustagam vēṇḍum*, Tam. I have a written book; I want a printed one. In this phrase both *eṛudina*, written, and *achch'-aḍitta*, printed, are the preterite relative participles of transitive themes. The former means literally 'that wrote,' yet it is used passively to signify 'written'; and the latter means literally 'that printed or struck off,' but is used passively as equivalent to 'that is printed.'

The relative participial noun, especially the preterite neuter, is oftentimes used in the same manner—*e.g.*, in *śonnadu pōdum*, Tam. what was said is sufficient, *śonnadu*, literally means 'that which said'; but the connection and the usage of the language determine it to signify passively that which *was* said; and so distinctively in this case is the passive sense expressed by the connection alone, that the use of the more formal modern passive, *śolla-(p) paṭ-*

tadu, would sound awkward and foreign. *endra,* Tam., *anēde,* Tel., that is called, literally that spoke, is another very common instance of the same rule. *Iyēsu enbavar,* Tam., signifies literally, Jesus who speaks; but usage determines it to mean he who is called Jesus.

The mode of expressing the passive adopted by Tuḷu is on the whole similar to this. The perfect active participle is used for the passive in this manner, but the pronoun is repeated at the end—*e.g., āye nindis'dināye āye,* he is one who has despised, meaning, he is one who has been despised. (The corresponding Tamil would be *avan ninditṭavan avan.*)

(3.) The passive is formed in Gōnd in a manner peculiar to that language, viz., by the addition of the substantive verb I am to the participle of the active voice. In the other Dravidian dialects this is the usual mode in which the perfect tense is formed. In Tamil, *nān adiṭṭ' irukkiṟēn,* I am having beaten, means I have beaten. The corresponding Gōnd expression *ana jisi aiātona* means I am beaten. This corresponds to the modern English mode of forming the passive, as in this very expression, I am beaten; but still more closely to the mode adopted by New Persian, in which the same form of the verb has an active meaning when it stands alone, and a passive meaning when followed by the substantive verb.

(4.) The verb *uṇ,* to eat, is occasionally used in the Dravidian languages as an auxiliary in the formation of passives. It is invariably appended to nouns (substantives or verbal nouns), and is never compounded with any part of the verb—*e.g., aḍi uṇḍān,* he was beaten, or got a beating, literally he ate a beating; *paḍeipp' uṇḍēn,* I was created, literally I ate a creating. The same singular idiom prevails also in the Gaurian or North Indian vernaculars. The particular verb signifying to eat used in those languages differs indeed from the Dravidian *uṇ;* but the idiom is identical, and the existence of so singular an idiom in both the northern and the southern family is deserving of notice. It is remarkable that the same peculiar contrivance for expressing the passive is found in Chinese, in which also to eat a beating means to be beaten.

(5.) Another mode of forming the passive used in each of the modern cultivated colloquial dialects of the Dravidian family, except Tuḷu, is by means of the auxiliary verb *paḍ-u,* to suffer, to experience, which is annexed to the infinitive of the verb signifying the action suffered—*e.g., kolla-(p)paṭṭān,* Tam., he was killed, literally, he suffered a killing. It is also annexed to nouns denoting quality or condition—*e.g., veṭka-(p)paṭṭān,* he was ashamed, literal-

ly, he suffered or experienced shame. The ultimate base of a verb is sometimes used instead of the infinitive or verbal noun in construction with this auxiliary, in which case the base is regarded as a noun—*e.g.*, instead of *aḍikka-(p)paṭṭān,* we may say *aḍi paṭṭān,* he was beaten, or literally he suffered a beating; and where this form can be used, it is considered more idiomatic than the use of the infinitive.

It is evident that this compound of *paḍ-u,* to suffer, with an infinitive or noun of quality, is rather a phrase than a passive voice. It is rarely found in the classics; and idiomatic speakers prefer the other modes of forming the passive. *paḍ-u* is often added, not only to active, but also to neuter or intransitive verbs; but as the intransitive expresses by itself as much of a passive signification as is ordinarily necessary, the addition of the passive auxiliary does not alter the signification—*e.g.*, there is no difference in Tamil between the intransitive *teriyum,* it appears, or will appear, and *teriya (p) paḍum;* or in Telugu between *teluśunu* and *teliya baḍunu,* the corresponding forms. In ordinary use, *paḍ-u* conveys the meaning of continuous action or being, rather than that of passivity—*e.g.*, *irukka-(p)paṭṭa* (Tam.) is vulgarly used for *irukkiṟa,* that is; and I have heard a Tamilian say, *nān nandrāy śāppiḍa-(p)paṭṭavan* (Tam.), meaning thereby, not I have been well eaten, but I have been accustomed to eat well. The Dravidian languages, indeed, are destitute of passives properly so called, and, therefore, resist every effort to bring *paḍ-u* into general use. Such efforts are constantly being made by foreigners, who are accustomed to passives in their own tongues, and fancy that they cannot get on without them; but nothing sounds more barbarous to the Dravidian ear than the unnecessary use of *paḍu* as a passive auxiliary. It is only when combined with nouns that its use is thoroughly allowable.

7. The Middle Voice.

In none of the Dravidian dialects is there a middle voice, properly so called. The force of the middle or reflexive voice is expressed constructively by the use of an auxiliary verb—viz., by *koḷ,* Tam. to take (Tel. *kon-u;* Tuḷu, *koṇu* and *oṇu*)—*e.g.*, *paṇṇi-(k) koṇḍēn,* I made it for myself, literally, I made and took it. This auxiliary sometimes conveys a reciprocal force rather than that of the middle voice—*e.g.*, *pēśi-(k) koṇḍārgal,* Tam. they talked together; *aḍittu-(k) koṇḍārgal,* they beat one another. The same usage appears in the other dialects also.

8. The Negative Voice.

Properly speaking, the Dravidian negative is rather a mood or voice than a conjugation. All verbal themes are naturally affirmative, and the negative signification is expressed by means of additions or changes. Nevertheless, it will conduce to perspicuity to inquire now into the negative mood or voice, before entering upon the consideration of the pronominal terminations and tenses.

The regular combination of a negative particle with a verbal theme is a peculiarity of the Scythian family of tongues. Negation is generally expressed in the Indo-European family by means of a separate particle used adverbially; and instances of combination like the Sanskrit *nāsti,* it is not, the negative of *asti,* it is, are very rare; whereas, in the Scythian languages, every verb has a negative voice or mood as well as an affirmative. This is the case also in Japanese. The Scythian negative voice is generally formed by the insertion of a particle of negation between the theme and the pronominal suffixes; and this is as distinctive of the Dravidian as of the Turkish and Finnish languages. Different particles are, it is true, used in the different languages to express negation; but the mode in which such particles are used is substantially the same in all.

In general, the Dravidian negative verb has but one tense, which is an aorist, or is indeterminate in point of time—*e.g., pōgēn,* Tam. (*pōvanu,* Tel., *pōgenu,* Can.), I go not, means either I did not, I do not, or I will not go. The time is generally determined by the context. Ku, Gōnd, and Tuḷu use the negative more freely. In Ku there is a negative preterite as well as a negative aorist; and in Tuḷu and Gōnd every tense of every mood has its appropriate negative verb. Malayāḷam has three negative tenses—the present, the past, and the future—*e.g., pōgā-(y)-unnu,* I go not; *pōgā-ññu,* went not; *pōgā-(y)-um,* will not go. In the other dialects there is only one mood of the negative in ordinary use, viz., the indicative. If an infinitive and imperative exist, it is only in classical compositions that they appear; and they are ordinarily formed by the help of the infinitive and imperative of the substantive verb, which are suffixed as auxiliaries to the negative verbal participle—*e.g., śeyyād'-iru,* Tam. do not thou, literally, be thou not doing. In Telugu a prohibitive or negative imperative is in ordinary use even in the colloquial dialect.

In the Dravidian negative voice, as in the affirmative, the verbal theme remains unchanged; and in both voices the pronominal terminations are precisely the same. The only point, there-

fore, which it is necessary to investigate here is *the means whereby the idea of negation is expressed.*

The Tamil-Telugu-Canarese negative is altogether destitute of signs of tense; it is destitute, not only of the signs of present, past, and future time, but even of the sign of the aorist; and in Tamil and Canarese the pronominal suffixes are annexed directly to the verbal theme. Thus, whilst the present, past, and future tenses (first person singular) of the affirmative voice of the Tamil verb *vāṛ*, to flourish, are *vāṛ-giṟ-ēn, vāṛ-nd-ēn, vāṛ-v-ēn;* the corresponding negative is simply *vāṛ-ēn,* I flourish not—literally, as appears, flourish-I,—without the insertion of any sign of time between the theme and the pronoun.

What is the rationale of this negative? The absence of signs of tense appears to contribute to the expression of the idea of negation: it may at least be said that it precludes the signification of the affirmative. In consequence of the absence of tense-signs the idea expressed by the verb is abstracted from the realities of the past, the present, and the future: it leaves the region of actual events, and passes into that of abstractions. Hence, this abstract form of the verb may be supposed to have become a negative mood, not by a positive, but by a negative process,—by the absence of a predicate of time, not by the aid of a negative particle. Is this to be accepted as the rationale? If we examined only Tamil and Canarese, we might be satisfied with this explanation; for in the various persons of the negative voice in both languages there is no trace of the insertion of any negative particle; and though the vowel *a* has acquired a predominant and permanent place in the verbal and relative participles, we should not feel ourselves warranted in considering that vowel as a particle of negation, without distinct, trustworthy evidence from some other source.

The only peculiarity in the personal forms of the Tamil negative is the invariable length of the initial vowel of the pronominal terminations. Thus the initial *a* of the neuter singular demonstrative being short, we should expect the Tamil of 'it flourishes not' to be *vāṛ-adu;* whereas it is *vāṛ-ādu* or *vāṛ-ā.* This increase of quantity might arise from the incorporation and assimilation of some inserted vowel; but we might also naturally suppose it to be merely lengthened euphonically for the sake of emphasis. The corresponding vowel is short in Telugu. In the Canarese negative we miss even this lengthening of the initial vowel of the pronomi-

nal terminations—*e.g.*, we find invariably *bāḷ-adu,* instead of the Tamil *vāṛ-ādu.* In the verbal and relative participles in both languages the vowel *a* is inserted between the theme and the formative, and this *a* is invariably short in Canarese and long in Tamil —*e.g.*, *bāḷ-a-de,* Can. not having lived, or without living; Tam. *vāṛ-ādu* or *vāṛ-ā-mal,* without living. The verbal noun in Tamil is *vāṛ-ā-mei,* the not living. The relative participle that lived or lives not, is in Canarese *bāḷ-a-da,* in Tamil *vāṛ-ā-da.* In these instances, if euphony alone had been considered, *u,* the ordinary enunciative vowel, would have appeared where we find *a*: it may, therefore, be concluded that *a* (euphonically *ā* in Tamil and Malayāḷam), has intentionally been inserted, and that it contributes in some manner to grammatical expression.

It will be found that light is thrown upon this subject by Telugu. The pronominal terminations of the negative voice of the Telugu are identical with those of the present tense of the affirmative. In Tamil and Canarese the pronominal terminations of the verb commence with a vowel; but in Telugu verbs the pronoun is represented by the final syllable alone, and that syllable invariably commences with a consonant. Hence, if no particle of negation were used in the conjugation of the Telugu negative voice, the pronominal suffix would be appended directly to the verbal theme, and as every Telugu theme terminates in the enunciative *u,* that *u* would not be elided, but would invariably remain. What then is the fact?

On examining the Telugu negative, it is found that the vowel *a* invariably intervenes between the theme and the pronominal suffix; and as the final enunciative *u* of the theme has been elided to make way for this *a,* it is evident that *a* is not an euphonic insertion, but is a particle of negation. Compare *chéy-a-nu,* Tel. I do not, with Tamil *śey (y) ēn; chēy-a-vu,* thou dost not, with Tamil *śey (y)-āy; chēy-a-mu,* we do not, with Tamil *śey (y)-ōm; chēy-a-ru,* you do not, with Tamil *śey (y) īr.* From this comparison it cannot be doubted that *a* is regularly used in Telugu as a particle of negation. We find the same *a* used in Telugu, as in Canarese and Tamil, in the negative verbal participle—*e.g.*, *chēy-a-ka,* without doing; in the relative participle—*e.g.*, *chēy-a-ni,* that does not; and in the verbal noun—*e.g.*, *chēy-a-mi,* the not doing. In each of these participials *a* is used in the same manner by the Canarese, and *ā* by the Tamil: and that those vowels are not euphonics or conjunctives, but signs of negation, even in Tamil-Canarese, is now proved by the evidence of Telugu, in which a similar *a* is used,

not only by the participles, but by all the personal forms of the verb.

The Telugu verb to go forms its ordinary negative, it is true, without any trace of this vowel of negation—*e.g.*, *pōnu,* I go not, *pōvu,* thou goest not. This, however, is only an apparent irregularity, for the classical forms are *pōv-a-nu* and *pōv-a-vu.* The lengthening of the included *a* of *kānu,* I become not, is in accordance with the Telugu law of displacement, *kānu* being instead of *ak-a-nu* or *ag-a-nu,* the equivalent of the Tamil *āgēn.* We have thus arrived at the conclusion that *a* is the sign of negation which is most systematically used by the Dravidian languages in the formation of the negative voice of the verb. It has, it is true, disappeared from the conjugated forms of Tamil and Canarese; but the analogy, not only of the Telugu personal forms, but also of the Tamil and Canarese participles and participial nouns, shows that it must originally have been the common property of all the dialects. The negative *a,* being succeeded in Tamil and Canarese by the initial vowel of the pronominal suffix, appears gradually to have got incorporated with it; and an evidence of this incorporation survives in the euphonic lengthening of the pronominal vowel in Tamil.

The negative particle of the Tuḷu is *ijji,* answering to Tam. *illei,* Mal. and Can. *illa.* Most of the tenses of the Tuḷu negative verb are formed by annexing to the temporal particles of the verb *j,* the abbreviation of this *ijji,* with such enunciative vowels as euphony is supposed to require. The negative of the future tense appears to be formed from *a,* the particle used in the other dialects. Comp. *maḷpuji,* I do not make, *maḷt'diji,* I have not made, with *maḷpaye,* I shall not make, and the conditional form *maḷt'dvaye,* I should not make. Gōnd inserts the negative particles *hille* or *halle* (Drav. *ille* or *alle*) between the pronoun and the verb, without abbreviation. This crude use of the form has doubtless come down from a high antiquity, as we shall find that *al* is sometimes used in a somewhat similar manner by the Tamil poets.

It is desirable now to inquire into the participial and imperative formatives of the negative verb. The negative verbal participle of Tamil is formed by suffixing *ā-du* or *ā-mal*—*e.g.*, *śey* (*y*) *-ā-du* or *śey* (*y*) *-ā-mal,* not doing, or without doing. In the highest and lowest Tamil *mei* is used as the formative of this participle instead of *mal*—*e.g.* *vaṛuv-ā-mei,* without slipping. *mei* constitutes the ordinary termination of abstract nouns, and is added both to crude roots and to the relative participles of verbs—*e.g.*, *tāṛ-mei,* lowness, humility; *irukkindr-a-mei,* a being or the being. The

formative termination of negative verbal nouns is identical with this abstract *mei*; and *mal*, the participial formative, is evidently equivalent to it. Probably also it is the original form; for, on the whole, it is more likely that a final *l* should have been softened away than added. The verbal noun of the Telugu negative verb ends in *mi*, which is virtually the same as *mei*. The other Tamil termination of negative verbal participles, *du*, is an ordinary formative of neuter nouns of quality. The corresponding Canarese termination is *de*; and in Tamil *du*, with a subsequent emphatic *ē*, is commonly used as a negative imperative or prohibitive—*e.g.*, *śey(y)-ā-d-ē*, do not thou,—a proof that the negative verbal participle in *du* or *de* is properly a verbal noun. The relative participle of the negative verb in each of the dialects, except Telugu, is formed by suffixing *a*, the sign of the relative, to the verbal participle in *d-u*, eliding as usual the enunciative *u*—*e.g.*, *śey(y)-ā-da*, Tam., *gēy-a-da*, Can., that does or did not. Many additional forms are constructed by the addition of the various tenses and participles of the substantive verb, and it is by the help of that verb that the negative imperative and negative infinitive in both Canarese and Tamil are ordinarily formed. The negative relative participle of Telugu is formed by adding *ni*, instead of the usual relative *a*, to the negative particle—*e.g.*, *chēy-a-ni*, that does or did not. This *ni* is one of the Telugu inflexional increments, and is also used as a particle of conjunction, as will be seen under the head of the "Relative Participles."

Mr A. D. Campbell, in his "Telugu Grammar," states that the negative verbal particle of the Telugu is formed by suffixing *ka* to the infinitive of the affirmative voice; and that the prohibitive is formed in like manner by suffixing *ku* or *ka* to the infinitive [*ka* is not so used], with the ordinary addition of *mu* or *mo*. In consequence of this representation, Dr Stevenson was led to consider *ku* as a Telugu sign of negation, and to search for allied or equivalent particles in other Indian languages. The comparison of the negative verbs in the various Dravidian dialects which has just been made proves that this representation is inaccurate, and that the *a* to which the *ka* and *ku* aforesaid are suffixed is not the *a* which forms the sign of the infinitive, but the negative particle *a*. The suffixes of the forms in question, therefore, are not *ku* or *ka*, but *a-ku* and *a-ka*; and thus *chēy-a-ka*, without doing, or not having done, and *chēy-a-ku*, do not, come into harmony with the other Telugu forms, viz., *chēy-a-ni*, that does not, *chēy-a-mi*, the not doing; and also with the negative participles and verbals of the other dialects.

The *a* of the Telugu imperative and negative verbal participle being undoubtedly the sign of negation, it only remains to inquire into the origin of the *ka* or *ku* which is suffixed to it. The participial suffix *ka* is evidently used in Telugu for the same purposes as the Tamil suffixes *du*, *mal*, and *mei*, and the Canarese *de*. Those suffixes, though used by verbal participles, are undoubtedly to be regarded as formatives of verbal nouns. I consider *ka* also as proceeding from a similar origin; for in Telugu many verbal nouns are formed in this very manner by adding *ka* to the root—*e.g.*, *nammi-ka*, confidence, from *nammu*, to confide; and *kōri-ka*, hope, from *kōru*, to hope. This *ka* is *kkei*, in Tamil (*e.g.*, *nambi-kkei*, confidence), and *ge* or *ke* in Canarese: it is a very common formative of verbal nouns, and is equivalent in use to the formatives of which *d* or *t*, *b* or *p*, is the initial. When we compare Telugu derivative nouns ending in *ka* (*e.g.*, *teliyi-ka*, semblance, from *teliyu*, to appear) with the negative verbal participles of the same language, which invariably end in *ka* (*e.g.*, *teliy-a-ka*, not seeming), it is evident that the particle *ka* is not that by which the difference in meaning is expressed. The *a* which precedes *ka* is evidently the seat of the difference. In those cases in which the derivative noun and the negative participle are absolutely identical in sound and appearance, the negative *a* has been absorbed by the preceding long *ā* of the root. This is the cause of the similarity between *rāka*, a coming, and *rāka*, not or without coming, the latter of which is for *ra-ā-ka*.

In the dialect of the Kotas of the Nilgherry Hills, *p* appears to be used as the formative suffix of the negative verbal participle instead of the Telugu *k* and the Tamil-Canarese *d*—*e.g.*, *hōgā-pe*, without going, corresponding to the Canarese *hōgade*, and the Telugu *pōvaka*. This is in accordance with a rule often already noticed, viz., the interchangeableness of *k* and *p* in the formatives of verbs and nouns. The Telugu prohibitive suffix *ku* is, I conceive, substantially identical with *ka*, the suffix of the verbal participle, just as *dē*, the colloquial Tamil prohibitive, is identical with *du*, the negative verbal participle in the same dialect. Dravidian imperatives are in general nothing but verbal nouns pronounced emphatically. Hence, the Tamil *śey* (*y*)-*ā*-*dē*, do not thou, is simply *śey* (*y*)-*ā*-*du*, doing not, with the addition of the emphatic *ē*; and the Telugu *chēy-a-ku*, do not thou, is in like manner, I conceive, identical with the verbal participle *chēy-a-ka*, doing not, or without doing, with an emphasis understood.

There is in classical Tamil a prohibitive particle which nearly

corresponds to this Telugu prohibitive, viz., *aṟka*—*e.g.*, *śey* (*y*) *-aṟka*, do not. It is used in connection with both numbers and every gender ; and I believe that it is by usage only that the corresponding Telugu form is restricted to the second person singular; for when we compare the Tamil *śey* (*y*) *-aṟka* and the Telugu *chēy-a-ku*, we can scarcely doubt that they are substantially identical. What is the origin of this Tamil prohibitive suffix *aṟka ?* It is derived from *al* (pronounced *aṟ* before *k*), the particle of negation, the origin of which from the negative base *a* will presently be shown, and *ka*, which is identical with *ka* or *ga*, a sign of the Tamil infinitive, optative, or polite imperative, apparent in such words as *vāṛ-ga*, may (he, thou, you, they &c.) flourish. This infinitival, participial, or imperative form appears to have been originally a verbal noun.

We should here notice the prohibitive particle of Gōnd, viz., *manni* or *minni*. This is not suffixed to the verb, but prefixed, like the Latin *noli*. *manni* closely resembles the Tamil suffix *min*, in such words as *śey* (*y*) *an-min*, do not ye ; but the resemblance is purely accidental, for the prohibitive particle of *śey* (*y*) *an-min* is *an* euphonised from *al*, and *min* is not, as Beschi supposed, a prohibitive particle at all, but is a sign of the second person plural of the imperative, and as such is systematically used in the higher dialect by the imperative of the affirmative voice, as well as by the prohibitive—*e.g.*, *poṟu-min*, bear ye. This in Malayāḷam is *vin*, *pin* (see the imper. of the affirmative). In poetical Tamil also *aṟpin* (*al-pin*) is occasionally used instead of *an-min*. There is also a plural form of this, *aṟpīr*. Possibly the Gōnd prohibitive, *manni*, may be connected with the Hindustani *mat* and the Sanskrit *mā*, or, but very remotely, with the Turkish particle of negation *me* or *ma*, which is used like the Dravidian *a* in the formation of the negative voice of the verb. *manni* resembles *inni*, the prohibitive particle of the Scythian tablets of Behistun.

Origin of 'a,' the Dravidian Negative Particle.—We have seen that *a* is the sign of negation in Dravidian negative verbs, and that it is inserted between the theme and the signs of personality and other suffixes to form the negative voice. Has this *a* any connection with the alpha privative of the Indo-European tongues ? I think not, though this would seem a more natural use of the alpha privative than that of forming the temporal augment in Sanskrit and Greek, according to Bopp's theory. There is no trace of alpha privative or any equivalent privative *pre*-fix in the Dravidian languages ; and its place is supplied by some *post*-fixed relative participle or verbal noun formed from *il* or *al*—*e.g.*, from *nēr*, Tam.

straight or straightness, is formed *nēr-inmei* (*il-mei* euphonised), crookedness, want of straightness.

The negative *a* of the Dravidian negative verb is, I have no doubt, equivalent to *al* or *il*, the ordinary isolated particle of negation. This very sign of negation is sometimes used by the Tamil classics instead of *a* in verbal combinations—*e.g.*, *aṟi* (*g*) *-il-īr*, you know not, takes the place of the more common *aṟi-* (*y*) *-īr*: compare also *ninei-* (*y*) *-al-ā*, not considering; *śey* (*g*) *-al-ādār*, they will not do, or they who will not do. In all these examples the *al* is evidently the isolated negative particle. There cannot be any doubt whatever of the negative force of *al* in the negative appellatives, which are formed from *al-an* or *il-an*, he is not, combined with verbal roots—*e.g.*, *pēś-al-ēm*, we speak not, *uṇḍ-il-ei*, thou eatest not or hast not eaten. Compare also *māttralan* (*māṟṟalan*), Tam. and Mal. an enemy, from *māttru*+*al*+*an*, he who cannot be changed. Dr Gundert derives this from *mattrā*+*uḷ*+*an*, he who is+unchangeable. In the ordinary negative form, *māttrān*, Tam. and Mal. an enemy, the idea of negation is expressed by *ā*; but in *māttra-alan* I have no doubt we have the negative particle *al*. Gōnd regularly forms its negative voice by suffixing *halle* or *hille*, a barbarous euphonisation of the more correct *alle* or *ille*; and the dialect of the Kotas makes a similar use of the particle *illa*. This particle is also systematically used in forming the prohibitive, or negative imperative, of poetical Tamil, in which connection *al* is ordinarily lengthened to *āl* or *ēl*—*e.g.*, *śel-ēl*, go not, *muni-* (*y*) *-ēl*, be not angry. But it is also, as we have seen, often retained unchanged—*e.g.*, *śey* (*y*) *-aṟ-ka* (*aṟ* for *al*), do not, and *śey* (*y*) *-an-min* (*an* for *al*), do not ye. In modern colloquial Tamil, *illei* (for *illa*) is commonly sub-joined to the infinitive of the affirmative verb to form an aoristic negative—*e.g.*, *vara-* (*v*) *-illei* (I, thou, he, &c.), did not, do not, or will not come. This form, though very common, is not classical, and has arisen from the tendency which compounds evince to break up in process of time into their component elements.

It is evident that *a*, the sign of negation in the Dravidian negative verb, and *al*, the isolated negative particle, are substantially identical. The use of *al* instead of *a* in various verbal combinations in classical Tamil seems to me to prove this point. It remains, however, to endeavour to ascertain which is the older form. Has *a* been softened from *al*? or is *al* a secondary form of *a*? There are several parallel instances of the apparent disappearance of a final *l*—*e.g.*, *dal*, the formative of many verbal nouns in Tamil, is

represented by *ta* in Canarese and Telugu. Thus *muṟi-dal,* Tam. a breaking, is in Can. *mura-ta ; śey-dal,* Tam. a doing, is in Tel. *chē-ta.* The infinitive is *al* or *a* in Canarese, *a* alone in Tamil. We have seen also that the Tamil suffix of the negative verbal noun may be either *mal* or *mei.* None of these instances, however, is decisive ; as it may be supposed, and is I think probable, that a final *l,* answering to a final *m, n,* or *r,* was annexed to many verbal nouns in process of time for the purpose of making them more distinctive. In those instances, therefore, *a* may be the primitive shape, *al* the secondary. The same explanation seems to be the most satisfactory mode of accounting for the double form of the negative particle. I regard *a* as the original shape of that particle —the primitive negative base—answering to *a,* the primitive demonstrative base, and *al* as the more fully developed form of the negative—a negative noun—answering to the demonstrative nouns *am, ad, al,* &c. I refer in this only to the resemblance in form between the demonstrative and the negative bases and nouns; but perhaps we may now venture to go a step further, with Dr Gundert, and derive the negative meaning itself from the interrogative, and ultimately from the demonstrative. He says (in his private communication to me), "I believe the [remote demonstrative] pronoun *a* forms the [particle of negation in the] negative verb; just as this *a* in its interjectional [syntactic] form has the signification of a question. From the meaning of a question comes the meaning of negation. *adu varum-ā?* will it happen ?=it will never happen." In the colloquial dialect of the Tamil, at least, it is certain that the idea of negation is very often expressed by putting a question. It is at once a poetical and a vulgar usage.

I am unable, however, to agree with Dr Gundert when he proceeds to say that he does not consider *al* a negative in itself, but only a negative when followed by the negative particle *a,* as in the words *alla,* &c. Whether *al* may or may not have been a demonstrative in origin, as I think it probably was, yet, when used as a particle of negation, it seems to me certain that it is a negative of itself without any addition, and that the added vowels *a,* &c., are merely enunciative. This applies with equal force to the corresponding negative particle *il.* The following words in Tamil seem to me to prove that *al* and *il* have of themselves the full force of negatives. Al:—*andru* (*al-du*), it is not; (class. Can. *altu,* Tuḷu, *att'*) ; *anmei* (*al-mei*), notness, negation; *al-gu,* to become less. *al,* darkness. *al-vaṟi,* a grammatical term, absence of

inflexion. IL:—*indru,* it is not; *inmei* (*il-mei*), notness, non-existence. *ili,* one who has nothing; *il-porul* (*porul,* thing), non-existence, &c., the thing that is not.

Whatever opinion we entertain respecting the derivation of *al* from *a,* the widely extended affinities of *al, āl,* or *ēl,* the prohibitive or negative imperative particle, are deserving of notice. Compare the Sanskrit prohibitive particle *alam,* no, not, which looks as if it were derived from the Dravidian *al.* The prohibitive particle of the Sāntāl, a Kōl dialect, is *ālā;* the Finnish prohibitive also is *ālā;* the Ostiak *ilā;* and we find a similar prohibitive particle even in Hebrew—viz., *al;* Chaldee, *lā.*

9. Appellative Verbs, or Conjugated Nouns.

In some languages of the Ugrian group the pronominal terminations of the verbs, or those pronominal fragments in which verbs commonly terminate, are suffixed directly to nouns; which nouns become by that addition denominative or appellative verbs, and are regularly conjugated through every number and person—*e.g.,* from the noun *paz,* the Lord, the Mordvin forms *paz-ān,* I am the Lord; and from the possessive *paz-an,* Lord's it forms *paz-an-ān,* I am the Lord's. Adjectives being merely nouns of quality in the Scythian languages, every rule which applies to nouns applies to adjectives also. In the New Persian, possibly through the influence of the conterminous Scythian languages, there is a similar compound of a noun or an adjective with the verbal terminations—*e.g., merd-em,* I am a man, from *merd,* a man, and *em,* the contracted form of the substantive verb I am. This class of compounds resembles, but is not identical with, the class of possessive compounds described in p. 307; that class is not found in the Dravidian languages.

The agreement between the Dravidian languages and those of the Ugrian family with respect to the formation of appellative verbs of the character referred to is very remarkable, and has been admitted to be very remarkable by Professor Hunfalvy, though in other particulars he fails to see much resemblance between the Finno-Ugrian and the Dravidian languages. Any Dravidian noun and any adjective may be converted into a verb in the more ancient dialects of each of the Dravidian languages, and in some connections even in the colloquial dialects, by simply suffixing to it the usual pronominal fragments; and not only may nouns in the nominative case be thus conjugated as verbs, but even the oblique case-basis, or virtual genitive, may in classical Tamil, as in Mordvin, be adopted as a verbal theme. Tamil grammarians

call the verbs here described *vinei-(k)kuṟippu,* literally verbal signs; and they have, not inappropriately, been styled conjugated nouns by an English writer on Tamil grammar: but I think the best name is that which was given them by Beschi—viz., appellative verbs or conjugated appellatives.

Appellative verbs are conjugated through every number and person, but they are restricted to the present tense; or rather, they are of no tense, for the idea of time is excluded from them. Thus, from *kōn,* Tam. a shepherd or king, may be formed *kōn-en,* I am a king, *kōn-ei,* thou art a king, *kōn-em,* we are kings, *kōn-ir,* ye are kings. So also we may annex to the crude base the oblique or genitival formative *in,* and then from the new constructive base *kōn-in,* of the king, or the king's, we may not only form the appellative nouns, *kōn-in-an,* he who is the king's, *kōn-in-ar,* they who are the king's (each of which may be used also as an appellative verb, which signifies he is the king's, or they are the king's), but we may also form the more distinctively verbal appellatives, *kōn-in-en,* I am the king's, *kōn-in-em,* we are the king's, &c. This use of the oblique or inflexion as the basis of appellative verbs is a peculiarity of classical Tamil; but the formation of appellative verbs from the nominative or crude base of nouns is common to the whole Dravidian family. Thus, in Telugu (in which the vowel of the pronominal termination varies by rule in accordance with the preceding vowel), from *sēvakuḍu,* a servant, or *kavi,* a poet, we form the appellative verbs *sēvakuḍa-nu,* I am a servant, *kavi-ni,* I am a poet; *sēvakuḍa-vu,* thou art a servant, *kavi-vi,* thou art a poet. In the plural, Telugu has allowed the base of the noun (to which the pronominal terminations are affixed) to be pluralised, apparently from having forgotten that the plural sign of the pronominal termination was sufficient of itself—*e.g.,* it says *sēvakula-mu,* we are servants; whereas in Tamil the difference between *aḍi-(y)-ēn,* I am (your) servant, and *aḍi-(y)-ēm,* we are (your) servants, appears in the pronominal terminations alone; and the plan of denoting the plural which the Tamil has adopted is evidently more in accordance with the true theory of the appellative verb. The Malayāḷam singular *aḍiyan* or *aḍiyēn* agrees with the Tamil, but the plural *aḍiyaṅṅaḷ* bears marks of corruption. The classical Tamil words *el-ām,* all we, *el-īr,* all ye, belong to this class.

The Telugu appellative verb is destitute of a third person except in the neuter singular. It is obliged to be content with placing the isolated pronoun of the third person and the substantive noun

in apposition, with a substantive verb understood—*e.g., vāḍu kavi,* he (is) a poet. Tamil is in this particular more highly developed, for its appellative verbs are freely conjugated in the third person in each gender and number, by suffixing the final fragment of the pronoun—*e.g.,* from *nal,* goodness or good, is formed *nal (l)-an,* he is good, *nal (l)-aḷ,* she is good; *nal (l) adu* or *nan-dru* (for *nal-du*), it is good, *nal (l)-ar,* they (epicene) are good, *nal (l)-ana,* or *nal (l)-a,* they (neuter) are good. The neuter singular in Tamil may appear to take a variety of forms; but on examination those various forms will be found to be identical, and the apparent differences which exist are owing either to the euphonic union of the final *du* with some previous consonant, or to its euphonic reduplication. The third person neuter, singular and plural (and occasionally the third person masculine and feminine also), of every species of Dravidian verb, is often used not only as a verb, but also as a verbal or participial noun. Its primary use may have been that of a participial noun, and its use as a verb may be a secondary one; but at all events, the two uses are found to be interchangeable—*e.g., irukkiṟadu* means either it is, or that which is, or the being, according to the context. It is especially with relation to appellatives that this twofold use of the forms of the third person must be borne in mind; for in the third person (singular and plural, masculine, feminine, and neuter) there is no difference whatever in spelling or pronunciation between appellative verbs and appellative nouns, and it is the context alone that determines which meaning is the correct one. Generally the appellative verb is more commonly used in the classical dialect, and the noun in the colloquial dialect; but to this there are exceptions, and (*e.g.*) *nalladu* more frequently signifies in the colloquial dialect 'it is well' than 'that which is good'—that is, it is used more frequently as an appellative verb than as an appellative noun. It is certain, however, that the appellative verb, whatever person or gender it takes, is used more largely in the higher dialect of the Tamil than in the lower; and its brevity and compression render it peculiarly adapted for metaphorical use.

Adjectives are formed into appellative verbs as well as nouns; but as the Dravidian adjective is merely a noun of quality used adjectivally, the difference is more in terms than in reality—*e.g., oḷi-(y)-ei,* Tam. thou art bright, is literally thou art brightness; and *ini-(y)-ei,* thou art sweet, is thou art sweetness. Appellative verbs are formed from adjectives, or nouns of quality, not only in the cultivated Dravidian dialects, but even in Ku, which is spoken

by an uncultured race—*e.g.*, *negg-ānu*, Ku, I am good, *negg-āmu*, we are good.

When nouns of quality are used as the bases of appellative verbs or nouns, they are generally adopted in their crude shape, as in the instances which have just been cited; but in many cases we find the particle *iya* intervening between the crude base and the pronominal termination or sign of gender—*e.g.*, *koḍ-iya-n* (as a verb), he is cruel; (as a noun) one who is cruel, or a cruel man; *val-iya-n*, a strong man, or he is strong, &c. This is the same particle which we have already seen to be used as an adjectival formative—*e.g.*, *val-iya*, strong, *per-iya*, great, *śiṟ-iya*, little, &c., and I have stated that I conceive words like these to be relative participles. *i* is identical with the *i* of the past verbal particle, which is often used in Telugu as an adjectival formative without any addition; and the final *a* is the sign of the relative, which is kept separate from *i* by an euphonic *y*. *iya* is therefore the formative of the relative preterite participle, and *val-i-(y)-a*, strong, means properly that which was strong. But though the form of the preterite tense is employed, the signification (as often happens, especially in the case of relative participles) is aoristic, or without reference to time. This being the origin, as I conceive, of such forms as *val-iya*, an appellative noun like *val-iya-n*, a strong man, is in reality a participial noun, signifying he who is strong, and so of the other genders; and this explanation brings such forms into perfect harmony with other parts of the Dravidian conjugational system, for participial nouns are regularly used in these languages as verbs.

In some instances *a*, the sign of the relative participle, is dispensed with, and the pronominal signs or signs of gender are elegantly suffixed to *i*, the sign of the verbal participial—*e.g.*, *peri-du*, Tam. it is great, or that which is great, instead of *peri-(y)-a-du*. On the other hand, in another class of instances, *i* disappears, and *a* alone remains. Words of this class, when deprived of their signs of gender, are commonly called adjectives, and undoubtedly it is as adjectives that they are used; but, looking at their construction and force, I should term them relative participles of appellative verbs. In the words referred to, *a*, the sign of the relative participle, is directly annexed to crude substantive roots—*e.g.*, *uḍei-(y)-a*, belonging to, more literally which is the property of. *malei-(y)-a*, hilly, literally which is a hill; *tī-y-a*, evil, literally which is evil. As *uḍei-(y)-an*, considered as a noun, is certainly an appellative, signifying he who owns, a proprietor; and as the same word is used

poetically as an appellative verb when it signifies he is the owner, it seems evident that the proper light in which to regard *uḍei-* (*y*) *-a* (and every similar word) is to consider it as the relative participle of an appellative verb used adjectivally.

SECTION II.—CONJUGATIONAL SYSTEM.

Mode of Annexing Pronominal Signs.—The persons of the Dravidian verb, including the related ideas of gender and number, are formed by suffixing the personal or demonstrative pronouns, or their fragmentary terminations, to the signs of tense. The change which the pronouns undergo when they are appended to verbs as signs of personality have already been exhibited in the section on "The Pronoun." They consist chiefly in the softening away of the initial consonant; but in a few instances the final consonant has also been softened away, and nothing left but the included vowel. In Telugu, *nī-vu*, the pronoun of the second person singular, has lost both its radical initial and its formative final; and in the personal terminations of the verb it is represented only by *vu*, an euphonic addition.

In the Indo-European languages the personal signs of the verb are formed by suffixing pronominal fragments to the root; and those fragments are disguised in a still greater degree than in the Dravidian languages, not only by frequency of use and rapidity of enunciation, but also by the love of fusing words and particles together, and forming them into euphonious compounds, which distinguishes that family of tongues. Sometimes one dialect alone furnishes the key to the explanation of the inflexional forms which are apparent in all. Thus the origin of *unt* or *ant*, the sign of the third person plural in the various Indo-European languages (*e.g.*, *fer-unt*, *φέϱ-οντι* (*pheronti*), *bharanti*, &c.), is found in Welsh alone, in which *hwynt* is a pronoun of the third person plural.

The various changes which the Dravidian pronouns undergo on being used as the pronominal signs of verbs have already been stated in order. In Telugu, and partly also in Canarese, the pronominal terminations vary according to the tense; but this arises from the operation of the law of harmonic sequences (see "Sounds"), by which a vowel is affected by a preceding vowel, and changed so as to harmonise with it. What requires here to be investigated is simply the mode in which the pronominal signs are attached to the Dravidian verb.

1. The pronominal signs of the Dravidian verb are suffixed, not prefixed. The primitive Turanian verb seems to have been

destitute of pronominal terminations altogether. The pronoun was neither prefixed nor affixed, but had a position of its own as a separate word. This continues to be the case with the most distinctively Turanian languages; but in the Buriat dialect of the Mongolian, and in the Tungusian idiom, spoken near Njertschinsk in Siberia, personal terminations have recently been added to the verb. In Turkish, Finnish, and Hungarian, as in the primitive Indo-European languages, the pronouns have been compounded with the verb, and have dwindled down to pronominal terminations. In the modern Indo-European vernaculars, most of the verbs have lost their old pronominal terminations, and the pronouns which are used as nominatives to verbs are usually isolated and placed first. Thus, instead of love-I, in accordance with the ancient *am-o*, we have learnt to say I love,—an alteration of position which produces no change in meaning. In the Semitic languages a change in the position of the pronoun from the termination of the verb to its commencement produces an important change in grammatical signification: the position of the pronouns or pronominal fragments determines the tense. When the pronominal fragments are prefixed, the tense of the verb is regarded as future or aoristic: it is regarded as past when they are suffixed. Prefixing the pronominal fragments appears to denote that the action of the verb has, as yet, only a subjective existence in the mind of the speaker or agent—*i.e.*, it is future; suffixing them may denote that the action of the verb has already acquired an objective existence, apart from the will or wish of the speaker or agent—*i.e.*, it is past.

No peculiarity of this kind characterises the Dravidian languages. The tenses are formed, not by means of the position of the pronouns, but by particles or signs of present, past, and future time suffixed to the theme; and the personal signs, as in the Turkish and Finnish families, are suffixed to the signs of tense. The only exception to this rule is that which forms the most characteristic feature of Malayāḷam—a language which appears to have been originally identical with Tamil, but which, in so far as its conjugational system is concerned, has fallen back from the inflexional development reached by both tongues whilst they were still one, to what appears to have been the primitive condition of both—a condition nearly resembling that of the Mongolian, the Manchu, and the other rude primitive tongues of High Asia. In ancient times, as may be gathered from Malayāḷam poetry, and especially from the inscriptions preserved by the Syrian Christians and the

Jews, the pronouns were suffixed to the Malayāḷam verb, precisely as they still are in Tamil. At present, the verb is entirely divested, at least in the colloquial dialect, of signs of personality; and with the pronouns the signs of number and gender also have necessarily disappeared; so that the pronoun or nominative must in every instance be separately prefixed to the verb to complete the signification, and it is chiefly by means of this prefixed pronoun that a verb, properly so called, is distinguished from a verbal participle. Though the personal signs have been abandoned by the Malayāḷam verb, the signs of tense or time have been retained, and are annexed directly to the root as in the other dialects. Even in modern English some persons of the verb retain archaic fragments of the pronominal signs (*e.g.*, *lov*est, *lov*eth); but in modern Malayāḷam every trace of those signs has disappeared. Thus, whilst we should say in Tamil *aḍittēn,* I beat; *aḍittāy,* thou didst beat; *aḍittān,* he beat; Malayāḷam uses in these and all similar cases the verbal participle *aḍichu* (for *aḍittu*), having beaten, with the prefixed pronouns I, thou, he, &c.—*e.g., ñān aḍichu,* I beat; *nī aḍichu,* thou didst beat; *avan aḍichu,* he beat. Though the pronominal signs have been lost by the Malayāḷam verb, they have been retained even by the Tuda; and notwithstanding the comparative barbarity of the Gōnds and Kus, their conjugational system is peculiarly elaborate and complete.

2. Another peculiarity in the manner in which the personal signs are suffixed in the Dravidian languages consists in their annexation, not directly to the root, as in the Indo-European family, but to the temporal participles. The first suffix to the root in the affirmative voice is that of the sign of tense, then follows the suffix of personality. Every pure Dravidian affirmative verb is compounded of three elements, which are thus arranged and named by Tamil grammarians, viz. (1) the *pagudi* (*prakṛiti,* Sans.), or root; (2) the *iḍei nilei,* or medial particle, *i.e.,* the sign of tense; and (3) the *vigudi* (*vikṛiti,* Sans.), the variation or differentia, *i.e.,* the pronominal termination. When the signs of tense are attached to the theme, some euphonic changes take place (not in the theme, but in the signs themselves), which serve, as has been shown, to distinguish transitive verbs from intransitives. Other euphonic changes also take place in accordance with Dravidian laws of sound, which will be inquired into when those signs of tense are one by one examined. The changes which take place in the pronominal signs when they are annexed to the signs of tense have already been stated in the section on "The Pronoun."

In the Indo-European languages we meet, I think, with no instance of the annexation of the pronominal signs to the participles, *i.e.*, to the combination of the root with the signs of tense. I know of no instance of the use of any form like *amant-o*, instead of *am-o*, to signify I love. This, however, is the method which is invariably employed in the Dravidian languages, and which constitutes an essential element in the family likeness by which they are pervaded. It is also distinctive of Turkish. Thus, the Turkish *ōlürsen*, thou art, is formed from *ōlür*, being, the present participle of the verb *ōl*, to be, with the addition of the pronoun *sen*, thou. So also the Oriental Turkish *bōlāmen*, I am, is formed from *bōlā*, being (theme, *bōl*, to be), and the pronominal suffix *men*, I.

An important difference generally found to exist between the Dravidian languages and the Gaurian vernaculars should here be stated. In the languages of Northern India the present tense of a verb is ordinarily formed by annexing the substantive verb to its present participle—*e.g.*, *karitechi*, Beng. (*karite-āchi*), I am doing, instead of I do. In Telugu, perhaps through the influence of the North Indian vernaculars, a similar usage prevails; but it is found in the present tense only; it may readily be dispensed with; and the simpler usage, which accords with that of all the other Dravidian dialects, is undoubtedly the more ancient. In Tamil and Canarese this use of the substantive verb, as an auxiliary in the formation of the present tense, is unknown; it is used as an auxiliary only in the formation of the compound preterite and future tenses. Malayāḷam occasionally uses the substantive verb in a similar manner to Telugu, but with a somewhat different signification. In Telugu *naḍuchutunnānu*, I walk (from *naduchu-tu*, walking, and *unnānu*, I am), has simply the meaning of the present tense, and is equivalent to the simpler form *naḍuchutānu*, answering to the Tamil *naḍakkiṟēn*, and the Canarese *naḍeyuttēne*; but in Malayāḷam, whilst *ñān naḍakkunnu* means I walk, *ñān naḍakkunnuṇḍa* has generally an emphatic sense—*e.g.*, I am really walking. Tamil has a form precisely resembling this.

3. It is a peculiarity of Telugu that the third person of the preterite is sometimes left altogether destitute of the signs of time, person, number, and gender; and this peculiarity applies also to the third person of the aorist. Thus, whilst *uṇḍitini*, I was, and *uṇḍitivi*, thou wast, are supplied with the usual signs of tense and person, the third person of the same tense is simply *uṇḍe-nu*, he, she, or it was, or they were, without distinction of number or gender, and without even the particle *ti*, which constitutes the usual

sign of the preterite. The aorist third person, with a similar absence of distinction, is *uṇḍu-nu;* and in both cases the final *nu* is merely a conjunctive suffix, like the corresponding Tamil *um.* Sometimes even the aorist formative *nu* is discarded, and the root alone is used as the third person singular. Thus (he, she, or it) falls or will fall, may either be *paḍu-nu,* or simply *paḍu.* The usage of poetical Tamil occasionally agrees with that of the Telugu with respect to the neuter gender, both singular and plural, especially in connection with the negative voice of the verb—*e.g.,* *śey* (*y*) *-ā,* it will not do, is often used for *śey* (*y*) *-ādu.*

A usage similar to this prevails in many languages which are widely different one from the other. Thus, the New Persian uses for the third person singular of the preterite *the contracted infinitive,* as grammarians style it—an abstract verbal noun, which may be regarded as the theme of the verb. The Hebrew third person masculine of the preterite tense is also a verbal noun, without pronominal addition. We see a similar peculiarity in the third person of the *present* tense of the verb in some languages—*e.g.,* compare the three persons of the present tense of the Turkish substantive verb, *ōlūrum,* I am; *ōlūrsen,* thou art; *ōlūr,* he is. Compare also the Armorican *kanann,* I sing; *kanez,* thou singest; *kan,* he sings. Compare with these examples the Hungarian *ismerek,* I know; *ismersz,* thou knowest; and *ismer,* he knows.

4. There are traces in ancient Tamil and Canarese of the existence of a very primitive system of conjugation. A form of the verb is occasionally used by the poets, which must have come down from a period of great antiquity. In High Tamil, *śeydu* (*śey-du*), which is now the preterite verbal participle, may be used for the preterite tense of the finite verb in all persons in the singular, and *śeydum* (*śey-d'-um*) (the same form with the addition of the conjunctive *um,* used as a pluralising particle), for all persons in the plural. A somewhat similar form may be used for the future, by means of the addition of *ku* or *gu* to the root, instead of the sign of the preterite, *du. śey-gu* is used to mean I will do; *śey-g'-um,* we will do. The use of this form is not extended to the other persons so widely as that of *śeydu,* an irregularity which shows that it had become nearly obsolete when it received a place in written compositions. The *um* of the aoristic future in modern Tamil is restricted to the neuter gender, but it is used for both numbers indiscriminately. The *gu* and *gum* of poetical Tamil is found also in classical Canarese in the form of *gum* or *kum,* in which it has a wider range of application than in Tamil. In classical Tamil its use is confined to the first person; in classical Canarese it is used indiscriminately for all per-

sons—*e.g.*, *avar māḍugum*, they do. *ku* also survives in Canarese —*e.g.*, *kē-ku* (Tam. *vēṇḍ-um*), must. It would appear, therefore, that the Dravidian verb was originally uninflected; and this may partly account for the circumstance that Malayāḷam so readily lost the inflexions which, in common with Tamil, it had acquired. The period when the Dravidian verb was uninflected must have been long prior to the separation of the present tongue into dialects, in all which, even in the rudest, a system of inflexions has been developed. The retention of traces of the ancient verb in Tamil and Canarese, and partly also, as noticed in the previous paragraph, in Telugu, seems to prove the great antiquity of the literary culture of the Dravidian languages.

5. The Dravidian verb, as now inflected, like the verb of many other languages, does not distinguish the genders of either the first person or the second, whether singular or plural; but in the third person it marks all existing distinctions of gender with peculiar explicitness and minuteness. Thus, without the use of isolated pronouns, and employing the inflexions of the verb alone, we can say in Tamil *varugiṟān*, he comes; *varugiṟāḷ*, she comes; *varugiṟadu*, it comes; *varugiṟār*, they (men and women) come, or honorifically he comes; *varugiṟārgal*, they (men and women) come; *varugindrana*, they (things) come.

Formation of the Tenses.—Most of the Dravidian tenses are formed from participial forms of the verb: an inquiry into the participles is, therefore, a necessary preliminary to an inquiry into the tenses. Dravidian verbs have two species of participles, one of which (called *relative participles*, because they include the signification of the relative pronoun) will be inquired into in a subsequent part of this section; the other, commonly called *verbal participles* or *gerunds*, and which are now to be considered, constitute the bases on which the tenses are formed. The *forms* which are assumed by the verbal participles will be inquired into in connection with the signs of tense, from the consideration of which they cannot be severed. I content myself here with some general remarks on the signification and force of this class of words.

Verbal Participles, their Signification and Force.—In ordinary colloquial Tamil there is but one verbal participle, that of the past tense. In Malayāḷam and in classical Tamil there is a verbal participle of the future tense as well as of the past. In Canarese and Telugu there is a verbal participle of the present and of the past. In Tuḷu there are three verbal participles, that of the present (or future), that of the imperfect past, and that of the perfect. In this particular, therefore, colloquial Tamil may be considered as the

poorest of the Dravidian dialects. Properly speaking, the words which are called *verbal participles* are not *participles* at all, seeing that they do not *participate* in the nature of adjectives, as all the Indo-European participles do. They have somewhat of the signification of gerunds, inasmuch as in addition to the idea of time, they include more or less of the idea of cause. Nevertheless, as each of the Indo-European participles is commonly used also as a gerund, without losing the name of a participle, and as the gerund in *do* (to which alone, amongst Latin gerunds, the Dravidian participles have any resemblance) has a very restricted application, it appears advisable, after all, to style these words participles instead of gerunds,—or more fully *verbal participles,* to distinguish them from what are called *relative participles.*

The following sentences will illustrate the force of the Dravidian verbal participles:—

1. *Present Verbal Participles.*—This verbal participle, though unknown in Tamil and Malayāḷam, is commonly used both in Canarese and in Telugu. I quote the illustration which follows from Canarese. "Vikramārka, punishing the wicked and protecting the good, reigned over the kingdom." Here the English words 'punishing' and 'protecting' are participles of the present tense, used gerundially; and the Dravidian words which they represent (in Canarese, *sikshisuttā* and *rakshisuttā*) have precisely the same force. In this respect only there is a difference between them, viz., that the English participles are capable of being used also as adjectives whereas the Dravidian words, though called participles, cannot be used adjectivally, or in any other way than that here exemplified.

2. *Preterite Verbal Participle.*—"Sāḷivāhana, having killed Vikramārka, assumed supreme power." Though the English participle 'having killed,' which is here used, is a compound one (being formed from the present participle having, and the passive participle killed), its signification is that of a simple, uncompounded participle of the past tense, and the Dravidian word which it represents (*kondru,* Tam., *kondu,* Can.) is also a preterite active verbal participle. In this instance, neither the English participle nor the Dravidian one is capable of being used as an adjective. In reality, they are both preterite gerunds or gerundials, though they retain the name of participles as a matter of convenience.

In those Dravidian dialects in which there is a present, as well as a preterite, verbal participle (as in Canarese and Telugu), the present is used to express subordinate actions which are contemporaneous with that which is denoted by the principal and finite

verb; whilst the preterite expresses subordinate actions which are antecedent in point of time to the principal action. In Tamil, the preterite participle is used to express all subordinate actions, whether simultaneous with the main action or antecedent to it; but though that participle is always a preterite in form, it possesses the force of a participle of the present tense when the connection requires it. In each of the dialects and in every connection, the nominative of the final governing verb is the nominative of all the subordinate verbal participles.

The Dravidian verbal participles may be compared with the Sanskrit indeterminate past participle in *tvā—e.g., kṛitvā,* having done. Like that participle they are indeclinable and indeterminate. One of the chief peculiarities, however, of these verbal participles is, that they have a continuative force, dispensing altogether with the use of conjunctions. In the Dravidian languages, though nouns and pronouns are united by means of conjunctions, finite verbs are never so united. In every sentence there is but one finite verb, which is the last word in the sentence, and the seat of government; and all the verbs which express subordinate actions or circumstances, whether antecedent or contemporaneous, assume an indeterminate, continuative character, as verbal participles or gerundials, without the need of conjunctions or copulatives of any kind; so that the sense (and more or less the time also) waits in suspense for the authoritative decision of the final governing verb. Hence those participles might properly be called continuative gerundials. Tamilian grammarians class them, together with infinitives and subjunctives, as *vinei echcham,* verb defects, or verbal complements—*i.e.,* words which require a verb to complete the sense.

It is a peculiarity of these languages that when a series of verbal participles constitutes a relative clause in a sentence, antecedent to a noun to which the relative clause relates, the last of the verbal participles alone is converted into a relative participle. All the rest remain in form verbal participles or gerunds. So also in the Scythian languages. "The Turanian," says Mr Edkins, "in describing a succession of events gives to his verbs the form of gerunds, and adds to them, when needed, the case suffixes,"—converting the gerund thereby into a relative participle, as in Tamil, &c. The rationale of the process seems to be that in both families of tongues the gerund is treated as a noun, and must have been a verbal noun in origin.

1. *The Present Tense.*—It may be stated generally that the present tense of the Dravidian verb is formed by suffixing the pro-

nominal as signs to the present verbal participle, with such trivial changes only as euphony requires. The exceptions to this general rule are as follows:—

(1.) In poetical Tamil the tenses are sometimes formed by suffixing the pronominal terminations to the relative participles, instead of the gerunds or verbal participles—*e.g.*, *naḍanda(n) an* (equivalent to the colloquial *naḍanda(v) an*), he walked, literally a man who walked. In such instances a verbal or participial noun is used with the force of a verb. This is not an uncommon usage in other languages also; and in colloquial Tamil the third person neuter of the verb, both singular and plural, is certainly a verbal noun in its origin, though used with the force of a verb—*e.g.*, *naḍandadu*, it walked, literally means a thing which walked; and the plural *naḍanda(n) a*, means literally things which walked. A peculiarity of the poetical dialect is the extension of this usage to each person of the verb—*e.g.*, *naḍanda(n) en*, I walked, literally I who walked; *naḍanda(n) am* or *naḍanda(n) em*, we walked, literally we who walked. This mode of forming the tenses has been developed from the Dravidian custom of using participial and verbal nouns as the conjugational bases of verbs, and, so far, is in accordance with the genius of the language; but it has a constructive, artificial look, and it is an exception to the mode which prevails throughout all the other dialects of the family, whether colloquial or classical.

(2.) Tamil and Malayāḷam have, properly speaking, no present verbal participle, but only a particle denoting present time, which is suffixed to the theme of the verb, and to which, in Tamil, the pronominal signs are then suffixed for the purpose of forming the present tense. The combination, however, of the root and the particle of present time, forms virtually a present participle. I think it may, therefore, be assumed that the Tamil-Malayāḷam had a verbal participle of the present tense at a former period, which has now become obsolete, except in combination with the personal terminations, when it constitutes the present tense of the verb.

(3.) In the ancient or classical dialect of Canarese there is another exception to the general rule. In the colloquial dialect the present tense is formed regularly from the present participle; but the present tense in the classical dialect is altogether unconnected with that participle, or at least is only very distantly related to it. The sign of the present particple is *ute*, &c., whilst that of the present tense is *dap*—*e.g.*, *bāḷute*, living, *bāḷdapem*, I live.

(4.) The Telugu usage of employing the substantive verb in

a modified form (viz., *unnānu*, I am, *unnāvu*, thou art, &c.) as an auxiliary in the formation of the present tense, can scarcely be called an exception to the general rule specified above; for this auxiliary is annexed to the present verbal participle, which is closely allied to that of Canarese; and its use in this connection is only a refinement, not a necessary element in the formation of the present tense.

These real or apparent exceptions being disposed of, it remains to inquire into the formation of the present verbal participles in the various dialects.

FORMATION OF THE PRESENT.—In both the classical and colloquial dialects of Canarese the verbal participle of the present tense is formed by adding to the verbal root a particle, of which *ut* is the most essential portion—*e.g.*, coll. Can. *bāl-uta*, living; *ond-utta*, joining; *māḍ-uttā*, making: class. Can. *ōd-ute*, reading; *iḷi-(y)-utte*, descending; *kaṭṭ-uttu*, tying; *geyutum* (*geyuttum*, *geyyutum*), doing. The final vowel of this particle *ut* assumes various shapes, and is elided before the initial vowel of the pronominal signs in the formation of the present tense in the colloquial dialect (*e.g.*, comp. *māḍ-utta*, doing, with *māḍ-utt'ēne*, I do). It may, therefore, be concluded that it is simply enunciative; and as *u* is the vowel most commonly used as a help to enunciation in all the dialects, the primitive shape of this particle must have been *utu*. I have no doubt that Mr Kittel is correct in identifying this *utu* with *udu*, the intermediate demonstrative pronoun of the Tamil and Canarese, used as a proximate demonstrative in Tuḷu. Another form of *udu* in classical Canarese is *ūtam*. *utu*, with the meaning of 'this,' would very naturally come to be used as a sign of present time in the formation of a participle of the present tense. It will be seen, in considering the preterite tense, that the *d* which constitutes the sign of past time is probably a relic of *adu*, the remote demonstrative 'that.' Probably the *um* of *utum* is the ordinary conjunctive *um*, used for the purpose of more distinctly emphasising the time.

It is more difficult to explain the origin of the sign of present time used in the formation of the present tense in Old Canarese. The present tense in that dialect is not formed from the present participle. That participle is, as we have seen, substantially the same in both dialects; and in the colloquial dialect the present tense is formed by affixing to this participle the personal terminations. The ancient dialect, on the other hand, makes no use of its present participle in forming its present tense, but forms that tense

by inserting the particle *dap* between the verbal root and the pronominal fragments. The colloquial Canarese *bāḷuttēne*, I live, is formed from the colloquial and classical present participle *bālutte*; but the corresponding form in classical Canarese is *bāḷdapem*, in which present time is represented by *dap*. What is the origin of this particle ? Mr Kittel (in a private communication with which he has favoured me) regards *dap* as being properly *dapa*, and *dapa* as consisting of *da*+*apa*. This *apa* he considers identical with *aha*, the future participle of *ahu* (in coll. Can. *āgu*), to become; *da* he regards as the sign of the past tense. Hence *māḍi*+*da*+*apa*+*em* (*māḍidapem*) would mean 'having made I shall be.' This form, therefore, was properly a second future. He traces its origin to the custom of replying to a command by an answer in the past tense—*e.g.*, you say to some one, Come ! and the reply is, I came—*i.e.*, I come. The fact that this form was originally a second future accounts, he thinks, for the introduction at length into the modern or colloquial dialect of a present tense distinctively denoting the present, being formed from the present participle in use in both dialects. This explanation is certainly very ingenious, and seems to me satisfactory. It will be shown further on that one of the forms of the present in Tamil makes use of a participle of the verb *ā* (*āgu*), to become, and that most of the Dravidian presents were formed from futures. It will also be shown that the use of *d*, the ordinary sign of the preterite in all the dialects, was not originally restricted to that tense so absolutely as it is now.

The present verbal participle of Telugu is ordinarily formed by adding *chu* (pronounced *tsu*) to the theme of the verb. In the colloquial dialect *tu* is used instead of *chu*; and though it is possible that *chu* may be the original, and *tu* (from *tsu*) the corruption, yet it would be more in accordance with analogy to derive *chu* from *tu*; and this *tu* so nearly resembles the Canarese *uta* or *ute*, that we may safely conclude both forms to have been originally identical. Probably also *du*, the particle which in most instances is inserted as a sign of tense between the verbal theme and the pronominal terminations of the Telugu aorist, springs from the same origin as *tu*. *chunnu* or *tunnu*, the ordinary termination of the participle of the present tense in grammatical Telugu, is a compound form derived from *chu* or *tu*, the real and only sign of present time in this language, and *unnu*, a participle of the substantive verb *uṇḍu*, to be, used as an auxiliary.

The Tuḷu participle of the present tense is also used for the future as well as for the present, and was probably a future origi-

nally. The sign of the present used in the present tense of the verb is *v*, which is identical with the Tamil-Canarese sign of the future.

The sign of present time used by the Tamil and Malayāḷam, differs considerably from that of the Telugu-Canarese. The present tense in Tamil is formed by suffixing *giṟ-u, gindr-u,* or *ā-nindr-u,* to the verbal theme, to one or other of which particles the pronominal signs are annexed. *ā-nindr-u* is a compound form, which is rarely used even by the poets, and is derived, I conceive, from *ā*, the ultimate base of *ā-gu,* to become (and which is not unfrequently used in this shape in the poets), and *nindr-u,* standing, abiding, continuing; root, *nil,* to stand. The meaning of the compound seems to be continuing to become—*e.g.*, *tāṟānindrān* (*tāṟ-ā-nindr'-ān*), he is low, he is humble, literally, he *continues* to *become* low or humble. Documentary evidence is forthcoming of the accuracy of my supposition that the *ā* of *āṉindru* was a representative of *āgi.* In an Old Tamil inscription (774 A.D.) in the possession of the Syrian Christians on the Malabar coast, I find *āyi-nindru* instead of the *ā-nindru* which has been universally used in later times. *āgi* is often softened into *āyi* even in modern Tamil, then into *āy,* and then into *ā.*

The other particles of present time, *giṟ-u* and *gindr-u,* are in more common use, especially the former—*e.g.*, *varu-giṟ-ān,* or *varu-gindr'-ān,* he comes. The only difference between them is that *gindr-u* is considered more euphonious and elegant than *giṟ-u,* and more suitable, in consequence, for poetry and elevated prose. I have no doubt that they are identical in origin, and that the one is either an euphonised or a corrupted form of the other. In some connections *giṟ-u* and *gindr-u* are changed by dialectic rules of euphony to *kkiṟ-u* and *kkindr-u*—viz., when they are attached to roots consisting of two short syllables (like *paḍu,* to lie; *iru,* to be; *naḍa,* to walk), the final vowel of which is regarded as a part of the root, and is incapable of being elided. It is a rule of the language that if in such cases the sonants *g, d, b,* immediately follow, they shall be hardened, that is, converted into the corresponding surds *k, t,* and *p;* and in Tamil the only method of hardening sonants is by doubling them,—for it has already been shown that in this language the same consonant is a sonant when single and a surd when doubled. Hence we say in Tamil not *iru-giṟ-ēn,* I am, but *iru-kkiṟ-ēn.* A similar result follows in another and more numerous class of instances from a different cause. It has been shown in a former part of this section that transitive or active verbs are in many instances made to differ from intransitives by the hardening and doubling of the initial consonant of the sign of tense,

In such cases *giṟ-u* and *gindr-u* become (not for the sake of euphony merely, but as a means of grammatical expression) *kkiṟ-u* an *kkindr-u.*

Malayāḷam uses the same sign of tense somewhat modified: the sign of present time in Malayāḷam is *unnu* or *kkunnu,* suffixed to the verbal theme. The older dialect of Malayāḷam has generally *innu,* especially in connection with the negative verb—*e.g., varā-(y)-innu,* comes not. Where Tamil would use *gindru,* Malayāḷam omits the *g.* When Tamil doubles the *g* and says *kk,* Malayāḷam uses *kk* also. The Malayāḷam *innu* is clearly a softened and euphonised form of the Tamil particle. The Tamil compound sound *ndr* is constantly converted into *nn* in Malayāḷam—*e.g., ondru,* Tam. one, is in Malayāḷam *onn',* and *mūndru,* Tam. three, is in Malayāḷam *mūnn'.* Even in vulgar colloquial Tamil the same or a similar tendency appears: *ondru,* one, being commonly pronounced *oṉṉu,* and *mūndru,* three, *mūṉu.* The Tamil *gindru* and *kkindru* would, therefore, naturally and dialectically be converted in Malayāḷam to *ginnu* and *kkinnu.* The next point is the softening away of the *g* of *ginnu.* This has arisen from the circumstance that in Tamil *g* is pronounced in the middle of a word so softly as to be little more than an indistinct guttural breathing; in consequence of which, it is used to represent the *h* of Sanskrit, and in the colloquial dialect it is often discarded altogether—*e.g., pōgiṟēn,* I go, is commonly pronounced *pō-ṟēn;* and *varugiṟān,* he comes, *varu-ṟān* or *vā-ṟān.* Hence *ginnu* (from *gindru*) would naturally become in Malayāḷam *innu.* The only remaining difference is between the *i* of *innu* and the *u* of *unnu;* but this presents no difficulty, for even in Tamil *i* is very often pronounced as *u* by the vulgar, and we have seen that in Malayāḷam also *innu* is more classical than *unnu.*

The identity of the Malayāḷam sign of the present tense with that of Tamil, cannot be doubted. Sometimes in Malayāḷam poetry the pronominal signs are suffixed to the signs of tense, as in Tamil; and in that connection the identity of the signs of tense is clearly apparent—*e.g.,* compare *aḍikkindrān* (*aḍi-kkindr-ān*), Tam. he beats, with the corresponding form in poetic Malayāḷam *aḍikkunnān* (*aḍi-kkunn'-ān*). *A priori* it might have been supposed that the Malayāḷam *unnu* or *kkunnu* was related to *chunnu* or *tunnu,* the sign of the present participle in Telugu. The resemblance, however, is altogether illusory; for the Malayāḷam particle is derived from the Tamil *gindru* or *kkindru,* whilst the Telugu *chunnu* is compounded of *chu,* the real sign of present time, and *unnu,* a participle of *uṇḍu,* to be; which participle is in Malayāḷam *uṇḍ'.*

I have said that I believe the Tamil *giṟ-u* and *gindr-u* were identical in origin, and that the one is merely an euphonised or corrupted form of the other. Which is the original form? and which the euphonised or corrupted? There are many instances of *ṟ* being euphonised in Tamil into *ndr*—*e.g.*, *kundru*, as a verb, 'to become small,' as a noun, 'a small hill,' must be a secondary form of *kuṟ-u*, small, a form of the root which constitutes the basis of a large number of words, such as *kuṟṟam*, a fault. The change of *ndr* into *ṟ* is not so easy, nor can I find any instances of it which are free from doubt. Still such a change may be suspected to have taken place in several instances, one of which is *indru*, now, to-day. A secondary form of *indru* in Tamil *is iṟṟei* (pronounced *ittrei*), and this seems to point to *il-tei.* $l + t$, sometimes became *ndr* in Tamil, and sometimes in the poets skrinks into *ṟ*. Thus *śel-tal*, the verbal noun of *śel*, to go, is changed to *śēṟal* in the "Nannūl," the Tamil classical grammar. In this case, however, there is also a lengthening of the preceding vowel. If we may suppose *il-tu* to have become, on the one hand, *indru*, and on the other perhaps at a later period, *iṟu*, we arrive at the best explanation which has been given of *gindru* or *giṟu*, the Tamil sign of present time. Dr Graul, I believe (in his "Outlines of Tamil Grammar"), was the first to suggest the origination of this sign from $k = g$, a sign of the future in poetical Tamil, and *indru*, now. His idea appears to have been that Tamil was originally without a present tense, and that the present was a new secondary tense, formed from the future by the addition of a sign of present time. *kindru* was thus = *k-indru* (then *kiṟu*). The same view seems to have been adopted, or independently arrived at, by Dr Gundert. The fact that the form of this particle retained in Malayāḷam is *unnu* (in older compositions often *innu*) would seem to prove that *kindru*, not *kiṟu*, was the form in use in Tamil prior to the final separation from Tamil of the Malayāḷam, and, therefore, not only the more classical form in Tamil, as it is admitted to be, but also the more ancient. This fact, though it does not prove the derivation of *kindru* from *k-indru*, yet favours that supposition.

The present tense is seldom used in Tamil poetry, and I have never found it in inscriptions, though the past and future and combinations of both abound. In the talk of the common people, though the present tense is freely used, yet the grammatical signs of the present, *giṟu*, &c., are generally omitted. They say *vēgudu*, it burns, instead of *vēgu-(giṟ)-adu*. It would seem, consequently, that the inflexional forms of the present tense are not very deeply rooted in the language.

In the language of the Tudas the present and future seem to be identical, and the sign of time seems to be *k* or *g*—*e.g.*, *pōkeni*, I go, *pōkemi*, we go; *ershken* (*ersh-k-en*), I am, *ershkimi*, we are (*rsh* for *r*). In the second and third persons the *k* seems to be softened into *ch*—*e.g.*, *ershchi*, he or they are. In the language of the Kotas, *p* seems to replace *k*—*e.g.*, *hōgape*, I go, *hōgapēme*, we go. In the third person, however, singular and plural, *k* asserts its place—*e.g.*, *hōgako*, he or they go.

The Tuda *k* of the first person and the Kota *k* of the third seem naturally to connect themselves, not only with the *gu* of the Old Tamil, but with the *kum* or *gum* of the Old Canarese aorist—*e.g.*, Old Tamil *śey-gu*, I do or will do; Old Canarese *māḍu-gum* (I, he, they, &c.), do. The *p* of the Kota present is evidently connected with *dap*, the Old Canarese sign of the present tense, but still more nearly related to the *v*, *b*, or *p* of the Tamil-Malayāḷam-Canarese future. In some Kota verbs *k* is the sign of the present tense, as in Tuda—*e.g.*, *vindkene* (*vind-k-ene*), I ask, *vindkeme*, we ask. In some, both letters seem to be mixed, as in *ettakepe*, I raise up, I build, of which the past tense is *ēttape*.

2. *The Preterite Tense.*—The mode in which a language forms its preterite constitutes one of the most distinctive features in its grammatical character, and one which materially contributes to the determination of the question of its relationship. In the Semitic languages past time, or the objective reality of past events, is denoted by placing the verbal theme first, and suffixing to it the sign of the personal agent. In the primitive Indo-European languages, the preterite appears to have been most commonly formed by means of the reduplication of the root or verbal theme; but this reduplication has in many instances been so softened and euphonised, that it has dwindled into the mere use of a different vowel in the preterite from that which appears in the root. The Indo-European preterite was also frequently formed by means of a prefixed temporal augment; a prefix which Bopp considers to be identical with 'alpha privative,' but which is supposed by Meyer to be identical with *a*, a relic of the auxiliary verb to have, which is still prefixed to verbs in the Celtic languages as a temporal augment—*i.e.*, as a sign of past time. In a large proportion of the verbs in the modern Teutonic tongues, in the modern Persian, in the Turkish and Finnish families of languages, in the vernacular languages of Northern India, and, with a few exceptions, in the Dravidian languages, the preterite is formed by suffixing to the verbal theme a particle, sometimes a consonant, sometimes a vowel, which is significant of past time.

The Dravidian preterite tense is ordinarily formed, like the present, by annexing the pronominal signs to the preterite verbal participle. It is in that participle that the idea of past time resides: by it alone that idea is expressed. The changes that are made when the pronominal signs are added will be shown to be euphonic merely, not structural; and in Malayāḷam (in which the pronominal signs have ceased to be annexed), that part of speech which corresponds to the Tamil preterite verbal participle expresses by itself the past tense of the verb. Consequently, an inquiry into the Dravidian preterite tense resolves itself into an inquiry into the formation of the preterite verbal participle. The preterite verbal participle is used in Tamil with a wider range of signification than in any other dialect, though its proper and inherent meaning is that of the preterite alone. Tamil, being destitute of a present verbal participle, uses the preterite verbal participle instead, in consequence of which, in a Tamil sentence, the question of time is in abeyance till it is determined by the tense of the final governing verb. This is more or less the case in all the dialects. Where there is a present participle as well as a preterite, the present is used to denote simultaneous actions, the preterite successive actions; but it is the final verb which determines whether those actions, whether simultaneous or successive, belong to the present, the past, or the future. This indeterminateness of time in Tamil applies to the verbal participle alone, not also to the preterite tense of the finite verb, which is restricted in Tamil to the expression of past time, precisely as in other languages.

We have now to inquire particularly into the Dravidian methods of forming the preterite. They divide themselves into two—(1.) by reduplication of the final consonant; and (2.) by suffixing a sign of past time.

1. The Formation of the Preterite by Reduplication of the Final Consonant.—This mode of forming the preterite is adopted by a very small number of verbs in each of the Dravidian dialects; but its existence cannot be doubted, and it is a mode which is as interesting as it is remarkable. In the Indo-European languages, when the preterite is formed by means of reduplication, it is the root which is doubled, or at least the first syllable of the root; but in the Dravidian dialects the reduplication is that of the final consonant alone. The verbal themes which form their preterites in this manner are those which end in *ḍ-u*, *g-u*, or *ṟ-u*, preceded by a single short vowel—*e.g.*, in classical Tamil *paḍ-u*, to suffer; *pug-u*,

to enter; and *peṟ-u,* to obtain—the preterites of which are *paṭṭ-ēn,* I suffered; *pukk-ēn,* I entered; and *pettr-ēn,* I obtained. In each of the above examples the final consonants—*ḍ, g,* and *ṟ*—are doubled, and being thus doubled, are converted by rule into the corresponding surds *ṭṭ, kk,* and *ṟṟ* (pronounced *ttr*). Whilst the above and similar verbs form their preterites in this manner in the classical dialect of Tamil, in the modern colloquial dialect some of those very verbs have adopted the more ordinary method of denoting past time by means of a suffixed particle or consonant. Thus *pukk-ēn,* I entered, has been superseded in the modern dialect by *pugu-nd-ēn,* and *nakk-ēn,* I laughed, by *nagei-tt-ēn.* Canarese forms the preterites of this class of verbs in exact agreement with classical Tamil—*e.g., nakk-anu,* he laughed, from *nag-u,* to laugh; and Telugu, though less systematic in this point, exhibits the operation of the same rule, especially in the relative participles of the preterite. This Dravidian reduplication differs materially in form from that of the Indo-European languages, but it appears to proceed from a similar principle, and it constitutes, so far as it goes, an interesting point of resemblance between the two families.

2. The Formation of the Preterite by Suffixing some Particle or Sign of Past Time.—This, with the exception of the very few verbs included in the previous class, is the method of forming the preterite which is invariably adopted by the Dravidian languages, and which may be regarded as their characteristic mode. For the purpose of thoroughly investigating this subject, it will be desirable to inquire into the practice of each dialect *seriatim.*

(1.) *The Canarese Preterite.*—The most characteristic Canarese preterite is formed by annexing *d* (euphonically *d-u*) to the verbal theme. This addition constitutes the preterite verbal participle—*e.g., iḷi-d-u,* having descended, *nuḍi-d-u,* having spoken; to which the pronominal terminations are suffixed to form the preterite tense—*e.g., iḷi-d-enu,* I descended, *nuḍi-d-i,* thou saidst. All verbal themes (both in the classical and in the colloquial dialect, and whether transitive or intransitive) which end in *i* or *e,* form their preterites in this manner, together with many themes ending in *u.* All the apparent irregularities that exist are merely modifications of the *d* in question. Thus, sometimes *t* is substituted for *d*—*e.g., aritanu,* he knew, instead of *aridanu* (corresponding to the Tamil *aṟindān*); sometimes the *d* of the preterite combines with the final consonant of the root, and converts it into *dd* or *tt*—*e.g., iddanu,* he was, instead of *irudanu* (Tam. *irundān*); *eddu,* having risen, instead of *eḷudu* (Tam. *eṟundu*); *uttu,* having ploughed, in-

stead of *uḷudu* (Tam. *uṛudu*); *nintu*, having stood, instead of *niludu* (Tam. *nindru*).

Another Canarese preterite is formed by suffixing *i* to the crude verbal theme—*e.g.*, *māḍ-i*, having done, from *māḍ-u*, to do. Between this *i* and the pronominal terminations, *d* is inserted in the formation of the preterite tense—*e.g.*, *māḍ-i-*(*d*)*-enu*, I did, *bāḷ-i-*(*d*)*-anu*, he lived. This mode of forming the preterite characterises most verbs ending in *u* in the modern dialect. The final *u* of such verbs is merely euphonic, not radical, and is elided on *i* being annexed; and the *d* which is inserted between *i* and the pronominal signs, though possibly identical in origin with the *d* which constitutes a sign of the preterite, is merely euphonic in so far as the use to which it is now put is concerned.

In a considerable number of instances the formation of the preterite in *i* appears to be a modern corruption. Intransitive verbal themes ending in *u* form their preterite in *d* in the classical dialect; and it is in the colloquial dialect alone that *i* forms their preterite—*e.g.*, instead of *bāḷ-i* (coll.), having lived, the classical dialect has *bāḷ-d-u;* and as the classical dialect is undoubtedly more authoritative and probably also more ancient than the colloquial, *d* or *d-u* may be considered as the legitimate form of the preterite of this class of verbs. This conclusion is confirmed by the analogy of Tamil, in which the corresponding verbal theme forms its preterite verbal participle by suffixing *nd*, an euphonised form of *d*—*e.g.*, *vāṛ-nd-u*, having flourished, which is the equivalent, not of the modern Canarese *bāḷ-i*, but of the ancient *bāḷ-d-u*.

How is this diversity in the formation of the preterite to be accounted for? Can *i* have been derived in any manner from *d?* An argument in favour of this supposition may be deduced from the circumstance that the classical *bāḷ-d-en*, I lived, which is in perfect dialectic agreement with the Tamil *vāṛ-nd-ēn*, has in the colloquial dialect become *bāḷ-i-d-enu*. Even in the ancient dialect itself, though this *i* is generally unknown, it makes its appearance in the preterite relative participle, which may be *bāḷ-i-d-a*, that lived, as well as *bāḷ-d-a*, though the corresponding Tamil is always *vāṛ-nd-a*. If we could form a judgment, therefore, from these instances alone, *i* would seem to have come into existence as a vocalic bond of connection between the root and the sign of the preterite.

The future, both in Canarese and in Tamil, often makes use of *u* as a bond of union between the verbal root and *v*, the sign of tense—*e.g.*, *bāḷ-u-v-enu*, coll. Can., and *vāṛ-u-v-ēn*, coll. Tam. I

shall live, instead of the ancient and more correct *bāḷ-v-en*, Can., and *vāṛ-v-ēn*, Tam. In this case the *u* is certainly euphonic, though it has not come to be used, as *i* has, to express grammatical relation, or in lieu of the sign of tense which it is employed to euphonise. If we had to account for the insertion of *i* before *d* in such instances only as have been mentioned, we might be content with the supposition of its euphonic origin; but the use of *i* as a sign of the preterite has a much wider range. All transitive verbs ending in *u*, both in the classical dialect of Canarese and in the colloquial, form their preterite verbal participles by suffixing *i;* and there is nothing to show that those verbs ever formed their preterites in any other manner. A very large number of verbs of this class form their preterites in Tamil also by suffixing *i;* and in Telugu the preterite is formed by suffixing *i* to the root, not of one class of verbs only, but of all, with the exception of the small class of reduplicative verbs.

This statement applies, it is true, to the preterite verbal participle of Telugu, not to the preterite tense of the verb, which generally suffixes or inserts, as a tense-sign, some additional consonant or particle; but in Malayāḷam the preterite verbal participle constitutes by itself the preterite tense, without the addition of any pronominal signs; and in that dialect *i* is the only sign of past time which is used by a large number of verbs. Thus *pāḍi*, which means having sung in the other dialects, signifies in Malayāḷam (he, she, or it) sang; *i* is, therefore, in that dialect a distinctive sign of the preterite in the class of verbs referred to; and it is to be remembered that the addition of the pronominal terminations, though the means of expressing personality, effects no change in the means whereby time is expressed. The extent and prevalence, therefore, of the use of *i* as a sign of the preterite seems to forbid our supposing it to have been in all cases derived from an euphonisation of *d;* and as *d*, on the other hand, cannot have been derived from *i*, it appears probable that *d* and *i* are distinct and independent signs of past time.

Of these two signs of past time *d* is to be considered, if not the older, yet at least the more prevalent and more characteristic. We have seen that in many instances in which the colloquial Canarese has *i*, the classical dialect and Tamil have *d*. Not in those instances only, but universally, Telugu uses *i* as the sign of the preterite; but the great antiquity of the grammatical forms of Tamil and Old Canarese precludes the supposition that their most characteristic sign of past time has been borrowed from that of Telugu. In addition to which, it will be shown that in Telugu itself there are traces

of the existence of an old sign of the preterite agreeing with that of Tamil and classical Canarese. It would, therefore, appear that two modes of forming the preterite being in existence, one in *d*, another in *i*, the latter form has in many instances, particularly in Telugu, superseded the former; and the prevalence of *i* in Telugu and Gōnd would seem to prove that this form must be one of great antiquity.

In the Indo-European family of languages we find similar interchanges amongst the signs of past time; and though in some instances one form or mode may have been derived from another, yet this cannot have been the case uniformly—*e.g.*, the *weak* Germanic conjugations cannot have been corrupted from the *strong*, or *vice versā;* though it seems certain that the strong method of forming the perterite was more ancient than the weak, and though it is also certain that the former mode has in very many instances been superseded by the latter.

What is the origin of the *d* which is inserted in Canarese between *i* and the pronominal terminations, and also between *i* and the sign of the relative participle? It appears to be used (whatever be its origin) merely for the purpose of preventing hiatus between concurrent vowels—*e.g., māḍi-* (*d*) *-enu,* I did, *māḍ-i-* (*d*) *-a,* that did. Hiatus is generally prevented in the Dravidian languages by the insertion of a nasal, or of one of the semi-vowels *y* and *v;* and it seems extraordinary that *d* should be used for this purpose. It is true that in some of the inflexions of Canarese nouns—*e.g.*, *mara-d-a,* of a tree, *d* might seem to be used euphonically; but it has been shown in the section on "The Noun" that that *d* is the remnant of a neuter demonstrative, and is used as an inflexional increment; it is not, therefore, a precedent for the use of *d* for the prevention of hiatus merely. Possibly the use of this *d* by the Canarese verb may thus be accounted for; a consonant for preventing hiatus between the sign of the preterite and the subsequent signs of personality and relation being required, Canarese preferred using for this purpose a sign of the preterite which still survived. Thus *d* was not a new invention, but an old particle used for a new purpose, and placed in a position in which it would not have appeared but for the use to which it had already been put.

(2.) *The Tamil Preterite.*—The preterite is ordinarily formed in Tamil, as in Canarese, in two ways—viz., by suffixing either *d* or *i* to the verbal theme. In the former case, *d* itself is more rarely used than some euphonisation of it or related consonant; but such secondary forms invariably resolve themselves into *d.* Thus, when a

theme with *l* as its final letter is followed by *d* as the sign of the preterite, the compound becomes *ndr—e.g.*, the preterite verbal participle of *pōl*, like, is not *pōl-d-u*, but *pōn-dr-u*. Sometimes, however, when *d* follows *l*, the compound becomes *ṟṟ*, pronounced *ttr*—*e.g.*, from *kal*, to learn, comes, not *kal-d-u*, but *kaṟṟ-u* (*kattr-u*), having learned (Can. *kali-d-u*). *ḷ* followed by *d* becomes *ṇḍ—e.g.*, from *māḷ*, to die, comes *māṇḍ-u*, having died. Sometimes, however, when *d* follows *ḷ*, the compound becomes *ṭṭ—e.g.*, from *kēḷ*, to hear, comes *kēṭṭ-u*, having heard. These and similar combinations are merely instances of euphonisation, in accordance with the fixed phonetic rules of the language; and in each case it is in reality *d* alone which constitutes the sign of past time. In some verbs the primitive *d* still remains unchanged and pure—*e.g.*, *uṛu-d-u*, having ploughed, from *uṛu*, to plough; or with a conversion of the dental *d* into the cerebral *ḍ—e.g.*, *kaṇ-ḍ-u*, having seen, from *kāṇ*, to see.

The euphonisation of *d* which occurs most frequently, and is most characteristic of Tamil, is its conversion into *nd*. This conversion takes place without phonetic necessity, and solely through that fondness for nasalisation which is so deeply inherent in Tamil and Telugu, especially in Tamil, and by means of which the formatives *gu*, *du*, and *bu* have so generally been changed to *ṅgu*, *ndu*, and *mbu*. In the majority of cases in Tamil in which *d* (preceded by a vowel or semi-vowel) once formed the sign of the preterite, it has been nasalised into *nd;* whilst Canarese, wherever it has preserved the primitive *d*, has preserved it unnasalised and pure. Thus whilst the Tamil preterite of *iru*, to be, is *iru-nd-ēn*, I was, the corresponding Canarese is *iddenu* (for *iru-d-enu*); and whilst the preterite of the Tamil verb *vāṛ*, to flourish, is *vāṛ-nd-ān*, he flourished, the equivalent in classical Canarese is *bāḷ-d-am*. The higher dialect of Tamil retains some traces of the primitive unnasalised purity of this sign of the preterite—*e.g.*, *viṛu-nd-u*, having fallen, from *viṛu*, to fall, is occasionally written by the poets *vīṛ-d-u*. (*vīṛ* is phonetically equivalent to *viṛu*). It is curious to notice the progress of nasalisation which is apparent in this verb on comparing the Canarese *biddu* (for *biḷ-du*), the High Tamil *vīṛdu*, the modern Tamil *viṛundu*, and the Malayāḷam *vīṇu*.

Another change which *d* undergoes in Tamil consists in its being hardened and doubled in certain cases, so as to become *tt*. This happens to *nd* as well as to *d*,—a clear proof of the development of the former from the latter; and when the *d* of *nd* is doubled, the nasal entirely disappears. Just as the doubled form of *ṅg* is *kk*, and that of *mb*, *pp*, so the doubled form of *nd* is *tt*. In some in-

stances this change is merely euphonic—*e.g.*, *paḍu,* to lie, an intransitive verb, takes for its preterite, not *paḍu-d-ēn* or *paḍu-nd-ēn,* but *paḍu-tt-ēn,* I lay. Such cases, however, are rare, and in general the use of *tt* as a sign of the preterite instead of *d* or *nd,* is a means of distinguishing transitives or active verbs from intransitive—*e.g.*, the *tt* of *tāṛ-tt-ēn,* I lowered, is formed by the doubling and hardening of the *nd* (the equivalent of *d*) of the corresponding intransitive *tāṛ-nd-ēn,* I became low. See the further explanation of this subject under the head of "The Classification of Verbs."

The second mode of forming the preterite in Tamil, as in Canarese, is by suffixing *i* to the verbal theme. The themes which form their preterite in this manner are those which terminate in *u* euphonic, and of which the radical portion consists either in one long syllable or in two syllables, whether short or long. In this connection, as in prosody, a vowel which is long by position is equivalent to one which is naturally long. The following are examples of the classes of verbs which take *i* for their preterite:—(long syllable) *pāḍu,* to sing; (long by position) *paṉṉ-u,* to make; (two short syllables) *eṛud-u,* to write; (one syllable short, and one long by position) *tirupp-u,* to turn. All verbs of which the final consonant is a liquid semi-vowel (*l, ḷ, r, ṛ,* not *v* or *ṟ*), whatever number of syllables they may contain, form their preterite by means of *d* or some of its modifications: such verbs are therefore exceptions to the above rule.

Even in the class of Tamil verbs which take *i* as their preterite suffix, there are traces of the prevalence of *d* at a more ancient period. Thus, whilst 'thou didst go' is in the ordinary dialect *pō-(n)-āy* (properly *pōg-i-(n)-āy,* from *pō,* or *pō-gu,* to go), in the poets *pō-d-i* is sometimes used instead; so instead of *ā-(n)-āy* (for *āg-i-(n)-āy,* from *ā-gu,* to become), thou becamest, the poets sometimes use *ā-d-i.* In these instances Canarese also, even in the colloquial dialect, says *pōdi* and *ādi.* Even *nd* is sometimes *d* only in Tamil poetry—*e.g., varu-d-i,* thou comest, is found instead of the more modern *va-nd-āy* (for *varu-nd-āy*); and it is evident that this form, *varu-d-i,* exactly corresponds to the forms quoted above, *pō-d-i* and *ā-d-i.*

Notwithstanding, therefore, the prevalence of *i* as a sign of the preterite in Tamil, as in Canarese (though in a less degree than in Canarese), there seems to be some reason for regarding it as an innovation, or at least as a less characteristic and less widely used sign than *d.* *n* is inserted in Tamil (as *d* in Canarese) between the *i* which constitutes the sign of the preterite of certain classes of

verbs and the pronominal terminations, and also between the sign of the preterite and the sign of the relative participle—*e.g.*, from *pāḍ-i*, having sung (the preterite verbal participle of *pāḍ-u*, to sing), is formed *pāḍ-i-(n)-ēn*, I sang; *pāḍ-i-(n)-āy*, thou didst sing; *pāḍ-i-(n)-ān*, he sang: so also *pāḍ-i-(n)-a*, the relative participle, that sang. Whatever be the origin of this *n*, it cannot be doubted that its *use* in Tamil is at present wholly euphonic; and this statement applies also to the use of the same *n* in the preterite participle of Telugu. It, in no respect, contributes to the expression of grammatical relation; and when used by the relative participle in Tamil, it may optionally and elegantly be changed into *y*, which is one of the semi-vowels that are systematically used for the prevention of hiatus—*e.g.*, instead of *pāḍi (n) a*, that sang, we may write with still more perfect propriety *pāḍi (y) a*. Probably *y* is in this connection older than *n*. (See "Sounds"). We see a parallel use of *n* in the Turkish verb, in the frequent insertion of an euphonic *n* between the theme and the infinitival particle, and also between the theme and the sign of the passive. The most weighty argument in confirmation of the euphonic origin of the Tamilian *n* in question is derived from the use of *n* as an euphonic fulcrum, or means of preventing hiatus in the Dravidian languages generally, and even in connection with another part of the Tamil verb. Thus, in the classical plural neuter of the present tense, *varugindrana* (*varugindr-ana*), they (things) come, the *n* of the pronominal termination *ana* is undoubtedly equivalent to the *v* of the isolated plural neuter *avei* (for *ava*); and is used merely for the euphonic prevention of hiatus between the first *a*, or the demonstrative vowel, and the final *a*, or the sign of the neuter plural. (*a* (*n*) *a* or *a* (*v*) *a* is equivalent to *a-a*). Native Tamil grammarians consider *in*, not *i*, the sign of the preterite; but as *i*, never *in*, is the form used by the preterite verbal participle, it is evident that they have given too important a place to what is at present at least a merely euphonic letter.

If Tamil and Telugu alone were concerned, we should perhaps be justified in considering the purely euphonic origin of the *n* in question to be a settled point; but a difficulty arises on comparing those languages with Canarese. Wherever Tamil and Telugu use *n* in the formation of the preterite tense and the preterite relative participle, there Canarese, as has been observed, uses *d*—*e.g.*, *māḍi-(d)-enu*, I did, not *māḍi-(n)-enu*; and *māḍi-(d)-a*, that did, not *māḍi-(n)-a*. Now, though this *d* of the Canarese is certainly euphonic in its present use, it has been shown that there is reason

for suspecting it to be derived from *d*, the old sign of the preterite; and if this supposition be correct, it would follow that the Tamilian *n*, which corresponds so perfectly to the Canarese *d*, may be derived from the same source as *d*, and euphonically altered from it. The *n* of the Tamil preterite, therefore, as well as the *d* of the Canarese, may testify to the primitive universality of the use of *d* as a sign of past time. Whether *d* (= *n*) was originally a sign of the preterite or not, the conversion of *d* into *n* in this connection, viz., in the preterite tense, and especially in the preterite relative participle, is analogous to the change of *ta* or *da* to *na* in the past participle of the Indo-European tongues, especially in German, from which the final *n* of our own past participles (such as 'fallen') has been derived.

(3.) *The Malayāḷam Preterite.*—The Malayāḷam preterite is substantially the same as the Tamil; the only real difference consists in the disuse in Malayāḷam of the pronominal terminations. The sign of past time is invariably the same in each Dravidian language, with only such modifications of sound as are dialectic and regular. That which constitutes the preterite verbal participle in Tamil is in Malayāḷam the preterite tense of the verb—*e.g.*, *naḍandu* in Tamil signifies having walked; the corresponding Malayāḷam word *naḍannu*, means (he, she, it, or they) walked. Some confusion has been introduced in Malayāḷam books by writing the preterite *verbal* participle *naḍanna*, having walked, as if it were identical with the preterite relative participle *naḍanna*, that walked. The rendering of the sound of the latter word is correct, the final *a* being the sign of the relative participle in all the Dravidian languages, and, as I conceive, identical in origin with *a*, the sign of the genitive. *naḍanna*, that walked, is therefore identical with the Tamil *naḍanda*. On the other hand, the final *a* of the preterite *verbal* participle ought either to have been *u*, corresponding to the Tamil *naḍandu*, having walked, or, being a very short vowel, merely enunciative and euphonic, it should have been elided (as it is when followed by another vowel), after the fashion employed in North Malabar, in which this word is written *naḍann'*. In Dr Gundert's Malayāḷam Grammar and Dictionary, the short *u* is denoted by *u̥*, in accordance with Lepsius's system of transliteration. This mode of rendering the letter has also been adopted in Brigel's "Grammar of the Tuḷu," in which language the short enunciative *u̥* has acquired a very prominent place. It is to be hoped, therefore, that this blemish in Malayāḷam orthography, as Dr Gundert terms it, will now disappear.

(4.) *The Telugu Preterite.*—In Telugu all preterite verbal par-

ticiples, without exception, are formed by adding *i* to the theme. Even those verbs which form their preterites by suffixing *d* or some modification of it in Tamil, Canarese, and Malayāḷam, form their preterites in Telugu by suffixing *i*—*e.g.*, *koṇ-ḍu,* Tam. and Can., having bought, is in Telugu *kon-i,* and *kaṇ-ḍu,* Tam., and Can., having seen, is *kan-i.* Notwithstanding the universality of this rule, there are traces even in Telugu of the use of a particle corresponding to the *d* of the other dialects as a sign of past time. Though the preterite verbal participle never takes any suffix but that of *i,* some parts of the preterite tense of the verb in the higher idiom of the language (viz., the first and second persons both singular and plural) insert the particle *ti* between the *i* of the verbal participle and the pronominal terminations. It cannot be doubted, I think, that this *ti,* which is found nowhere but in the preterite, is allied to the *d* which is inserted in the same place in the Canarese preterite. Thus, whilst both in Canarese and in Telugu the preterite verbal participle of *āḍ-u,* to play, is *āḍ-i,* having played, in both dialects *ti* or *d* is suffixed to *i* before adding the personal terminations—*e.g.*, compare Can. *āḍ-i-d-enu,* I played, Tel. *āḍ-i-ti-ni.* It has already been shown to be probable that the *d* thus inserted by the Canarese, though now used to so large an extent euphonically, was originally a sign of the preterite, identical with the *d* which is still used for that purpose by many verbs. This view derives confirmation from Telugu, in which the corresponding *ti* does not appear to be used euphonically at all, and certainly is not used for the prevention of hiatus; for there is no hiatus and no necessity for an euphonic insertion between the aforesaid *āḍi* and *ni,* the pronominal fragment, or in the second person between *āḍi* and *vi.* It therefore follows that we must regard *ti* as a sign of past time, subordinate indeed to *i,* and unused in the third person of the preterite, but immediately allied to *d,* the past tense-sign of Tamil and Canarese, and testifying to the existence of a time when *d,* or its equivalent *t,* was one of the signs of the preterite in Telugu as in the other dialects. In some Telugu verbs, *ti* is combined in such a manner with the final consonant of the theme, as to prove beyond doubt its identity in origin and force with the Tamil *d*—*e.g.*, *chēs-ti-ni,* Tel. I did (for *chēsi-ti-ni*), is evidently equivalent to the Tamil *śey-d-ēn;* and *koṇ-ṭi-ni,* I bought (for *koni-ti-ni*), is equivalent to *koṇ-ḍ-ēn.* So also when *ē,* the Telugu conditional particle, answering to the Tamil *āl,* is suffixed to the preterite tense of a verb for the purpose of giving to it the meaning of the subjunctive, it appears evident that the ancient sign of the preterite of the Telugu must

have been, not *i*, but *ti* or *t*—*e.g.*, compare the Telugu *chēst-ē*, if (I, thou, he, &c.), did or do (abbreviated from *chēśi-t-ē*), with the Tamil *śēyd-āl*. It may be mentioned as a singular coincidence that in Mongolian the gerund *du* has been modernised into *ju*, and that again has been changed colloquially into *ji*.

We have seen that Tamil inserts *n* between the preterite verbal participle and the pronominal terminations in many instances in which *d* is used for this purpose in Canarese. The colloquial dialect of Telugu makes much use of *na* in the same connection—*e.g.*, *āḍ-i-(n)-ānu*, I played (answering to the Tamil *āḍ-i-(n)-ēn*), instead of the more elegant and probably more ancient *āḍ-i-ti-ni*. Compare *ay-i-(n)-ānu*, Tel. I became, *ā-(n)ēn*, Tam. (for *āg-i-(n)-ēn*), and *ā-(d)-enu*, Can. (for *āg-i-(d)-enu*). On the whole, it may be concluded that the Telugu agrees with the other dialects in exhibiting distinct and deep-seated traces of the ancient use of *d* or *t* as a sign of the preterite, notwithstanding the universal prevalence in Telugu at present of the use of *i*, as the sign of the preterite verbal participle.

I may here take occasion to guard against an illusory resemblance to which my attention was once called, viz., the resemblance which subsists between the Telugu preterite verbal participle *veichi*, having placed, and the corresponding Tamil participle *veittu*, which is vulgarly pronounced *veichi*. The *tt* of the Tamil *vei-tt-u*, being simply the hardened and doubled form of *d*, is the ordinary sign of the preterite; and if there were any real alliance between *tt-u*, through its provincial pronunciation, and the Telugu *ch-i*, we should undoubtedly have here an instance of the use of *tt*—*i.e.*, of *d*—in modern Telugu as well as in Tamil, as a sign of the preterite verbal participle, and consequently of past time. The resemblance however, is illusory. The *ch* of the Telugu *veichi* corresponds, not to the *tt* of the Tamil *veittu*, but to the *kk* which constitutes the formative of so many verbs and nouns in Tamil. *kk* makes its appearance in the infinitive of this very verb, viz., *vei-kk-a*, to place, the Telugu of which is *vei-ch-a*. *kk* is vulgarly pronounced *ch* in the southern part of the Tamil country, and the same pronunciation universally obtains in Telugu. The imperative or theme of this verb in Telugu is not *vei*, as in Tamil, but *veich-u* (with the addition to *vei* of the formative *ch-u*, which is equivalent to the Tamil *kk-u*); and from this *veich-u*, the preterite verbal participle *veich-i* is regularly formed, in this as in all other cases, by the addition of *i*. If the corresponding Tamil verb formed its preterite in the same manner, its verbal participle would be *vei-kk-i*, not *vei-tt-u*. A

case in point in illustration of this is the Tamil *tū-kk-u*, to lift, to weigh (Tel. *tū-ch-u*), the preterite verbal participle of which is *tū-kk-i* (Tel. *tū-ch-i*).

(5.) *The Tuḷu Preterite.*—The Tuḷu preterite, like that of Gōnd, divides itself into two tenses, an imperfect and a perfect, each regularly inflected. The *imperfect* tense is that which corresponds to the ordinary preterite of the other dialects, and is formed in substantially the same manner by suffixing to the root either the ordinary Dravidian *t* or *d*, or the *i*, which is still more commonly used in several dialects. Compare Tuḷu *itte*, I was, with *iddenu*, Can.; *irundēn*, Tam.: Tuḷu *kēṇḍe* (*kēṇ'* for *kēḷ*) with *kēṭṭen* (*kēḷ-ṭēn*), Tam.: *kēḷidenu*, Can. *i* appears in *būriye*, I fell, from *būru*, to fall (Tam. *viṛu*, *vīṛ*). The *perfect* tense seems to be formed by suffixing an additional *d*, with such euphonic changes as the dialect requires. Compare *itte*, I was, with *itt' de*, I have been.

(6.) *Preterites of Minor Dialects.*—It is difficult to make out the Tuda preterite. *th* appears to be the sign of the past, corresponding to the Tamil and Canarese *d*—*e.g.*, compare *āḍ-k-en*, I dance, with *āḍ-th-b-ini*, I danced. This *th* is written *ch* by Mr Metz—*e.g.*, *bindch-pini*, I asked; and, according to him, the same *ch* appears alike in the present and the past, in each person except the first. Dr Pope inserts *th* before *ch* in the past—*e.g.*, *āḍ-th-chi*, danced. In the Kota dialect the past seems to be represented by *si*—*e.g.*, compare *hōgape*, I go, with *hōsipe*, I went. In this it does not stand alone, as will be seen. In Gōnd, *si* or *ji*, apparently softened from *ti*, forms the verbal participle of the preterite; but the perfect tense is formed by suffixing *tt*—*e.g.*, *kei-tt-ān*, I have called; *kei-si*, having called. In Seoni Gōnd, also, the preterite or conjunctive participle suffixes *si*—*e.g.*, *wunk-si*, having spoken; but the past participle is formed by suffixing *tūr*—*e.g.*, *wunk-tūr*, spoken; and the past tense simply suffixes *t*—*e.g.*, *wunk-t-an*, I spoke, *wunk-t-i*, thou didst speak. An imperfect or progressive tense is formed by inserting *und* or *nd*, apparently the substantive verb, between the root and the pronominal terminations.

These instances tend to confirm the supposition that *d*, or some modification of it, is, if not the only, yet at least the most ancient and characteristic sign of the Dravidian preterite.

Origin of the Dravidian Signs of Past Time.

1. The most probable conjecture I can offer respecting the origin of *i*, is one which would confirm the supposition of its second-

ary character. I conceive it to have been originally a vowel of conjunction, employed for the purpose of euphonically connecting the verbal theme and the true sign of past time, *d* or *d-u*. Where the theme terminated in a hard consonant, euphony would require some such vocalic bond of connection—*e.g.*, the Old Canarese *bāḷ-d-en,* I lived, is undoubtedly somewhat harsh to an ear that it attuned to Dravidian phonetics; and it was natural that it should be softened, as it has been in modern Canarese, into *bāḷ-i-d-enu.* We see a precisely similar euphonic insertion of *i* in the Latin *dom-i-tus* (instead of *domtus*), tamed, and the Sanskrit *pīḍ-i-tah* (instead of *pīḍ-tah*), pressed. Subsequently we may suppose the true preterite *d* to have gradually dropped off; whilst *i* remained, as being the easier sound, with the adventitious signification of the preterite. There are many instances in all languages of euphonic additions coming to be used instead of the parts of speech to which they were attached—*e.g.*, in the Telugu verb, *vu* is used to represent the second person singular of the pronoun instead of *nī*, thou, though *vu* was originally only an euphonic addition to *nī*, by which it was converted into *nīvu.*

It deserves notice that wherever *i* is used in Canarese or in Tamil, instead of *d,* as a sign of the preterite, the use of *d* would in that instance be harsh and uncouth; and that on comparing the Tamil verbs which form their preterite in *i* with those that suffix *d,* no reason but euphony can be alleged why the one suffix should be employed rather than the other; consequently euphonic causes must at least have helped the development of *i*. This supposition of the origin of *i* from the vocalic conjunction of *d* with the verbal theme, would also account for the circumstance that wherever *i* is followed by a vowel (whether the initial vowel of the pronominal terminations, or the *a* which constitutes the sign of the relative participle) it picks up again the *d* which it had gradually lost, and uses it as an euphonic bond of conjunction, either in its original shape of *d,* as in Canarese, or in its nasalised shape of *n,* as in Tamil and Telugu. The manner in which *ti* is separated from the theme in some Telugu preterites—*e.g.*, *kon-i-ti-ni* (*koṇ-ṭi-ni*), I bought, confirms this supposition of the euphonic origin of *i.*

2. *d,* the more characteristic sign of the Dravidian preterite, presents many interesting resemblances to corresponding signs of past time in various Indo-European and Scythian languages.

It may have an ulterior, though remote, connection with *t* or *ta* (alternating with *na*), the ordinary suffix of the Indo-European passive participle—*e.g.*, *jñā-ta-h,* Sans. known; Greek γνω-τό-ς

(*gnō-to-s*) ; Latin (*g*)*nō-tu-s*: *bhug-na-s*, Sans. bent; Gothic *bug-a-n*(*a*)*s*. In Gothic this suffix is *d* or *t;* in New Persian invariably *d*. In Sanskrit the participle which is formed from *ta* is in general distinctively passive; but a few traces exist of a preterite signification, only, however, in connection with neuter verbs—*e.g.*, *ga-ta-s*, one who went; *bhū-ta-s*, one who has come into being. A preterite signification predominates also in the active participles formed by suffixing *tavat* (derived from the passive *ta*)—*e.g.*, *kṛi-tavat*, was making, and in the indeterminate past participle, or gerund, which is formed by suffixing *tvā*—*e.g.*, *kṛi-tvā*, having made or through making.

Though there may possibly be some ultimate connection between the preterite *d* of the Dravidian languages and the passive (and secondary preterite) *t* of the Sanskrit, the use of this *d* as a sign of the preterite is too essential a characteristic of the Dravidian languages, and too rare and exceptional in Sanskrit, to admit of the supposition that the former borrowed it from the latter.

The *l* which constitutes the sign of the preterite in Bengali has been supposed by Professors Max Müller and Bopp to be derived from the past participial *t* of the Sanskrit—*e.g.*, *karilām*, I did, is derived by them from *karita*, Sans. done, followed by the personal termination *ām*. This supposition is confirmed by the conformity of *karilām* to the New Persian *kardem*, I did, and by the use in Marāṭhi of a similar preterite in *l*, which is supposed to be derived in like manner from the Sanskrit passive participial *t*—*e.g.*, *mī kelo-m*, I did, *mīn gēlō-n*, I went. The interchange of *ḍ* and *l* is of frequent occurrence; and possibly the Sanskrit *t* may have become *d* or *ḍ* before it was corrupted into *l*. There is no proof of this, however, and the *l* which is used as the equivalent of *t* or *d* in the formation of the Slavonian preterite *byl* (Pers. *būd*, Sans, *bhūta-s*), he was, shows that *t* may have passed into *l* immediately, without the middle point of the cerebral *ḍ*.

Whether the preterite *l* of the Bengali and Marāṭhi is derived directly from the Sanskrit passive participial *t*, or whether it has descended from some old vernacular of Northern India, it is interesting to notice the fact of the conformity in this important particular between the Dravidian languages and those of the Gaurian family. We should notice, however, this important difference between the two, that whilst the Gaurian preterite *l*, in so far as it is derived from the Sanskrit, appears to be only a secondary constructive preterite, the Dravidian *d* exhibits no trace whatever of connection with any passive participle.

In the New Persian, *d* invariably forms the sign of the preterite —*e.g., bū-d-em*, I was; *bur-d-em*, I bore. The participle which constitutes the verbal theme in Persian, and which has a formative that is passive in Sanskrit, has an active as well as a passive preterite signification—*e.g., burdeh* means either borne or having borne, according to the context. The preterite tense has in Persian been developed out of a passive participle; and this appears to have happened through the influence of the past time which is inherent in the perfect passive. In Gothic and in the modern Teutonic tongues, *d* is used in connection with a large class of verbs to denote the preterite; but this *d* has been shown to be a relic of *did*, and this again to be reduplication of the root *do*. Consequently the *d* of *loved* cannot really be related to the *t* of the Sanskrit and Persian, still less with the *d* of the Dravidian preterite, though all three might naturally be supposed to be identical.

The formation of the preterite by suffixing *d* prevails also in the Turkish and Ugrian tongues. *d* is the sign of past time used by Turkish—*e.g.*, compare *sever-im*, I love, with *sever-d-im*, I loved; and this *d* is inserted, as in Tamil and Canarese, between the root and the pronominal signs. Compare the present *īm*, I am, with the preterite *ī-d-um*, I was. Notice also *ōl-d-um*, I was, and the equivalent form in Oriental Turkish, *bōl-d-īm.*. In Finnish, the preterite is regularly formed by suffixing *t*. The preterite participle from which the perfect tense is formed terminates in *ut, yt, et*, &c.—*e.g., oll-ut*, having been, from the theme *ol*, to be. The Hungarian forms its preterite in a similar manner—*e.g.*, the preterite participle of *le-nni*, to become, is *le-tt*, having become; and from this is regularly formed the perfect *le-tt-em*, I have become. It especially deserves notice, that these Turkish, Finnish, and Hungarian signs of the preterite are totally unconnected with the passive participle. They are signs of past-time, not of passivity; and as such they are suffixed to all indicatives, whether active or neuter, and are appended, in addition to the sign of passivity, to passive forms, only when those passives are also preterites. In this particular, therefore, the analogy between the Dravidian preterite and the Turko-Ugrian is closer and more distinctive than the Indo-European analogies which have been pointed out. As regards use, indeed, whatever be, or be supposed to be, the origin of each, it may be said to amount to identity.

The Dravidian languages being so highly cultivated, and having been cultivated from so early a period, we should be prepared to expect that in developing their inflexional forms they availed them-

selves, as far as possible, of words or particles which they had already in use, instead of borrowing the inflexional particles of their neighbour. May it not be practicable, therefore, to discover the origin of *d*, the Dravidian sign of the preterite, in the Dravidian languages themselves?

Dr Graul (in his "Outlines of Tamil Grammar," p. 42) says, "The verbal form in *du* (*e.g.*, *śeydu* = *śey-adu*, perhaps 'something endowed with what the root *śey* signifies, *i.e.*, something doing') originally seems to have been used for all the forms of the finite verb in the singular (*nān śeydu*, I doing, *nī śeydu*, thou doing, &c.), and *śeydum* (*śeydu-um*), in the plural (*nām śeydum*, *nīngaḷ śeydum*, &c. *śeydu* in the sense of I did, and *śeydum* in the sense of we did, are still found in the ancient dialect). Probably the personal affixes were added later, *śeydu ēn* = *śeydēn*, I did, &c. In Malayāḷam the personal affixes are not yet used in prose." It would have been more correct to have said the personal affixes have *ceased* to be used in Malayāḷam prose, for we find them in the prose of ancient inscriptions; but he is quite right in what he says respecting the occasional use of the uninflected forms *śeydu* and *śeydum* in the Tamil poets. *śeydu* is used both for the preterite and the future, but at present only in the first person singular, and *śeydum* in the plural—*e.g.*, *śeydu*, I did, or will do, *śeydum*, we did, or will do. Dr Graul's identification of the *d*, which is the sign of the preterite, with the *d* which denotes the neuter singular in *adu*, *idu*, that, this, in Tamil, and *adi*, *idi*, in Telugu, is very ingenious. This *d* is used largely in the formation of verbal nouns, and might easily be turned to account for the purpose of denoting the present-future; but it is not so easy to see how it came to be used as the sign of the preterite, the most distinctive of Dravidian tenses. In the Tamil conditional *śeyd-āl*, if (one) does, or did, *śeydu* appears to express the meaning of 'doing' irrespective of time. In some connections, however, it will be seen that this conditional form connects itself distinctively with the past. (See "The Conditional.") Every difficulty would be removed if we supposed the particle originally appended to the root to have been, not simply *du*, but *adu*, the remote demonstrative that. It has been seen that *ute*, the sign of the present in Canarese, is probably *utu*, this. There is something very enticing in the supposition of the origin of one of the present tenses of the Dravidian verb from the demonstrative 'this' and of that of the most distinctive form of the past from 'that.' The chief difficulty in the way of this supposition, as far as the preterite is concerned, is the fact that the *a* of *adu* does not survive. It might

be answered that this vowel might easily be lost after the reason for its use has ceased to be perceived. True; but in this case another vowel, *i* has asserted a place for itself instead of *a*, being used euphonically in Canarese before *d*, and used by itself in Tamil, Malayāḷam, and Telugu as a sign of the preterite; and if *i* is used demonstratively, or is a relic of a vowel used demonstratively, the preterite must have been formed by the addition to the root of 'this,' not 'that,' which is very unlikely. All that can safely be concluded, therefore, is that the *d* of the Dravidian preterite was probably in its origin a neuter singular formative, converting the verbal root to which it was attached into a verbal noun; not into an abstract verbal noun, such as the future seems to have been formed from, but into a concrete or conjugated noun, in which the action of the verb was arrested and localised. If this supposition should be accepted, it will follow that an agreement, up to a certain point, will be discovered to exist between the Dravidian languages and the Sanskrit and Persian. A demonstrative letter or particle will be found to be made use of in both classes of languages for substantially the same purpose. In one it is used to denote the preterite, in the other to form a passive participle capable of being used as a preterite. What renders it more remarkable is that this demonstrative letter or particle is *t* or *d* in both. The *di* of the Turkish preterite (*sever-di-n*, I loved) is regarded by Max Müller ("Lectures," p. 324) as the relic of a possessive pronoun. "Paying belongs to me," he says, "equals I have paid"—*i.e.* I have or possess paying. Is the preterite *d* of Tamil also a possessive? It *might* take this force, seeing that whilst *adu* is a demonstrative, meaning that or it, it is also a possessive meaning of—*e.g.*, *adu enadu*, that is mine. On the other hand, I can discover no trace of a possessive signification in the Tamil preterite. It does not seem to get beyond a demonstrative meaning.

It is remarkable that the Mongolian has a gerund, formed by affixing *d*, which is used precisely in the same manner as the Dravidian *d-u*,—*e.g.*, *onad*, riding, from *onihu*, to ride. This seems to be connected in some way with the Turkish preterite *d* or *di*, if not also with the Dravidian *d*, the Sanskrit *t*, and the Persian *d*. The Mongolian has another gerund in *ji*, which Mr Edkins thinks is derived from *d*, the Mongol *j* having *d* for its equivalent. So also, as we have seen, the Tamil *du* becomes *śi* in Telugu. The Japanese gerund in *te* nearly agrees in form and use with the Mongol—*e.g.*, *aghete*, lifting up, from *aghe*, to lift up. The Japanese preterite

tense also is formed by affixing *ta* (apparently a modification of the gerund *te*)—*e.g.*, *mita*, saw, from *mi*, to see.

3. *The Future Tense.*—The preterite sense of the Dravidian verb is generally formed from the preterite participle by suffixing the pronominal terminations, but the future is generally formed, not from a future participle, but by suffixing to the verbal theme some particle which is regarded, whatever its origin may have been, as a sign of future time, and adding to that particle the pronominal terminations. Generally these languages are destitute of a future participle. The exceptions are Malayāḷam and classical Tamil, in both of which there is a participle of the future in *vān* or *pān*, and Tuḷu, in which there is a participle which may be used either for the present or the future.

In the Dravidian languages there are two future formations. One, which is called in Canarese grammars the conditional future, is found in Canarese and Telugu alone; the other, which is contained in all the dialects, inclusive of the Canarese and Telugu, is an indeterminate tense, only slightly futuric, and is called by Telugu grammarians "the aorist." It should here be observed also, that the use of the present for the future is exceedingly common in all the Dravidian dialects.

The future is the least distinctive of the Dravidian tenses. It is used to denote what is, was, or shall be habitually done, and it is generally the connection only which fixes it to a particular time. When used alone it denotes the future more commonly than any other time, and hence is called the future by grammarians. The particles by which it is expressed seem to show that originally it was a verbal noun, denoting abstractly the idea contained in the verb; and if this idea is correct it will account for its indeterminateness.

In Tamil there are several modes of forming the future, each of which has its counterpart in one or another of the other dialects. The oldest form of the future—of which a few traces only survive in the poets—was formed by adding *g* or *k* to the root, with the usual enunciative *u*—*e.g.*, *śey-gu*, I will do. This is pluralised by the addition of *um*—*e.g.*, *śey-gum*, we will do, also *śey-gum vandem*, we came in order to do, in which *śey-gum* has the force of a plural participle of the future. I have no doubt we have here the origin of the *gum* or *kum* which may be affixed to any verb in classical Canarese, to form an aorist—*e.g.*, *gēyu-gum*, he, it, they, &c., do. The sign of the future is *g*. *um*, originally a conjunctive particle, can be used either as a sign of comprehension, to give fulness to

the sense, or as a sign of plurality. The connection shows in which sense it is used. In the next stage of the growth of this form of the future, we find the personal terminations suffixed to *gu*, but still only in the poets—*e.g.*, *śeygēn* (*śeyg'-ēn*), I will do. In certain connections this *g* is hardened to *kk*—*e.g.*, *aḍeikkēn*, I will obtain. In both these cases *v* would be used in the ordinary dialect instead of *g*. This *g* or *kk*, though used in a futuric sense, seems to connect itself naturally with the formative *g* or *kk*, which constitutes the ordinary formative of many verbs, and appears as such in the infinitive and the neuter future, as well as in the verbal derivatives—*e.g.*, *pō-ga*, to go; *pō-gum*, it will go; *iru-kka*, to be; *iru-kkum*, it will be.

The future is ordinarily formed in Tamil, both in the poets and in the colloquial dialect, by adding *v*, *b*, or *pp* to the root, in accordance with the rule of euphony explained when treating of the causal verb. After *y*, *l*, *r*, *ṛ* and *ḷ*, *v* is generally used—*e.g.*, *śey-v-ēn*, I will do; *śol-v-ēn*, I will say; *sār-v-ēn*, I will lean upon; *vāṛ-v-ēn*, I will flourish; *māḷ-v-ēn*, I will perish. To this, however, there are exceptions in regard to roots ending in *l* and *ḷ*—*e.g.*, *kal*, to learn, becomes in the future *kaṟpēn* (= *kal-ppēn*), and *kēḷ*, to hear, becomes *kēṭpēn* (= *keḷ-ppēn*). *v* is used after roots ending in *u* preceded by a long vowel, whether long by nature or by position—*e.g.*, *pāḍu*, to sing, becomes in the future *pāḍu-v-ēn*; *anuppu*, to send, *anuppu-v-ēn*. The nasals *n* and *ṇ* form their futures by suffixing *b*—*e.g.*, *en*, to say, becomes in the future *en-b-ēn*, I will say; *uṇ*, to eat, becomes *uṇ-b-ēn*. This *b* changes sometimes in the poets to *m*—*e.g.*, instead of *enbar*, they will say, the poets are fond of using *enmar*. Another and still more poetical form of this future verb in *enmanār*. (See Epicene Plural, p. 242). *b* also makes its appearance in those future participial nouns in which two *v*'s would otherwise appear—*e.g.*, *varubavan*, not *varuvavan*, he who will come. All other Tamil verbs (with a few unimportant exceptions) form futures of this class by affixing *pp*—that is, by doubling *b*, which then becomes *pp* by rule—*e.g.*, *iru*, to be, becomes in the future *iru-pp-ēn*; *naḍa*, to walk, *naḍa-pp-ēn*; *kaḍi*, to bite, *kaḍi-pp-ēn*. Of all these futuric particles or modifications of the same particle, the one most largely used in Tamil is *v*, and this is the future suffix invariably used in colloquial Canarese, and generally in the classical dialect. The Tuḷu present, originally a future, also uses *v*. I am inclined to consider these signs of the future as originally nothing more than formatives of verbal nouns. According to this supposition, *g*, the oldest sign of the future in Tamil, would naturally ally itself to *v*, *b*, and *p*. The only difference between

the verbal noun and the future is that the verbal noun affixes to the *g, v, b,* or *p,* only an enunciative vowel, generally *u,* whilst the future is recognised by its affixing to the same formative letters the pronominal terminations—*e.g.,* compare *kaḍu-gu,* mustard, from *kaḍu,* to be sharp; *kuṟu-kku,* athwart, from *kuṟu,* to be short; *aṟi-vu,* knowledge, from *aṟi,* to know; *śār-bu,* support, from *śār,* to lean upon; *tiṟ-appu,* an opening, from *tiṟa,* to open. The formatives most largely used in the formation of these verbal nouns are *v* and *pp,* just as we have seen that *v* and *pp* are the most commonly used signs of the future. That the future was originally a verbal noun will appear still more clearly when we consider the Tamil second future, or defective aoristic future, in *um* or *u.*

The Tamil future formed from *v, b,* or *pp,* is destitute of a relative participle, and uses instead the aorist future in *um.* Generally also that aorist is used instead of the more distinctive future in the third person singular neuter. Thus, whilst 'he will be' is *iru-pp-ān,* 'it will be' is ordinarily *iru (kk) -um,* not *iru-pp-adu;* and forms like *iru-pp-adu* are in general used only as participial nouns. In this respect Tamil is less regular than Canarese, in which the ordinary third person neuter singular of the future tense is *iru-v-adu.* In the classical dialect of Tamil, however, we find *varu-(n) a,* things that will come.

Another or second future formation of the Tamil may be called the defective aoristic future, inasmuch as its reference to future time is still less distinct and determinate than the future in *v,* and as it is ordinarily restricted to two forms, the third person singular neuter, and the relative participle. This defective future is formed by suffixing *um* to the formed theme—*e.g., pōg-um,* it will go; *var-um,* it will come; *irukk-um,* it will be. The future in *um* is not considered by Tamil grammarians as distinct from, and independent of, the future in *v,* but is strangely enough considered as a part of it. Its claim, however, to be regarded as a distinct future formation is confirmed by the Malayāḷam, in which it is the form of the future in ordinary use—*e.g., ñān eṛud-um,* I will write, *nī eṛud-um,* thou wilt write; the other form corresponding to the Tamil future in *v, b, pp,* is used in Malayāḷam as in Tamil, but not so commonly, except in conjunction with certain nouns—*e.g., āv' ōḷam,* till (it) become, for *āgu-(v)-ōḷam* or *āgum-ōḷam; maripp' ōḷam,* till (it) die, for *marikkum-ōḷam.* In the Tamil of prose and conversation the future in *um* is used in connection with the neuter of the third person singular alone; but in the poetry it occasionally takes a wider range of application, and is sometimes

construed even with the masculine-feminine plural, as in Malayāḷam. The future in *um*, when used in Tamil as a relative participle, does not differ from the form of the same future which is used as the third person singular neuter. The forms are identical —*e.g.*, *pōg-um*, it will go, *pōg-um*, which will go; they may therefore be regarded as one.

um is added, not to the crude root of the verb, or that form which is used as the imperative, but to the formed theme, or that verbal noun which forms the basis of the infinitive, and the equivalent of which constitutes in Telugu the inflexional basis of every part of the verb. The base to which the future *um* is suffixed, may, therefore, safely be assumed to be a verbal noun, even in Tamil, though it rarely appears in a separate shape. The following instances will show the relation subsisting between the Tamil infinitive and the aoristic impersonal future, in virtue of the formation of both on the basis of the formed verbal theme, or assumed verbal noun, in question:—compare *pōg-a*, to go, *pōg-um*, it will go; inflexional theme, *pō-gu*: *pōkk-a*, to cause to go, to get rid of; *pōkk-um*, it will get rid of; inflexional theme, *pō-kku*: *irukk-a*, to be; *irukk-um*, it will be; inflexional theme, *iru-kku*. In those cases in which intransitive verbs are converted into transitives by doubling the initial consonant of the tense-sign (*e.g.*, *vaḷar-giṟ-ēn*, I grow, hardened into *vaḷar-kkiṟ-ēn*, I rear), the infinitive and the aoristic future of the transitive verb are formed upon the basis of a theme which terminates in the formative *kk-u* (the equivalent of which is *ch-u* in Telugu), whilst the unformed theme, or ultimate root, is the basis of the corresponding forms of the intransitive—*e.g.*, compare *vaḷar-a*, to grow; *vaḷar-um*, it will grow: theme, *vaḷar*; with *vaḷar-kk-a*, to rear; *vaḷar-kk-um*, it will rear: theme *vaḷar-kku*. It is evident from a comparison of these illustrations, that the above *g* or *k* is no part of the sign of future time; it belongs to the formative, not to the future; the infinitive as well as the aoristic future is built upon it; and the Telugu formative which corresponds to it has a place in every part of the verb. The conclusion we thus arrive at confirms the supposition that the first Tamil future also was originally only a verbal noun, and that it is indebted to usage for its futuric meaning.

The future in *um* is altogether impersonal; no pronominal terminations are ever added to it, and in consequence it is well adapted to be used as a relative participle, the relative participles being used alike by all persons, numbers, and genders. The particle *um*, which constitutes the sign of future time, is identical in form, and

is also, I believe, identical in origin and force, with *um*, the conjunctive or copulative particle of Tamil. It is also identical with *nu*, the impersonal suffix of the third person singular and plural of each gender of the Telugu aorist,—a tense which perfectly corresponds with the one now under consideration. *nu* is an euphonised form of *u*, the conjunctive particle of Telugu, corresponding to *u*, the ultimate base of the Tamil *um;* and it is probable that this particle has been chosen, both in Tamil and in Telugu, to be the characteristic sign of the aorist, because of its suitableness for conjoining the future to the present and past,—that is, for expressing the idea of continuity. This tense, it is true, frequently denotes the future; but does this only in a vague manner, and it is much more frequently used to express continuous action, or what is habitually done. Thus, *māḍ-u pul tin(n)-um* (Tam.) is to be translated, not the ox will eat grass, but the ox eats (*i.e.*, habitually eats) grass, or grass is the ox's food.

When the relative participle of this aoristic future, coupled to a noun signifying time, is followed by a finite preterite verb, the future in Tamil takes the sense of the imperfect—*e.g.*, *nān var-um poṛudu, pōrei (k) kaṇḍēn,* when I was coming (which appears to mean literally when I shall come), I saw the battle. In respect of this capacity of the aoristic future for becoming an historical preterite, it resembles the future tense of the Semitic languages.

Classical Tamil, Malayāḷam, and Telugu occasionally form this aoristic future by suffixing *u* instead of *um*—*e.g.*, *var-u,* Tam. it will come, instead of *var-um; uṇg-u,* it will eat, instead of *uṇg-um; parapp-u,* it will spread, instead of *parapp-um.* It is apparent from these illustrations that *u,* like *um,* is suffixed, not to the root or ultimate base of the verb, but to the formed verbal theme, or primitive verbal noun, which forms the basis of all forms of the future. This future in *u* is considered by native grammarians as an *al-vaṛi,* or uninflected form, and the circumstance that the *u* is sometimes elided gives colour to this idea; but as the basis is not the bare root, but that root *plus* the formative, it appears to me that to that extent at least it must be regarded as an inflected form. The *u* is probably not the merely euphonic enunciative *u,* as appears from the position it holds in Malayāḷam, but the *u* which constitutes the base of the conjunctive particle *um.* The future in *um* and the future in *u* are thus brought into agreement.

Future Verbal Participle.—There is a verbal participle of the future in use in classical Tamil, and still more largely used in Mala-

yāḷam, which is formed by adding *vān*, *bān*, or *ppān*, either to the root or to the inflexional base of the verb. Another form found in Tamil alone and in it but rarely, is *pākku*. This is a verbal participle, not an infinitive, but is sometimes scarcely distinguishable from the infinitive in use—*e.g.*, Tamil, *kolla* (infin.) *eṛundān*, means he rose up to slay; and *kolvān* (fut. part.) *eṛundān*, means also he rose up to slay. It might be rendered, he rose up being about to slay; but this would be simply an awkward way of saying the same thing. The initial letter of this particle is *v*, *b*, or *pp*, according to circumstances; and those circumstances are precisely the same as those under which the sign of the future tense, already considered, becomes *v*, *b*, or *pp*. Whatever is the origin of the one sign must be the origin of the other. The following are instances of all three initials:—*varu-vān*, being about to come; *uṇ-bān*, being about to eat; *naḍappān*, being about to walk. I have not met with any instance of the change of *b* into *m* after a nasal, in connection with this particle (though it was noticed that the *b* of the future tense often changes in the poets into *m*—*e.g.*, *enbar* = *enmar*, they will say); but this change, or the equivalent one of *v* into *m*, is common in Malayāḷam, in which they would say, not *uṇ-bān*, being about to eat, as in Tamil; but *uṇ-mān*. In Malayāḷam the *v* is sometimes optionally omitted—*e.g.*, *var-ān*, instead of *varu-vān*, being about to come. *ān*, the second portion of this particle, though apparently identical with *ān*, the pronominal termination of the third person singular masculine in Tamil, has in reality no connection with it. I regard it as an euphonic or emphatic lengthening of *an*, and this as equivalent to *am*, *adu*, the ordinary formatives of Tamil neuter singular nouns. We have another instance of this change of *adu* to *an*, and then to *ān*, in *pān*, ten, which is a poetical form of *padu* or *pattu*. See "Numerals": Ten. *iruppān*, Tam. being about to be, is therefore, I conceive, the equivalent of *iruppadu*, that which is about to be, it will be (Can. *iruvadu*).

Canarese forms its ordinary future, and the Tuḷu its present (by analogy a future), by inserting *v* between the theme and the pronominal terminations, in accordance with the first Tamil future—viz., that in *v*. This Canarese future, like the Tamil, has often an indeterminate, aoristic sense; but it is more regular than the Tamil, inasmuch as it never changes *v* into *b* or *pp*, in the modern dialect, but uses *v* as the invariable sign of future time. It is not obliged also, like the Tamil, to borrow its third person singular neuter from another formation, but forms it, like the other persons, by means of *v*—*e.g.*, *iru-v-adu*, it will be; and it has also a relative participle

of its own—*e.g.*, *bāḷu-v-a* or *bāḷ-v-a*, that will live. It is richer in this respect than the other dialects. The Tuḷu future, properly so called, must be considered as simply a verbal noun, with the affixes of the personal terminations.

The Telugu tense which corresponds to the Tamil and Canarese aoristic futures is still more distinctively an aorist than they, though with an inclination in general to the idea of futurity. By English grammarians this tense is commonly called, not the future, but the aorist. It is formed by inserting *du* between the theme and the pronominal terminations; with the exception of the third person singular masculine and feminine, and third person plural neuter, in which *nu* alone, the equivalent of the Tamil *um*, is added to the theme. Compare the Tamil *āg-um*, it will become, it will be, with the Telugu aorist *avu-nu* (he, she, it, they, neut., &c.), will become. Possibly the Telugu aoristic formative *du* is allied to *tu*, the particle of present time. Gōnd makes use of *k* as the sign of the future, in connection with the first and second persons of the verb—*e.g.*, *wunkī-k-a*, I will speak. Compare the *g* or *kk* which is sometimes used as the sign of the future by the High Tamil.

2. *The more Distinctive Future.*—In modern Canarese this constitutes the second form of the future, in consequence of being less used than the other. It is formed by inserting *iy*, or *ī*, or *d*, between the theme and the pronominal signs, and lengthening the vowel which immediately follows this future particle—viz., the initial vowel of the pronoun—*e.g.*, *māḍ-iy-ēnu*, I will do, or *nuḍi-d-ēnu*, I will say. In Telugu also, this future assumes a twofold form, from the optional use of two inserted particles, corresponding to the *iy* or *ī*, and *d* of the Canarese. One form inserts *ē* between the theme and the pronominal terminations—*e.g.*, *chēs-ē-nu*, I will do —which *ē* is optionally changed to *ī*, in the third person neuter plural—*e.g.*, *chēs-ī-ni*, they (neut.) will do. The other form of the future, which is still more rarely used, inserts *eda*—*e.g.*, *chēs-eda-nu*, I will do—except in the third person singular, and the third person neuter plural, in which *eḍi* is used instead of *eda*—*e.g.*, *chēs-eḍi-ni*, they (neut.) will do.

Affinities of the Sign of the Future.—The most characteristic and most extensively used sign of the future in the Dravidian tongues, is evidently the *v* of the Tamil, Canarese, and Tuḷu. It is remarkable that in Bengali and Oriya, and also in Bhojpuri Hindi, the sign of future time is *v*, pronounced *b*—*e.g.*, *rākhiba*, Beng. I will preserve; in Oriya, *rākhibi;* in Bhojpuri Hindi, *rākhab*—and

this *b* has been connected by Max Müller with the *b* or *bo* which forms the most characteristic sign of the Latin future, and which is considered to be a relic of an old substantive verb. The *d* of the Dravidian preterite seemed to have so wide a range of affinities both in Europe and Asia, that it need not be considered impossible, though I can scarcely consider it probable, that the Dravidian futuric *v* also should possess some ulterior affinities. The nearest resemblances are those of the Ugrian languages. In Finnish, *wa* or *va* is the sign of the future participle which is used as an auxiliary in the formation of the future tense—*e.g.*, *ole-va*, about to be; and the sign of the future infinitive is *van*—*e.g.*, *ole-van*, to be, to be about to be; with which we may compare the Tamil future verbal participle in *vān*. In Hungarian, the future participle is formed by suffixing *vō*—*e.g.*, *lē-vō* (Finnish *ole-va*) being or about to be. If I am right, however, in considering the Dravidian future in *v*, *b*, *p*, as a verbal noun originally, and the signs of the future as the ordinary formatives of verbal nouns, all such Indo-European and Scythian resemblances must be regarded as merely accidental.

4. Compound Tenses.—It is unnecessary to enter into an investigation of the Dravidian compound tenses, inasmuch as in all the dialects, except the Tuḷu and Gōnd, they are formd in the simplest possible manner, by suffixing the various tenses of the substantive verb to the verbal participles of active verbs. Thus 'doing I was' will represent the imperfect (also 'doing I came'); 'doing-keeping' (*i.e.*, keeping a doing) 'I was,' a more continuative imperfect; 'having done I am,' the perfect; 'having done I was,' the pluperfect; 'having done I shall be,' the future perfect. The last two compound tenses are formed in this manner even in Tuḷu and Gōnd.

A vast number of auxiliary verbs are used in all the Dravidian dialects, in conjunction with infinitives and verbal participles, for the purpose of expressing compound ideas; but as the use of those auxiliaries pertains rather to the idiom or syntax of the language than to the grammatical structure, and is sufficiently explained in the ordinary grammars, it would be out of place to inquire into them here. (See " Classification of Verbs.")

The Relative Participle.—It is a remarkable peculiarity of the Dravidian languages, that they have no relative pronouns whatever, and that the place of the relative pronoun is supplied by a part of the verb which is called the relative participle, or the adjective par-

ticiple, a participle which is invariably followed by a noun, and preceded by the words or phrases that depend upon the relative.

The vernaculars of Northern India have relative pronouns derived from the Sanskrit relatives *yah, yā, yad,* who, masc., who, fem., which, neut.; but of those pronouns they make little use, probably through an under-current of Dravidian, or at least of Præ-Sanskrit influences. In those languages a sentence which contains a relative is ordinarily divided into two members; and the demonstrative pronoun which forms the nominative of the second member of the sentence, is used instead of a relative. Thus instead of saying, the man who came yesterday has come again to-day, they would prefer to say, a man came yesterday, he is come again to-day. The Dravidian languages sometimes make use of a similar idiom, but only in the hurry of conversation. They are not obliged to have recourse to any such arrangement, the signification of the relative, together with that of the definite article, being contained in, and distinctly expressed by, the relative participle of the verb. Thus they would say in Tamil, *vanda-āḷ,* the person who came, literally, the-who-came person. In like manner they might use the present relative participle—*e.g.*, *varugiṟa āḷ,* the-who-is-coming person, or the future *varum āḷ,* the-who-will-come person.

The name given to the relative participle by Tamil grammarians is *peyar echcham,* noun-defect, or noun-complement—*i.e.*, a word which requires the complement of a noun to complete its signification. This name is given to it because it participates so largely in the nature of an adjective that it is invariably followed by a noun, to which it stands in the relation of a relative, and which it connects with the antecedent clauses. Like other Dravidian adjectives, it undergoes no alteration on account of the number or gender of the related noun; but inasmuch as it is a verb as well as an adjective (*i.e.*, a participle participating in the nature of both parts of speech), it is capable of governing a preceding noun, equally with any other part of the verb to which it belongs—*e.g.*, *nūlei eṛudina pulavan,* Tam. the poet who wrote the book, literally, the-who-the-book-wrote poet; *kāṭṭil tirigiṟa yānei,* Tam. the elephant that wanders in the jungle, literally, the-that-in-the-jungle-wanders elephant.

The relative suffix most largely used in the Dravidian languages is *a,* which is appended to the verbal participle or gerund, to convert it into a relative participle. Thus in Tamil, the (assumed) present verbal participle of *uṛu,* to plough, is *uṛu-giṟ,* plough-

ing; from which, by suffixing *a*, is formed the present relative participle *uṛugiṟ-a*, that ploughs. The preterite verbal participle of the same verb is *uṛu-d-u*, having ploughed (of which the final *u* is merely enunciative), from which by the addition of the same *a*, is formed the preterite relative participle *uṛud-a*, that ploughed. When the preterite verbal participle ends, not in *d-u*, but in *i*, *n* (or more elegantly *y*) is euphonically inserted between the concurrent vowels *i* and *a*—*e.g.*, from *eṛud-i*, having written, is formed *eṛud-i-(n)-a*, or *eṛud-i-(y)-a*, that wrote. In all these particulars Malayāḷam perfectly agrees with Tamil. The future relative participle of Tamil is not formed from *a*, but terminates in *um*, and is identical with the aoristic future third person singular neuter. This is also the form of the future relative participle almost invariably used in Malayāḷam.

Canarese has in this point the advantage not only of Tamil, but generally of the other dialects; inasmuch as it forms its future relative participle by affixing the same *a*—*e.g.*, *māḍu-v-a*, *bāl-v-a*, or *bāḷu-v-a*, which will live. On the other hand, the relative participle of the present tense in Canarese is defective, being formed by means of the relative participle of the future used as an auxiliary—*e.g.*, *bāḷ-utt-iruva*, which lives, literally, which will be living. The preterite relative participle is formed, like that of Tamil, by suffixing *a*; the only difference is, that between the final *i* of the verbal participle and the relative *a*, *d* is inserted euphonically instead of *y* or *n*—*e.g.*, *māḍ-i-(d)-a*, which did, from *māḍ-i*, having done. Telugu agrees with Tamil in forming its present and preterite relative participles by suffixing *a*, and in inserting *n* between the *i* in which the preterite verbal participle of that dialect invariably ends, and the relative *a*—*e.g.*, from *avu-tu-nnu*, becoming, is formed *avu-tu-nn'-a*, that becomes; and from *ay-i*, having become, is formed *ay-i-(n)-a*, that became. The suffix of the relative participle of the negative voice of the verb is *a* in Tamil, Malayāḷam, and Canarese, in Telugu it is *ni*. It is now evident that *a* may be regarded as the characteristic relative suffix of the Dravidian languages. The only exceptions are *ni*, the negative relative suffix of the Telugu; the suffix of the aoristic future relative in several of the dialects—viz., *ni* in Ku, *um* in Tamil, and *eḍu*, *eḍi*, *ē*, or *ēṭi* in Telugu; and *ti* the sign of the preterite relative participle in Ku. The relative participles of Tuḷu do not appear to differ from its verbal participles.

Not only are the greater number of relative participles formed by suffixing *a*, but, as was observed in the section on "The Noun,"

most Dravidian adjectives also receive the same suffix. Ultimate nouns of quality or relation are capable of being used as adjectives, without any change or addition—*e.g., siṟ-u,* small, *per-u,* great; but more commonly these nouns are converted into quasi relative participles, and rendered thereby more convenient for use as adjectives—*e.g., siṟ-i-(y)-a,* small, *per-i-(y)-a,* great. The preterite relative participles of regular verbs are also frequently used as adjectives—*e.g., uyar-nd-a,* high, literally, that was high, *tāṛ-nd-a,* low, literally, that was low. Tamil adjectives like *per-i-(y)-a* agree so exactly with preterite relative participles like *paṇṇ-i-(y)-a* (for *paṇṇ-i-(n)-a*), which made, that they may safely be regarded as preterite relative participles in form, though unconnected with the preterite or any other tense in signification, and grammatically explained as relative participles of appellatives or conjugated nouns. Another class of Tamil adjectives receive the suffix of the future or aorist relative participle—*i.e., um,* which is suffixed, like *i-(y)-a,* to the crude noun of quality—*e.g., per-um,* great, *paś-um,* green. There is no difference in meaning between these two classes of adjectival formatives, the use of the one rather than the other being determined solely by euphony or usage; but on the whole *um* is considered more elegant than *i-(y)-a.* (See "Adjectives," p. 313).

Origin of the Relative Suffixes.—The Tamil aorist or future suffix *um,* has already been shown to be identical with the conjunctive or copulative particle. I regard all the other relative suffixes as originally signs of the *inflexion,* or possessive case-signs, expressing the signification of, endowed with, possessed of, having, which has, &c. In the older Scythian languages, a relative participle is used, as in the Dravidian languages, instead of a relative pronoun. Japanese also has no relative pronoun, but uses a relative participle instead in a truly Scythian manner. The existence of a family likeness in so remarkable a particular tends to show the existence of some family relationship between the Scythian group and the Dravidian. The particle which is affixed in the Scythian languages for the purpose of forming a relative participle out of a verbal participle, is identical with the sign of the possessive case. In Manchu this particle is *ngge* or *ninge* (corresponding to the Turkish *ning*); and the addition of this possessive case-sign converts the verbal participle (*i.e.,* the theme with the tense-sign attached) into a verbal adjective or relative participle, precisely as in Tamil or Canarese. Thus in Manchu, from *aracha,* written, which is the verbal participle of *ara,* to write, is formed the relative participle *aracha-ngge,* which wrote, literally the-written-having. Compare in Mongolian *bi omsihu-ne bichig,* the book I am reading, in which phrase *ne* has

the same force as *a* in Tamil, being in itself a possessive, and converting the verbal participle to which it is appended into a relative participle. *bi* is I; *bichig*, book. Hence the literal meaning, as in the Tamil *nān vāśikkindr-a nūl*, is 'the I reading-having book.' The Chinese construction is similar. *Wo nien-ti shu* means the book I am reading. *ti* is the sign of the possessive, and is added to *nien*, read. The relative participle in these languages is simply the verb in the possessive case; and the fact that it has a case shows that, *pro tanto* at least, it is treated as a noun. Mr Edkins remarks:—"The Turanian intellect nominalises the verb. Every verb is looked at as a substantive." This holds true of the Dravidian languages also to a considerable extent. The Dravidian relative participle is treated, as we have seen, as a noun; and if the verbal participles had not been regarded as nouns, they could not have been converted, as they are, into relative participles by the addition of the sign of the possessive case. It will be seen also that the infinitive is a verbal noun, and that the neuter participial noun is identical with the third person singular neuter of the verb. The only light that has ever been thrown on the Dravidian relative participle is that which emanates from the non-Aryan languages of Asia.

Mr Edkins illustrates the possibility of the same form of a word being used, even in the Indo-European languages, both as a preterite and as a possessive adjective, somewhat after the Dravidian style, by the use of the word 'horned' in the English 'horned cattle.' In this case, however, the *ed* is not a sign of the possessive case. The language of the Scythian tablets of Behistun has a relative suffix, *pi*, answering to the Mongolian *ki*, which is appended, as in the Dravidian languages, to the theme in the formation of relative participles.

Looking at the analogy of the Scythian languages, and at the genius of the Dravidian languages themselves, I have no doubt that *a*, which forms the most common Dravidian relative suffix, is identical with *a*, the oldest and most characteristic sign of the possessive case. The other particles also which are used as suffixes of the relative will be found to have a similar nature. Dr Gundert identifies the *a* of the relative participle with the demonstrative base *a*. But I still prefer the explanation I have given, unless, indeed, we feel warranted in going a step further, and regarding the use of *a* as a possessive as a secondary use of the demonstrative *a*.

Though the sign of the relative participle in Ku differs from that which prevails in the other dialects, yet *ni*, the sign of the aorist

relative participle, is identical with the sign of the *inflexion* or possessive case, which is also *ni*. *ni*, the sign of the negative relative participle in Telugu, appears to bear the same relation to *ni*, a sign of the Telugu inflexion. *ti*, the sign of the preterite relative participle in Ku, is the most commonly used sign of the inflexion in Telugu; and the various suffixes of the Telugu aorist relative participle are apparently adjectival formatives, corresponding in origin to *ti*, the sign of the neuter inflexion in the same language.

Though the use of a relative participle, instead of a relative pronoun, is characteristic of the Scythian tongues, yet both the Turkish and the Finnish languages possess a relative pronoun as well. The use of such a pronoun seems foreign to the grammatical structure of those languages, and is reasonably supposed to have been imitated from the usage of languages of the Indo-European stock. It is certain that Turkish has been much influenced by Persian; and Oriental Turkish, though it has borrowed from Persian a relative pronoun, rarely uses it, and ordinarily substitutes for it an appended particle of its own, in a genuinely Scythian manner.

FORMATION OF MOODS.

The investigation of the structure of the Dravidian verb may now be considered as completed; for in each dialect of the family the verb has, properly speaking, only one mood, the indicative; and the forms which correspond to the conditional, the imperative, and the infinitive moods of other languages, are verbal nouns or compounds, rather than moods. Nevertheless, it is desirable at this point to inquire into the manner in which those moods are formed.

1. *The Conditional or Subjunctive.*—In most of the Indo-European languages, and even in Turkish and Finnish, the subjunctive is a regularly conjugated mood, distinct from the indicative, with pronominal terminations of its own. In the Dravidian languages the subjunctive is generally formed by simply post-fixing to different parts of the verb, either a particle corresponding in meaning to *si*, or 'if,' or the conditional forms of the substantive verb, which includes the same particle, and which signifies if it be. Different particles are used for this purpose in the different dialects, and they are not in each dialect suffixed to the same part of the verb; but the principle on which they are suffixed, and the use to which they are put, are the same in all.

In Canarese the conditional particle is *re*. This is supposed by Dr Gundert to be abbreviated from *āre* (Tam. and Mal. *āṟu*, a way).

He compares Canarese *banda-re*, when he has come, with Malayāḷam *vanna-(v)-āṟe*, commonly *vann'āre*, literally in the way of his having come, that is, in the event of his having come. Classical Tamil is *vanda-(v)-āṟu*. *re* is appended to the relative participle of the preterite, and that participle being impersonal, the condition applies, without change of form, to all persons, numbers, genders, and times —*e.g.*, *māḍida*, that did, on receiving this suffix becomes *māḍida-re*, if (I, thou, he, she, they, &c.) do, did, or shall do. Person, number, and gender are expressed by the prefixed pronoun, and time by the subsequent finite verb. The use of the relative participle—a form which always requires a noun to complete its signification—shows that *re*, whatever be its origin, is regarded as a noun, and that a closer rendering of the construction would be in the event of (my, your, &c.), doing, more literally in the event that (I, you, &c.), have done (so and so). Canarese adds *rū* or *āgyū* to the relative participle, instead of *re*, when the sense required is that of although. *rū* is *re* with the copulative particle *ū* annexed: *āgyū* is *āgi*, having been, with the addition of the same *ū*. The use of these participles is in perfect agreement with *āgilum*, &c., in Tamil.

In Tuḷu there are two forms of the conditional; one called by Mr Brigel the conditional, the other the subjunctive. The conditional is a compound tense, formed by appending *v*, the sign of the futuric present, to the prefect participle. Compare *maḷt'de*, I have made, *maḷt'dve* (*maḷt'd-v-e*), I should make. There is a negative conditional in Tuḷu, as there is a negative form of every part of the verb; and this negative conditional appears to be formed by inserting *a* as a particle of negation—*e.g.*, *maḷt'dvaye* (*maḷt'd-v-a-ye*), I should not make. The subjunctive is formed by adding the particle *ḍa*, if (corresponding to the Tamil-Malayāḷam *il*, *āl*, and apparently, like them, a locative in origin), to every person in every tense—*e.g.*, *maḷpuve*, I make; *malpuveḍa*, if I make. The negative of this form of the verb inserts the usual *j* (from the negative *ijji*) of the Tuḷu—*e.g.*, *maḷpu-jeḍa*, if I do not make.

The most essential and ancient form of the Telugu conditional consists in annexing *ina* to the ultimate conjugational base—*e.g.*, *chūchina*, if (I, thou, he, &c.), should see. This *ina* appears to be identical with the *in* which is used for the same purpose and in the same manner in Tamil; and as the Tamil *in* is a sign of the locative, signifying in or in the event of, so is the Telugu *ina* or *ni* apparently identical in origin with the *na* or *ni* which Telugu uses as a locative. In Telugu the various conditional particles which are in ordinary use are parts of the substantive verb, more or less regular in form,

each of which is used to signify if it be. The particle commonly used for this purpose in the higher dialect is *ē-ni*, the conditional form of the verb *avu*, to be or become,—a form which corresponds to the Tamil *āy-in*, and means, as will be seen, in being—*i.e.*, in the event of being. This particle or auxiliary, *ē-ni*, is appended not to the verbal or relative participle, but to the personal terminations of the verb. It may be appended to any tense, as to any person; but whatever tense it is attached to, the time of that tense is rendered aoristic, and is determined, as in Canarese, by the connection, especially by the tense of the succeeding verb. The manner in which *ēni* is postfixed in Telugu exactly corresponds to the use that is made of *āyil*, *āgil*, *āyin*, or *ānāl* in Tamil—*e.g.*, *chēsitin'-ēni*, if I did or do (literally if it be (that) I did), and *chēsitim'-ēni*, if we did or do, are equivalent to the Tamil *śeydēn-āyin*, if I did, and *śeydōm-āyin*, if we did. Some grammarians appear to consider this particle identical with *ēmi*, why, and to imply a question; but its resemblance in sound and use to the Tamil *āyin*, if it be, seems too complete to allow of this supposition.

In the colloquial dialect of Telugu, the conditional particle commonly used is simply *ē*, which is suffixed, not to any tense at pleasure like *ē-ni*, but only to the preterite, and is not appended, as *ē-ni* is, to the personal termination, but to the root of the preterite, or as I conceive it to be, the old preterite verbal participle—*e.g.*, *chēsi-t-ē* or *chēst-ē*, if (I, thou, he, &c.) did or do. This *ē* is considered by Mr Clay identical with the interrogative *ē*, interrogative forms being much used in Telugu to express the conditional. Did he do it? is equivalent to if he did it?

Another mode of expressing the conditional mood in the colloquial dialect of Telugu agrees with the Canarese in this, that the particles are suffixed to the relative participle. The particles thus suffixed are *aṯṯ-ayitē* and *aṯṯ-āyenā*; the first part of both which compounds, *aṯṯ-u*, is a particle of relation meaning so as, as if. *ayitē* (*ayit-ē*) is the ordinary conditional of *avu*, to be, being an emphasised form of *ayi-ti*, the impersonal preterite, or old preterite verbal participle of *avu*. *āyenā* is the interrogative form of *āyenu*, properly *ayenu*, it was, the third person of the preterite tense of *avu*, literally has it become? Telugu, like Tamil, expresses the meaning of although by adding the conjunctive particle *u* to the conditional particle *ina*—*e.g.*, *chēs-ina*, if (I) do; *chēs-ina-(n)-u*, although (I) do (= Tam. *śeyd-in, śeyd-in-um*).

In Tamil the most characteristic, and probably the most ancient, mode of forming the conditional mood is by affixing the

locative case signs *il* or *in* to the formed verbal theme—*i.e.*, that assumed verbal noun which forms the basis of the infinitive and the aoristic defective future. Thus, from the formed theme *pōg-u*, going, is formed the infinitive *pōg-a*, to go, and *pōg-um*, it will go; and from the same base by the addition of the locative *il* or *in*, is formed the conditional *pōg-il* or *pōg-in*, if (I, thou, &c) go. From *var-u*, coming, is formed *var-a*, infinitive, to come, *var-um*, it will come, and also *var-il* or *var-in*, if (I, &c.) come. In like manner, from *āg-u*, being, is formed the infinitive, *āg-a*, to become or be, *āg-um*, it will be, and also *āg-il*, if (I, &c.) be. *āg-in* (the equivalent of *āg-il*) has been softened into *āy-in*; and this appears to be identical in origin and meaning with the Telugu *ē-ni* referred to above, and is subjoined to the personal terminations of verbs in the same manner as *ē-ni*. This conditional *il* or *in* is undoubtedly identical with *il* or *in*, the Tamil sign of the ablative of motion, which is properly a sign of the locative, signifying in, at, or on; and of this *in*, the Telugu equivalent, in accordance with dialectic laws, is *ni*, which is also occasionally used as a locative. This being the case, the signification of *āg-il* or *āy-in* is evidently in being, *i.e.*, in the event of being; and this is equivalent to the phrase if it be. Hence *āg-il*, *āy-in*, and *ē-ni* are well suited to be used as conditional auxiliaries, and appended to the various personal terminations of verbs.

The second mode of forming the conditional in Tamil consists in the use of the above-mentioned conditional forms of the substantive verb, viz., *āg-il* and *āy-in* (and also a commoner form, *āṉ-āl*) as auxiliaries to other verbs; and when thus used they are postfixed, like the corresponding Telugu *ē-ni*, to any person of any tense—*e.g.*, *śeydēn-āgil*, if it be that I did, or if I did, literally in the (event of its) being (that) I did; *śeyvēn-āgil*, if I shall do, literally in the (event of its) being (that) I shall do. This mode of forming the Tamil conditional, though not confined to the classics, is but rarely used in the colloquial dialect: it is chiefly used in elegant prose compositions.

A third form of expressing the sense of a conditional mood in Tamil is by appending the particle or noun *kāl* to the past relative participle—*e.g.*, *śeyda-*(*k*)*kāl*, if (I, &c.) do or did; *uvari olitta-*(*k*)*kāl*, if the sea should roar. The conditional form which is most commonly used by the vulgar is a corruption of this, viz., *śeydàkkā*, or even *śeydākki*; and the Ku conditional also is formed by appending *kka*. *kāl* being appended to a relative participle, it is evidently to be considered as a ṇoun; and it may either be the crude San-

skrit derivative *kāl* (for *kāl-am*), time, used adverbially to signify when, a use to which it is sometimes put in Tamil; or, more probably, the pure old Dravidian word *kāl*, one of the meanings of which is a place. In the Malayāḷam locative this is abbreviated to *kal*. All nouns of place, when generalised, are capable of being used as signs of time. Hence *kāl*, a place, comes to mean when, and becomes a means of forming the conditional as readily as *il*, a place. The literal meaning, therefore, of *śeyda-(k)kāl* will be, when (I) do or did, a form which will readily take from the context a conditional force—*e.g.*, in the following Tamil stanza—"When you have done (*śeyda-(k)kāl*) a good action to any one, say not, 'When will that good action be returned ?'"—it is evident that when you have done is equivalent to if you have done. The signification of when is still more clearly brought out by the use of *kāl* in connection with the future relative participle—*e.g.*, *śey(y)uṅ-kāl*, if (he, they, &c.) should do, literally when (they) shall do, or in the time when (they) shall do. This mode of expressing the conditional mood is exceedingly common in the Tamil poets.

The fourth Tamil mode of forming the conditional is by suffixing *āl* to the abbreviated preterite relative participle—*e.g.*, *śeyd-āl*, if (I, &c.) do. If we looked only at examples like *śeyd-āl*, we might naturally suppose *āl* to be suffixed to the preterite verbal participle (*śeyd-u*), the final *u* of which is regularly elided before a vowel; and this form of the conditional would then perfectly agree with the second Telugu mode—*e.g.*, *chēst-ē*. If we look, however, at the class of verbs which form their preterite in *i*, and their preterite relative participle in *n-a*, we shall find that *āl* is added to the relative, not to the verbal participle, and that the two vowels (*a* and *ā*) are incorporated into one—*e.g.*, the conditional of *āg-u*, to be, is not *āg-i-āl*, but *ān-āl*, evidently from *ān-a* (*āg-i-(n)-a*) that was, and *āl*. Besides, the verbal participle must be followed by a verb or some verbal form; but *āl* is a noun, and therefore the participle to which it is suffixed must be a relative participle, not a verbal one. In colloquial Tamil, *āl* is suffixed to impersonal forms of the verb alone; but in the higher dialect *āl*, or its equivalent *ēl*, may be suffixed to any person of any tense—*e.g.*, *śeydanei-(y)-ēl*, if thou hast done; *śeyguvēn-ēl*, if I shall do. It is also suffixed to the relative participle, as I conceive *āl* is in the ordinary dialect—*e.g.*, *śeygindra-(v)-āl*, *śeyda-(v)-āl*, if (I, thou, &c.) should do. This *śeyda-(v)-āl* of the High Tamil illustrates the origin of the more common colloquial form *śeyd-āl*.

This conditional particle *āl*, whatever its origin, seems to be

identical with *āl*, the sign of the instrumental case in Tamil. The best supposition respecting the origin of this particle is that of Dr Gundert, who considers it as equivalent to *āgal*, Can. when, which is literally a verbal noun from *āg-u*, to become. *āgal* is capable of becoming *āl* in Tamil, the primitive base of *āgu* being *ā*. *āl* is rarely used as a sign of the conditional in the higher dialect in Tamil, in which *kāl* is generally preferred.

One form of the conditional mood is expressed by if (*e.g.*, if I do); another is expressed by though, or although (*e.g.*, though I do, or though I have done). This second form of the conditional is generally expressed in the Dravidian languages by affixing the conjunctive particle to one of the conditional particles already referred to. Thus, in Tamil, *śeyd-āl* signifies if (I, &c.) do; whilst *śeyd-āl-um* signifies though (I, &c.) do. *um*, the conjunctive or copulative particle, having the sense of even, as well as that of and—the literal meaning of this phrase is even if (I) do. The same particle *um* is affixed to the preterite verbal participle to bring out a preterite signification—*e.g.*, *śeyd-um*, though (I, &c.) did, literally even having done.

2. *The Imperative.*—In the Dravidian languages the second person singular of the imperative is generally identical with the root or theme of the verb. This is so frequently the case, that it may be regarded as a characteristic rule of the language. In a few instances in Tamil there is a slight difference between the imperative and the verbal theme; but those instances scarcely constitute even an apparent exception to the general rule, for the difference is caused not by the addition of any particle to the root, for the purpose of forming the imperative, but merely by the softening away of the formative suffix or the final consonant of the theme, for the sake of euphony—*e.g.*, *var-u*, to come, takes for its imperative *vā*, Tel. *rā*; the plural (or honorific singular) of which is in High Tamil *vammin*, in Telugu *rammu*.

It has been shown that there is a class of Tamil verbs which form their transitives by doubling the initial consonant of the sign of tense. Such verbs also, however, use the simple unformed theme as their imperative, and, in so far as that mood is concerned, make no distinction, except in connection, between transitives and intransitives. Thus, *keḍ-u* is either spoil or be spoiled, according to the connection, whilst every other part of the verb takes a form suited to its signification—*e.g.*, the infinitive of the intransitive is *keḍ-a*, that of the transitive *keḍukk-a*. Telugu, on the other hand, generally makes a distinction between the imperative of the transitive and that of the intransitive—*e.g.*, whilst

the intransitive be spoiled, is *cheḍu,* the transitive is not also *cheḍu,* but *cheṟuchu* (for *cheḍuchu*), a form which would be *keḍukku* in Tamil. A large number of Telugu verbs use as their verbal theme, not the ultimate root, but a species of verbal noun ending in *chu, pu,* or *mpu.* This accounts for the presence of *chu,* which is in itself a formative, in the imperative *cheṟuchu,* and not only in the imperative, but through all the moods and tenses of the Telugu verb. The Tamil uses the equivalent verbal noun (ending in *kku*) as the base of its transitive infinitive, and of the third person singular neuter of the future or aorist of its transitive—*e.g., keḍukk-a,* to spoil, and *keḍukk-um,* it will spoil; but in every other part of the verb it uses the root alone (including only the inseparable formative, if there be one) as its inflexional theme. Hence it is easier to ascertain the primitive, true root of a verb in Tamil than in Telugu.

The particle *mu* or *mī,* is often added to the inflexional base of the verb, or verbal theme, to form the imperative in Telugu. The same practice obtains in Ku; and even in Tamil, *mō* is sometimes suffixed to the singular of the imperative—only, however, in the classical dialect. In Telugu, nevertheless, as in Tamil, the verbal theme is more commonly used as the imperative without the addition of any such particle; and it seems probable that *mu* or *mī,* the only remaining relic of some lost root, is added as an intensitive or precative, like the Tamil *ēn*—*e.g., kēḷ-ēn,* Oh do hear. *aṇḍi,* which is added to the root in Telugu to form the second person plural of the imperative, is the vocative of an obsolete noun, sirs (used honorifically to mean sir); and the other signs of the same part of the verb in Telugu (*ḍi, uḍi,* and *uḍu* or *ḍu*), are evidently abbreviations of *aṇḍi.*

The second person plural of the imperative in Canarese is substantially identical with the second person plural of the future tense—*e.g., māḍiri,* do ye, *māḍuviri* or *māḍīri,* ye will do. The neuter participial noun of the future tense, it will do, or it is a thing to be done, is also optionally used for the imperative both in the singular and plural. In the classical dialect the most common plural imperative is formed by adding *im,* probably a fragment of *nīm,* the pronoun of the second person plural, to the root—*e.g., bāḷ-im,* live ye, *iḷi-(y)-im,* descend ye. Tuḷu forms its imperative from the future form of the verb in both numbers by appending *la* to the future in the singular and *le* in the plural—*e.g., malpula,* make thou, *malpule,* make ye. Dr Gundert identifies this *l* with *lā* (corresponding in meaning to the Tamil *um*), the conjunctive particle of the Tuḷu.

The imperative of the second person plural in colloquial Tamil is identical in form, and possibly in origin, with the aoristic future ending in *um*—*e.g.*, compare *śey*(*y*)-*um*, it will do, with *śey*(*y*)-*um*, do ye; *vāṛ-um*, it will flourish, with *vāṛ-um*, flourish ye. This form is used honorifically for the singular, and if this use of *um* is derived directly from the use of the same particle as a sign of the future, it would naturally have been used originally for both numbers indiscriminately. I have no doubt that the imperative second person in classical Tamil, to which we shall come presently, was originally a future; but there is some difficulty in the way of concluding the *um* of the colloquial imperative to be identical with the futuric *um*. The futuric *um* is appended, as has been shown, not to the ultimate root of the verb, but to the inflexional base, originally, I conceive, an abstract verbal noun; whereas the *um* of the second person imperative is generally appended directly to the root. This difference does not show itself in those verbs of which the unchanged root itself is used as the inflexional base, such as the two verbs *śey* and *vāṛ*, just adduced; but it appears in that large class of verbs which harden their formatives. Thus, destroy ye is *keḍ'-um*; but it will destroy is not *keḍ'-um*, but *keḍukk-um*: be ye is *ir-um*, but it will be is not *ir-um*, but *irukk-um*. Though, therefore, *um* may be, and I have no doubt is, the same *um* in both cases; yet in the imperative, as in the personal pronouns, it seems to be used as a sign of plurality, whilst in the future tense it conveys the meaning of the future. A connection may perhaps be traced between these meanings. *um* always appears to retain its original force as a conjunctive particle; but in the case of the pronouns (and probably in that of the second person imperative), it conjoins person to person—that is, it pluralises, whilst in the future tense of the verb (properly, as has been shown, a continuative tense), it conjoins a present or future action to the past.

The plural imperative of the classical dialect of Tamil is formed by appending to the root the particle *min*, which assumes sometimes the more fully developed, or doubly pluralised, shape of *minīr*. This particle cannot be explained from Tamil alone, but a flood of light is thrown upon it by Malayāḷam. In Malayāḷam the plural imperative is formed after the plan of the first future, both in Tamil and Malayāḷam, by appending to the root a particle which has for its initial letter *v*, *m*, or *p*, according to the connection. Compare the Tamil and Malayāḷam future participle *varu-vān*, about to come, with the Malayāḷam imperative *varu-vin*, come ye; *kāṇ-mān*, about to see, with *kāṇ-min*, see ye; *kēḷ-pān*, about to hear, with *kēḷ-pin*,

hear ye. It is clear from this that the imperative is built upon the future, and indeed that it differs from it only by changing the final *ān* to *in*. The Tamil future participle uses *b* instead of *m*, after nasals; on the other hand it uses *m* alone in other connections, whereas Malayāḷam uses *v*, *m*, or *p*—*e.g.*, for the Malayāḷam *kēḷ-pin*, classical Tamil uses *kēṇ-min*. A form of the negative imperative occasionally found in the Tamil poets agrees with Malayāḷam in using *p*; it is *aṟpīr* (*al-pīr*), be not. We are therefore warranted in concluding that the Malayāḷam and classical Tamil plural imperative is formed by adding *in* to the future tense, or, perhaps it may be said, by changing *ān* to *in*. This *in* (*īr*, in *aṟpīr*, as above) appears to be a relic of the plural pronoun of the second person, as I have supposed the corresponding classical Canarese *im* to be. Whatever their origin, the Tamil and Malayāḷam *in* and the classical Canarese *im* appear to be identical.

The possibility of the future forming the basis of the imperative is well illustrated by the example of the Hebrew. Gesenius ("Hebrew Grammar") says, "The chief form of the imperative is the same that lies also at the basis of the future, and which, when viewed as an infinitive, is likewise allied to the noun."

3. *The Infinitive.*—It has been customary in Dravidian grammars, especially in Telugu, to call various verbal nouns infinitives; as the infinitive in *uṭa*, the infinitive in *aḍam-u*, and the infinitive in *ēdi*. This use of terms is not sufficiently discriminative; for though each of those forms may be used with the force of a quasi infinitive in certain connections, yet the first two are properly verbal nouns, and the third is a participial noun. Each is capable of being regularly declined, and each possesses a plural. The Telugu *paḍu-ṭa* is identical with the Tamil *paḍu-dal*, suffering; whilst the infinitive proper, to suffer, is in both languages *paḍ-a*. I have no doubt that the true infinitive was originally a verbal noun also (as in the Scythian languages it is always found to be), and this origin of the Dravidian infinitive will, I think, be proved in the sequel; but the *usus loquendi* of grammatical nomenclature requires that the term infinitive should be restricted to those verbal nouns which have ceased to be declined, which are destitute of a plural, and which are capable of being used absolutely.

In Malayāḷam the future verbal participle *vān*, *mān*, or *pān* is much used, as in classical Tamil, in a manner closely resembling the use of the infinitive. There is a true infinitive however in *a*, identical with that of the Tamil, though in less common use. The Dravidian infinitive, properly so called, is generally formed by suf-

fixing *a* to the verbal theme. This is invariably the mode in which the infinitive is formed in Telugu—*e.g.*, *chēy-a*, to do. Ordinarily in Tamil and Canarese the infinitive is formed in the same manner; but a verbal noun is also much used in Canarese as an infinitive, with the dative case-sign understood or expressed—*e.g.*, instead of *māḍ-a*, to do, they often say *māḍ-al-ke* (in the colloquial dialect *māḍ-ali-kke*), for doing, or (without the case-sign) *māḍ-al* or *māḍ-alu*, doing or to do. Similar constructive infinitives are often used in classical Tamil also, instead of the true infinitive in *a*—*e.g.*, *śol-laṟku* (*śollal-ku*), for saying, and *śollal*, saying, with the sign of the dative understood, instead of *śoll-a*, to say. There is also another infinitive or honorific imperative in *ga* or *ya* which is much used in classical Tamil and Malayāḷam—*e.g.*, *aṟi-ga*, to know, or mayest (thou) know, *vāṟi-ya*, mayest thou flourish, a form which will be inquired into presently. Notwithstanding these apparent exceptions, *a* is to be considered as the regular and most ancient sign of the infinitive in all the Dravidian dialects except the Gōnd and the Tuḷu. The Gōnd infinitive is formed by appending *ālle* or *ille* to the root—*e.g.*, *hand-ālle*, to go, *ke-ille*, to call. This form of the infinitive is evidently identical with the infinitive in *al*, which is used as an infinitive, but is properly a verbal noun, in Canarese and classical Tamil. In Tamil, verbal nouns occasionally end in *il*, though *al* is much more common—*e.g.*, *vey-il*, sunshine, literally, a burning, from *vey*, to burn. Tuḷu as usual takes a course of its own, both as to the number and variety of its infinitives, and as to the formatives it uses. It has a first infinitive, a present, an imperfect, and a perfect, all formed by appending *ni* to the participles, and a second infinitive, or supine, formed by appending *ere*—*e.g.*, *būruni*, to fall, *būrini*, to have been falling, *būrudini*, to have fallen; supine *būriyere*, to fall. Each of these infinitives is furnished also with a negative, but these negative infinitives are formed by means of the infinitives of the substantive verb appended as auxiliaries to the negative participle—*e.g.*, from *būrande*, perf. participle, having not fallen, is formed *būrande ittini*, not to have fallen.

Professor Max Müller, noticing that the majority of Tamil infinitives terminate in *ka*, supposed this *ka* to be identical in origin with *kō*, the dative-accusative case-sign of the Hindi, and concluded that the Dravidian infinitive was the accusative of a verbal noun. It is true that the Sanskrit infinitive and Latin supine in *tum* is correctly regarded as an accusative, and that our English infinitive to do is the dative of a verbal noun; it is also true that the Dravidian infinitive is a verbal noun in origin, and never altogether loses

that character; nevertheless, the supposition that the final *ka* of most Tamil infinitives is in any manner connected with *ku*, the sign of the Dravidian dative, or of *kō*, the Hindi dative-accusative, is inadmissible. A comparison of various classes of verbs and of the various dialects shows that the *ka* in question proceeds from a totally different origin.

The Tamil infinitive terminates in *ga* (*g-a*) only in those cases in which the verbal theme ends in a formative *gu* (*g-u*); and in many instances in which *g* appears in the infinitive (as in the verbal theme) in the ordinary dialect, *v* replaces it in the poets—*e.g.*, *nōga*, to be pained, is not so much used by the classics as *nōva*. *ppa* is also used in the higher dialect instead of *kka*—*e.g.*, *naḍappa*, to walk, for *naḍakka*. These interchanges of the formative consonant, which is the termination of the verbal theme, and to which the infinitival *a* is added, are in perfect agreement with Telugu; and from both it is apparent that *a* alone is the sign of the infinitive. Tamil verbs ending in the formative *g-u* are intransitives; and when they are converted into transitives, the formative is doubled for the purpose of denoting the increased intensity of signification. In such cases the formative *g-u* is converted into *kk-u;* and, accordingly, the infinitive of all such verbs ends in *kk-a*.

Thus, the verb *pō*, to go, takes *gu* for its intransitive formative and hence its verbal theme is *pō-gu;* from which is formed the aoristic future *pōg-um*, it will go, the verbal noun *pōg-al*, going, and the infinitive *pōg-a*, to go. The corresponding transitive verb is *pō-kku*, to drive away (*gu* being converted into *kku*); and from this is formed in like manner *pōkk-um*, it will drive away, and also the infinitive *pōkk-a*, to drive away. In some instances the intransitive shape of the verb has no formative; and when it is converted into a transitive, the initial consonant of the tense-sign is hardened and doubled—*i.e.*, *giṟ* becomes *kkiṟ*, *d* or *nd* becomes *tt*, and *v* or *b* becomes *pp*. In such instances the verbal theme on which the infinitive is constructed takes the double formative, *kk-u*—*e.g.*, compare *vaḷar-a*, to grow, with *vaḷar-kk-a*, to rear. This formative (*kk*), however, appears not only in the infinitive, but also in the aoristic future *vaḷar-kk-um*, it will rear. A very large number of Tamil verbs, including many transitives, have no formative termination whatever; and the infinitive of such verbs is formed by simply suffixing *a* to the root—*e.g.*, *vāṛ-a*, to flourish, and *kāṇ-a*, to see. In the event of the root of a verb of this class ending in *i* or *ei*, *y* is inserted between the root and the sign of the infinitive—*e.g.*, *aṟi-(y)-a*, to know; *aḍei-(y)-a*, to obtain. This *y*, however, is clearly

euphonic. When an intransitive root is converted into a transitive by annexing *tt-u* to the *root—e.g., tāṟ-ti-u,* to lower, the infinitive simply elides the euphonic *u,* and suffixes *a—e.g., tāṟ-tt-a.*

From a comparison of these instances, it appears certain that *a* alone is the normal suffix of the Tamil infinitive, and that the *g* or *kk* which so often appears, belongs to the formative of the verbal theme —not to any supposititious case-sign. What then is the origin of the infinitival suffix *ga,* which is occasionally used in classical Tamil— *e.g., aṟi-ga,* to know, instead of the ordinary *aṟi-(y)-a;* and *śey-ga,* to do, instead of *śey(y)-a?* This form is chiefly used as an optative, or as conveying a wish or polite command—*e.g., nī aṟi-ga,* mayest thou know! It does not follow, however, from this, that it would be correct to regard it as a form of the imperative originally; for the ordinary infinitive in *a* is often used by the poets in the same manner, and not unfrequently even by the peasants. I am persuaded that the *g* of *ga* is simply the usual formative *g* or *g-u* of verbal nouns. The same formative *g* is found to be used by the poets in connection with other parts also of the very verbs which are given as examples of this rule. Thus, not only is *aṟi-ga* to know, used instead of *aṟi-(y)-a,* but *aṟi-g-il-ir,* you know not, instead of *aṟi--y-il-īṟ,* or *aṟi-(y)-īr;* and just as *śey-ga,* to do, is used instead of *śey(y)-a,* so we find *śey-gu-v-ēn,* I will do, instead of *śey-v-ēn.* The *g* which makes its appearance in these instances, is in its origin the formative *g-u,* as appears by the second example; but has come to be used rather for euphony than any other cause. It is also to be noticed that the formative *gu* may be appended to any verbal root whatever, as a fulcrum to the inflexional forms, provided only that the euphony is improved by it, or that the prosody requires it. This view of the origin of the *ga* in question is confirmed by the evidence of Malayāḷam, for in that dialect *ga* is the formative of verbal nouns, answering to the Tamil *gei—e.g., chey-ga,* a doing; and yet the very same form is used as a polite imperative—*e.g., nī chey-ga* (Tam. *śey-ga*), mayest thou do! Here we see not only a verbal noun used as an imperative, but we see the infinitive of one dialect treated as a verbal noun in another. The Tamil verbal noun which directly answers to the Malayāḷam *chey-ga,* a doing, is *śeygei;* and *śey-ga* in Tamil has ceased to be used as a verbal noun, and been restricted to the use of an infinitive and imperative; but it is evident from the identity of both with the Malayāḷam *chey-ga,* that both are verbal nouns in origin. The Malayāḷam *chey-ga* is regularly declined— *e.g., chey-ga(y)-āl,* through the doing. We thus come back to the conclusion that *a,* not *ga,* is the true infinitival suffix of the Tamil.

On examining the Telugu, we shall find that the only sign of the infinitive recognised by that language is *a*. The various formatives which, as we have seen, are inserted between the Tamil verbal root and the suffixes of the infinitive, form in Telugu part of the verbal theme itself, and are found not only in one or two connections, but in every mood and tense of the verb, including the imperative. In Telugu, therefore, the only difference between the imperative and the infinitive is, that the latter elides the enunciative *u* of the former, and substitutes for it its own distinctive suffix *a*. Thus, whilst the imperative of the verb to open, is in Tamil *tiṟa*, and the infinitive *tiṟa-kk-a;* the formative *kk* which appears in the Tamil infinitive and which might be supposed to form part of the infinitival suffix, appears in Telugu (in its dialectically softened form of *ch*) not only in the infinitive, but also in the imperative and throughout the verb—*e.g., teṟa-ch-a,* infinitive, to open; *teṟa-ch-u,* imperative, open thou. At the same time, the Telugu sign of the dative case *ku* or *ki* is never softened into *ch* in any connection; consequently, there is no possibility of connecting the Telugu sign of the infinitive with that of the dative. Moreover, the formative *ch* is often replaced, especially in the imperative and infinitive, by *p*—*e.g., naḍu-p-a,* infinitive, to walk, instead of *naḍu-ch-a* corresponding to the colloquial Tam. *naḍa-kk-a,* and the classical Tam. *naḍa-pp-a,* of which the imperative and also the theme is *naḍa.* Hence, it cannot be doubted that the Tamil *g* and *kk,* and the corresponding Telugu *ch* and *p,* alternating (after *i*) with *ñch* and *mp,* are merely formatives, without any special connection with the suffix of the infinitive, which is *a* alone. In most instances in Canarese the formatives referred to above are discarded altogether, and the *a* which constitutes the sign of the infinitive is suffixed to the crude verbal root. Thus, whilst the verb *ir-u,* to be, takes *iru-kk-a* for its infinitive in Tamil, the simpler and evidently more primitve Canarese infinitive is *ir-a.*

Origin of the Infinitive suffix 'a'.—I conceive that we may safely identify this *a* with the demonstrative base. We have seen that most of the formatives of nouns were originally demonstratives, appended to nouns for the sake of emphasis. To this class belongs especially the formative *am* $(a + m)$, which sometimes assumes the shape of *an* $(a + n)$, and also that of *al* $(a + l)$. We have seen that *al,* that, and *al,* not, appear to have been derived from *a, al* being the secondary form constituting the word a substantive, and *a* the primitive base. The same explanation seems perfectly to suit the

infinitive in *a* or *al;* and whether the negative *a* may safely be derived from the demonstrative *a* or not, I can see no reason for thinking it improbable that the *a* which forms the suffix of the infinitive, and which is consequently to be regarded as the formative of a verbal noun, was originally identical with the demonstrative.

There cannot be any doubt, I think, that *al,* the alternative suffix of the infinitive, is a secondary form of *a.*

Use of the Infinitive.—By Tamil grammarians it is defined to be "the verbal participle common to the three tenses"; but if we look at its force and use, we shall discover, I think, conclusive reasons for regarding it as a verbal or participial noun. It is not only used as in other languages to denote a purpose or end—*e.g., var-a* (*ś*) *śollu,* tell (*him*) to come—but also in such connections as the following:—(1.) The majority of Dravidian adverbs are infinitives of neuter verbs—*e.g.,* he knocked down, would be in Telugu *paḍa goṭṭenu,* in Tamil *viṛa* (*t*) *taḷḷi-nān;* in which phrases down means to fall—*i.e.,* so as to fall. Through the same idiom *āg-a,* the infinitive of the verb to become (in Tel. *kā* or *gā*), is ordinarily added to nouns of quality to convert them into adverbs—*e.g., nandr'-āga,* Tam. well, from *nandr-u,* good, and *āg-a,* to become. (2.) The infinitive is elegantly used with an imperative signification (in accordance with the Hebrew idiom), or rather as an optative, seeing that it conveys a wish rather than a command—*e.g., nī vāṛ-a* (more frequently *vāṛ-g-a* or *vāṛi-y-a*), mayest thou flourish! The infinitive of the verb to be also regularly forms an optative, or polite imperative, by being annexed to the future tense of any verb—*e.g., śeyvāy-āga,* mayest thou do, from *śeyvāy,* thou wilt do, and *āga,* to become, literally may it be (that) thou wilt do. (3.) It is used as a kind of ablative absolute—*e.g., poṛudu viḍind' irukk-a, ēn tūngugiṛay,* Tam., the sun having arisen, why sleepest thou? In this instance, *viḍind' irukk-a* (literally to be—having risen) is in the perfect tense; but *irukk-a* is not a preterite infinitive, but is the ordinary or aorist infinitive of the verb *ir-u,* to be. (4.) A series of infinitives is often elegantly used, somewhat as in Latin, to express minor actions that take place contemporaneously with the principal action—*e.g.,* they would say in Tamil *mugil eṛumba* (whilst the clouds were rising), *vānam iruḷ-a* (whilst the sky was gathering blackness), *maṛei poṛindu pey* (*y*) *a* (whilst the rain was falling abundantly), *ūrār tiru-virā naḍatti-nārgaḷ* (the villagers celebrated their sacred festival). (5.) The reduplication

of any infinitive expresses exactly the force of the Latin gerund in *do*—*e.g., pōg-a pōg-a, balaṅ koḷḷum,* vires acquirit eundo; more closely, as it goes—as it goes (literally to go—to go) it gathers strength.

These illustrations prove that the Dravidian infinitive has the force of a gerund or verbal participle, or of a verbal noun, as well as that of the infinitive properly so called. The examples adduced are all from Tamil, but parallel examples could easily be adduced from each of the other dialects.

Much use is made in Tamil of a verbal or participial noun ending in *dal*—*e.g., alei-dal,* a wandering, from *alei,* to wander; *muṟi-dal,* a breaking, from *muṟi,* to break. In Canarese the final *l* of those and similar verbal nouns is unknown—*e.g., ale-ta,* a wandering; *mura-ta,* a breaking. In Telugu also such nouns end in *a* alone, without *l*—*e.g.,* compare the Tamil *mēy-(t)tal,* pasturage, with the corresponding Telugu *mēt-a; chēt-a,* Tel. an act, with *śey-dal,* Tam.; and *naḍa-ta,* Tel. walk, conduct, with *naḍa-(t)tal,* Tam. Even in Tamil also, *naḍa-(t)tei* (Mal. *naḍa-tta*) alternates with *naḍa-(t)tal.*

It has already been stated that the verbal noun in *al,* with or without the dative case-sign, is used instead of the infinitive in *a* in both dialects of Canarese and in classical Tamil. In Gōnd also, it has been shown that one of the signs of the infinitive is *ālle,* amplified from *al*—*e.g., aiālle,* to be, which is evidently identical with the Tamil verbal noun *āgal,* being—a form often used in the higher dialect as an infinitive. Now, as the Dravidian infinitive undoubtedly partakes of the character of a participial or verbal noun, and is considered by native grammarians as a verbal participle or gerund of the three tenses, as it is certain that it is intimately associated with a verbal noun in *al,* one of the most characteristic in the language, and which denotes not the abstract idea of the verb, but the act; and as *al* in other connections has been found to be amplified from *a,* we seem to be justified in coming to the conclusion that *a,* the infinitive suffix, is the basis of the *al* in question, and, consequently, that *āg-a,* to be, is simply an older and purer form of *āg-al,* being.

There is a remarkable, but probably accidental, resemblance to the Dravidian infinitive in *al,* in the Armenian, in which *l* is the infinitive suffix—*e.g., ber-e-l,* to carry (compare Tam. *poṟ-al,* bearing or to bear); *ta-l,* to give (compare Tam. *ta(r)-al,* giving or to give, imperative, *tā*).

FORMATION OF VERBAL NOUNS.

Dravidian verbal nouns divide themselves into two classes—viz., participial nouns, which are formed from the relative participle of each tense, and retain the time of the tense to which they belong, and verbal nouns, properly so called, which are always formed directly from the theme, and are indeterminate in point of time.

1. *Participial Nouns.*—The greater number of nouns of this class are formed by suffixing the demonstrative pronouns, or their terminations, to the present and preterite relative participles—*e.g.*, from *śeygiṟa,* that does (the present relative participle of *śey,* to do), is formed *śeygiṟa-(v)-an,* he that does; *seygiṟa-(v)-al,* she that does, &c. In like manner, from the past relative participle *śeyda,* that did, is formed *śeyda-(v)-an,* he that did; *śeyda-(v)al,* she that did, &c.; and by simply adding the appropriate terminations, participial nouns of any number or gender (but always of the third person only) may be made at pleasure. A similar series of future participial nouns exists, or may be constructed if required—*e.g., ōduvān,* he who will read, or who is accustomed to read. The Tamil future in *v* or *p* is destitute of a relative participle; but its existence is implied in that of future participial nouns, like *pōva-du,* that which will go, and *kāṉba-(v)-an,* he who will see, and must have ended like the future relative participle of the Canarese, in *va* or *pa.* The Tamil aoristic future in *um,* though a relative participle as well as a future tense, forms no participial nouns, probably in consequence of *um* being in reality a conjunctive particle, not a true suffix of relation. Negative participial nouns of each number and gender are formed exactly like the affirmative participial nouns, by suffixing the various demonstrative terminations to the negative, instead of the affirmative, relative participle. These participial nouns are declined like other nouns; nevertheless, being parts of the verbs, they have the same power of governing nouns as the verbs to which they belong—*e.g., vīṭṭei (k) kaṭṭinavanukku,* to him who built the house. In these respects all the Dravidian dialects are so perfectly agreed that it is needless to multiply quotations.

There is a peculiarity about the words used as neuter participial nouns in Tamil which requires to be noticed. Each of them is used in three different significations, viz.—as the third person neuter of the verb, as a neuter relative-participial noun, and as a verbal-participial noun. Thus *śeygiṟadu* in the first connection

means it does; in the second, that which does; in the third, the doing or to do. I have termed it in the third connection "a verbal-participial noun," to distinguish it from the ordinary verbal nouns, which are formed from the theme, not from participles, and from which the idea of time is excluded. It is a verbal noun in use, though participial in origin. I am persuaded that of these three senses the original and most correct one is the last—viz., that of the verbal-participial noun; for the relative-participial noun ought by analogy to be *seygiṟa-(v)-adu,* not *śeygiṟ-adu;* and whilst it is certain that a participial or verbal noun might easily be used as the third person neuter of the verb, in accordance with the analogy of many other languages, it is difficult to see how the third person neuter of the verb could come to be used so regularly as it is as a verbal-participial noun. This species of participial noun, though neuter or without personality, includes the idea of time. It has three forms, in accordance with the present, the past, and the future tenses of the verb—*e.g., śeygiṟadu,* the doing; *śeydadu,* the having done; and *śeyvadu,* the being about to do. Each of these forms may be pluralised, as far as usage permits, when it is used as the third person neuter of the verb, or as a relative-participial noun; but when used abstractly as a verbal-participial noun it is not pluralised. The participial noun formed from the future is one of the most commonly used forms of the verbal noun in Canarese—*e.g., iḷiyu-v-adu,* or *iḷivu-du,* the act of descending, from *iḷi,* to descend.

Words of this kind have sometimes been called infinitives; and it is true that they may generally be rendered in the infinitive on translating them into English—*e.g., appaḍi seygiṟadu sari (y) alla,* Tam. (it is) not right to do so. But this is simply because the English infinitive itself is sometimes used as a verbal noun, and to do is equivalent to the participial noun, the doing. The phrase might be more closely rendered, the doing thus (is) not right. Verbal nouns of this class become more allied to infinitives when they are put in the dative—*e.g., seygiṟadu-kku,* for the doing—*i.e.,* to do. As the pronoun *adu* becomes in construction *adan,* so *śey-giṟadan-ku,* euphonically *śeygiṟadaṟ-ku,* is more common in written compositions, and considered more elegant, than *śeygiṟadu-kku.*

Tamil and Malayāḷam alone possess an abstract relative-participial noun, expressing in the form of a declinable participle the abstract idea denoted by the affirmative verb. It is formed by appending *mei* (Mal. *ma*), the suffix of abstracts, to the present or preterite relative participle of any verb—*e.g.,* from *irukkindr-a,*

'that is' (the present relative participle of *iru*, to be), by the addition of *mei*, Tamilians form *irukkindra-mei*, being. Negative nouns of this description are also formed in Tamil by appending *mei* to the negative relative participle—*e.g.*, *irā-mei*, the not being. These negative participial abstracts are in more common use in Tamil than the affirmatives, and are as largely used in Malayāḷaṁ and Telugu as in Tamil. The use of the Tamil affirmative *mei* is confined to classical compositions; but the abstract appellative nouns which are formed by annexing *mei* to the crude verbal theme (*e.g.*, *poṟu-mei*, patience, from *poṟu*, to bear) are much used even in the colloquial dialect of Tamil, as well as in Malayāḷam and all the other dialects in a slightly altered shape. The relative-participial noun in *mei*, whilst it is declined like a noun, has the governing power of a verb; but the corresponding appellative in *mei* has the force of a substantive only.

The Tamil suffix *mei* is *ma* in Malayāḷam, *me* in Canarese, *mi* in Telugu. In several of the Scythian tongues we find a suffix used which bears a considerable resemblance to this. The suffix of the participial noun in Finnish is *ma* or *mā*: in Esthonian *ma* is the suffix of the infinitive: supines are formed in Finnish by suffixing *man*: the Turkish infinitival suffix is *mak* or *mek*. We may also compare with this Dravidian *me* or *mei*, the old Greek infinitive in μεν (*men*), and such nouns as ποίη-μα (*poiē-ma*), δεσ-μό-ς (*des-mo-s*), and σχισ-μή (*schis-mē*), each of which exhibits an old participial suffix.

2. *Verbal Nouns.*—Dravidian verbal nouns are indeterminate with respect to time, being formed, not from participles, but from the verbal root or the formed theme; and they express the act, not the abstract idea, of the verb to which they belong, and hence are called by Tamil grammarians *toḻil peyar*, nouns of operation or employment. Verbal nouns are carefully to be distinguished from verbal derivatives or substantives derived from verbs. The latter, though derived from verbs, are used merely as nouns; whereas the verbal noun, properly so called (like the participial noun), is construed as a verb. As a noun it can be used as the nominative of a subsequent verb; and as a verb it may be preceded by a nominative of its own, and may govern a noun in case. In several Dravidian grammars written by Europeans this distinction has not been attended to; and Tamil derivative nouns like *naḍei* or *naḍappu*, walk, have been classed with verbal nouns like *naḍakkei*, *naḍak-kudal*, and *naḍakkal*, walking. Though, however, each of these words may be translated 'walking,' the first two are simply substan-

tives; and adjectives, not adverbs, must be used to qualify them; whereas *naḍakkudal*, the corresponding noun of operation, is a true verbal noun, and is qualified by adverbs, precisely as the verb itself, *naḍa*, to walk, would be. Thus, we can say *nīdi (y) āy naḍakkudal*, acting or walking justly; but we could not use the adverb *nīdi (y) āy* to qualify either *naḍappu* or *naḍei*. It would be necessary to qualify those words by the adjectival form *nīdi (y) āna*, there being nearly the same difference between *naḍappu* and *naḍakkudal* that there is in English between behaviour and behaving.

A verbal noun in *gei* or *kkei* is often used in Tamil—*e.g.*, *irukkei*, the being; *śeygei*, the doing; but though this is used as a verbal noun—*e.g.*, *appaḍi irukkei-(y)-āl*, seeing that it is so, more literally through its being so, yet the forms which are most commonly used as verbal nouns, and which have the best claim to that character, are those which terminate in *al*—*e.g.*, *śey (y)-al*, or *śey-dal*, doing; *naḍakkal*, or *naḍakkudal*, walking. Whether the suffix appended be *al* or *dal*, it is generally suffixed, not to the crude root, but to the formed verbal theme—*i.e.*, to that which forms the basis of the infinitive and of the aoristic future—*e.g.*, the verbal noun that is formed from *ir-u*, to be, is not *ir-al*, but *iru-kk-al*, being; and from *naḍ-a*, to walk, is formed not *na-ḍ-al*, but *naḍa-kk-al*. Notwithstanding this, *al* or *dal* is sometimes added directly to the ultimate base—*e.g.*, not only have we *pōg-al* or *pōgu-dal*, going, but also *pō-dal*; and not only *āg-al* or *āgu-dal*, becoming, but also *ā-dal*. Probably, however, in these instances the right explanation is, that the formative *g* of *pō-gu* and *ā-gu* has been softened by use. The *d* of *dal* is clearly a formative of the same character and force as the *g* of *gei* or *kkei*; and this is proved by the circumstance that the *d* is doubled and converted into *tt* when the verb becomes a transitive instead of an intransitive, or when euphonic considerations require—*e.g.*, comp. *kuṟei-dal*, intransitive, a being curtailed, with *kuṟei-ttal*, transitive, a curtailing. It is evident that this *d* is not intended in any way to denote the preterite tense; for the verbal noun in *dal* is as indeterminate with respect to time as that in *al* or that in *gei*, *kkei*; and the corresponding Telugu forms are *ṭa* and *ḍam-u*—*e.g.*, *chēyu-ṭa* or *chēsu-ṭa*, or more commonly *chēya-ḍam-u*, doing. The distinction which has been shown to exist between verbal nouns, properly so called, generally ending in *al*, and derivative nouns, furnishes, I conceive, some confirmation of the hypothesis that *al*, the Tamil suffix of verbal nouns, is a secondary form of *a*, the sign of the infinitive. It is remarkable that *l* or *al* is used also in Mongolian as a formative of verbal nouns—*e.g.*, *c'hidal*, ability, from *chidahu*, to be able.

3. *Derivative Nouns or Verbal Derivatives.*—It seems scarcely necessary to enter into the investigation of the formatives of *verbal derivatives*, or substantives derived from verbs, most of those formatives being merely euphonic, and their number in the various dialects, particularly in Tamil, being very great. It may be desirable, however, to direct the reader's attention to the more characteristic and interesting modes in which the Dravidian languages form nouns of this class.

(i.) The first class of derivative nouns (if indeed it is correct to consider them as *derivatives*) consists in those that are identical with verbal themes—*e.g.*, compare *kaṭṭ-u*, a tie, and *kaṭṭ-u*, to tie.

(ii.) Some verbal themes become nouns by the doubling and hardening of the final consonant—*e.g.*, *eṛutt-u*, a letter, from *eṛud-u*, to write; *pāṭṭ-u*, a song, from *pāḍ-u*, to sing. This is especially a Tamil method of forming derivative nouns, for some of the corresponding Telugu nouns are formed differently; and where they do resemble the Tamil, the resemblance consists only in the hardening, and not also in the doubling, of the final consonant—*e.g.*, *pāṭa*, Tel. a song, from *pāḍ-u*, to sing. Telugu differs also from Tamil in changing the final or enunciative *u* of the verbal root into *a*. Compare *āṭ-a*, play (Tam. *āṭṭ-u*), from *āḍ-u*, to play. The Tamil mode of doubling, as well as hardening, the final consonant, seems most in accordance with Dravidian analogy; for it is when a sonant is doubled that it is naturally converted into a surd, and when it is not doubled, it should be pronounced as a sonant.

It is remarkable how many purposes are served by the doubling of Dravidian final consonants. (i.) It places substantives in an adjectival relation to succeeding substantives; (ii.) it converts intransitive verbs into transitives; (iii.) it forms a sign of the preterite tense; and (iv.) it forms derivative nouns from verbal themes.

(iii.) A very interesting mode of forming derivatives is that of lengthening the included vowel of monosyllabic verbal roots—*e.g.*, in Tamil, from *paḍ-u*, to suffer, comes *pāḍ-u*, suffering; from *min*, to glitter, comes *mīn*, a star. Nor is this method found only in the classics: it appears in words of the most familiar class—*e.g.*, *nākk-u*, the tongue, from *nakk-u*, to lick. Tamil simply lengthens the root vowel in forming derivatives of this class, and leaves the final consonant unchanged; but Telugu and Canarese harden the final consonant, in addition to lengthening the root vowel—*e.g.*,

from *paḍ-u,* to suffer, they form not *pāḍ-u,* but *pāṭ-u,* suffering. See the section on "Roots."

4. Abstract nouns are formed from verbal themes by suffixing *mei—e.g., poṟu-mei,* endurance, from *poṟu,* to bear. The same suffix forms abstracts also from nouns of quality or relation and pronominals—*e.g., peru-mei,* greatness, from *per-u,* great, and *tan-mei,* nature, quality, from *tan,* self, literally selfness. This suffix is in Telugu *mi—e.g., kali-mi,* wealth, from *kalu-gu,* to accrue.

5. Many nouns are formed from verbs in Tamil by suffixing *am,* and at the same time doubling and hardening the final consonant of the verbal theme. *ṅg* being the equivalent of *g, nd* of *d, ṇḍ* of *ḍ,* and *mb* of *b, ṅg* on being doubled becomes *kk, nd* becomes *tt, ṇḍ* becomes *ṭṭ,* and *mb* becomes *pp—e.g.,* from *tūṅg-u,* to sleep, is formed *tūkk-am* sleep; from *tirund-u,* to become correct, comes *tirutt-am,* a correction; from *tōṇḍ-u,* to dig, comes (I think) *tōṭṭ-am,* a garden; and from *virumb-u,* to desire, comes *virupp-am,* a desire. In most instances the Telugu (and the Canarese always) rejects the final *m* of the nouns of this class—*e.g., tūg-u,* Tel. sleep, instead of the Tamil *tūkk-am.* Though the final consonant, if *g, d, b* (or their equivalents), is always doubled before this *am* in Tamil and Malayāḷam, verbal themes which end in other consonants often become nouns by simply annexing *am—e.g., uyar-am,* height, from *uyar,* to be high, *āṟ-am,* depth, from *āṟ* to be deep. Mr Edkins connects this *m* with the *m* used in Hebrew to form participial substantives from verbs—*e.g., mishpat,* judgment, from *shāphat,* to judge. See, however, "Case-signs: the Accusative."

6. A vast number of verbal derivatives in all the Dravidian dialects, are formed by suffixing to the verbal themes those favourite and multifariously used formatives, *g, d, b,* under various modifications, and with various vowel terminations.

i. The *g* formative generally becomes in Tamil *gei—e.g., śey-gei,* an action, from *śey,* to do; it is nasalised to *ṅgei—e.g., kā-(ṅ) gei,* heat, from *kāy,* to burn; or it is doubled and hardened into *kkei—e.g., paḍu-kkei,* a bed, from *paḍ-u,* to lie. The corresponding Canarese formatives are *ke* or *ge,* with not unfrequently the prefix of an euphonic *i.* The Telugu nouns which take this formative terminate in *ka* or *ki—e.g., ēli-ka,* government, from *ēl-u,* to govern, and *uni-ki,* residence, from *uṇḍu,* to be, to dwell.

ii. The *d* formative is in Tamil *di—e.g., keḍu-di,* ruin, from *keḍ-u,* to spoil. Being doubled and hardened it becomes *tti—e.g., uṇar-tti,* sensibility, from *uṇar,* to feel, to be sensible. This *tt* is

generally softened into *chi*—*e.g.*, *pugar-chi* (instead of *pugar-tti*, in Malayāḷam *pugar-cha*), praise, from *pugar*, to praise. This formative is *t* instead of *d* in Canarese and Telugu. It appears in Canarese under the forms of *ta* and *te*—*e.g.*, *hogaḷ-te*, praise, from *hogaḷ* (Tam. *pugar*), to praise; *kāy-ta*, producing fruit, from *kāy*, to fruit. In Telugu we find *ta* or *ṭa* and *ti* or *ṭi*—*e.g.*, *alasa-ta*, fatigue, from *alay-u* (*alas-u*), to be tired; *tiṇḍ-i*, food, eating, from *tin*, to eat; *mū-ta*, a lid, from *mū-yu*, to shut; and *naḍi-ti*, conduct, from *naḍu-chu*, to walk.

iii. The *b* formative is in Tamil generally softened into *v*—*i.e.*, *vi* or *vu*—*e.g.*, *kēḷ-vi*, hearing, from *kēḷ*, to hear, and *maṟei-vu*, concealment, from *maṟei*, to conceal. In some instances, however, *b* is euphonised into *mb* (*mbu*)—*e.g.*, *vē-mbu*, the Margosa tree, from *vē-y*, to be umbrageous; *pā-mbu*, a snake, from *pā-y*, to spring. *b* cannot retain its proper sound before a vowel, and when single either becomes *v* or *mb*; and that the *vu* which is so common a formative in each Dravidian dialect was softened from *bu*, appears from the circumstance that when it is doubled it becomes *ppu*—*e.g.*, *naḍa-ppu*, a walking, *iru-ppu*, a being, *mū-ppu*, old age. In Telugu this formative is *vu*, *vi*, or *pu*—*e.g.*, *chā-vu*, death, from *cha-chchu*, to die (corresponding Tam. and Can. *śā-vu*, from *śā*); *digu-vu*, the bottom, from *dig-u*, to descend; *teli-vi*, understanding, from *teli-yu*, to know; *chēru-pu*, nearness, from *chēr-u*, to draw near; *ēḍu-pu*, a weeping from *ēḍu-chu*, to cry (corresponding Tam. *aṛa-ppu*, from *aṛa*). Canarese generally uses in this connection *vu* alone—*e.g.*, *ira-vu*, a being, corresponding to the Tamil *iru-ppu*—but sometimes it uses also *pu*—*e.g.*, *biḍu-vu*, or *biḍu-pu*, an open space.

7. A few derivative nouns are formed in Tamil and Malayāḷam by affixing certain particles, originally independent nouns with a meaning of their own, which in process of time have come to be used conventionally. Such derivatives would naturally be considered compounds, were it not that the meaning of the second member of the compound is more or less in abeyance. Thus by suffixing *kaṇ*, the ordinary meaning of which is 'an eye,' but which in the classics means also 'place', and is the ordinary classical sign of the locative case, Tamil forms *iḍu-(k) kaṇ*, oppression, from *iḍ-u*, to press, also *uṟu-kaṇ*, poverty, from *uṟu*, to suffer. These words are used only in the classical dialect, but there are derivative nouns largely used in the colloquial dialect, which are formed by affixing *pāḍ-u*, a condition of being, from *paḍ-u*, to experience, and *mānam*, perhaps meaning originally likeness, from *mān-u*, to be like, but as actually used, merely a formative suffix, without any very definite

meaning of its own—*e.g.*, *kaṭṭu-(p)pāḍu*, a compact, from *kaṭṭu*, to tie; *śērmānam*, junction, from *śer*, to join; also *kaṭṭu-mānam*, building, from *kaṭṭu*, in the sense of 'build'. To these may be added words terminating in *agam*, house, place—*e.g.*, *vānagam* (*vān-agam*) = *vān-am* or *vān*, the sky; *veiyagam* (*vei-(y)agam*) = *vei-(y)am* or *vei*, the earth (from *vei*, to place, *vei-gu*, to rest). I have a suspicion, however, that in these cases the words end simply in *am*, and that *g* is inserted euphonically, as is certainly the case in the colloquial pronunciation of some words—*e.g.*, *andrāḍam*, daily, which is commonly mispronounced *andrāḍagam*; *lanjam* (a word borrowed from Telugu), a bribe, mispronounced *lanjagam*. Dr Gundert derives from this *agam* the Malayāḷam *nāragam*, an orange tree, literally, fragrance-holder, from *nāṟ-u*, Tam.-Mal. to be fragrant, Sans. *nāranga*.

The following will be found, I think, a complete list of Tamil derivative nouns formed by suffixing formative particles. I do not include in this list any participial nouns, whether derived from verbs or from appellatives, or any verbal nouns, properly so called, or any nouns of agency, a class of nouns which will be considered further on. The nouns in the list are derivative substantives; but there are three classes even of these which are not included—viz., nouns which are absolutely identical with verbal roots—*e.g.*, *nīḍu*, length, from *nīḍu*, to be long; nouns which are formed by doubling the final consonant of verbal roots—*e.g.*, *eṛuttu*, a letter, from *eṛudu*, to write; and nouns which are formed by lengthening the included vowel of the verbal root, without any other change—*e.g.*, *mīn*, a star, from *min*, to glitter. I include in this list only that class of derivative nouns which are formed by means of an addition to the root. The addition too is not one of an independent word—in which event we should have a new compound noun—but that of a mere particle, a relic doubtless of some old independent word, but at present holding the meaner position of a suffix, either without any meaning at all, or without any definite meaning now discoverable. A very large number of the nouns belonging to this class are used also as verbs. Though verbal derivatives in origin, and still used as such, they have become also secondary verbal themes. I have excluded such nouns as far as possible, retaining only those which are either never used as verbal themes, or at least very rarely. I have preferred also nouns derived, by the addition of a formative, from older nouns, where such could be had, to nouns derived from verbs for the purpose of keeping the list as clear as possible from verbal nouns, properly so called.

Formative.	Noun.	Root.
a	*mag-a*, a child.	*mag* (*pl. makkaḷ*).
	śey (*y*) *-a*, to do; type of infinitive, probably an old verbal noun.	*śey*, to do.
ā	*śuṟ-ā*, the shark.	probably *śuṟ-u*, quick.
	viṟ-ā, a festival.	*viṟ-i*, to keep awake.
i	*kar-i*, charcoal.	*kar-u*, black.
	śēr-i, a village.	*śēr*, to join.
ei	*piṟ-ei*, the waxing or waning moon.	*piṟ*, other, after; *piṟa*, to be born.
	tol (*l*) *-ei, trouble.*	*tol*, old.
gu	*nan-gu*, goodness.	*naḷ* (*nan*), good.
	piṟa-gu, afterwards.	*piṟ-a* (= *pin*), after.
ṅgu	*kiṟa-ṅgu*, a root.	*kiṟ-a* (=*kiṟ*), below.
	tī-ṅgu, evil.	*tī*, bad.
kku	*kiṟu-kku*, craziness.	*kiṟu-kiṟu*, giddy.
	koḍu-kku, a sting.	probably *koḍ-u*, crooked, cruel.
gei	*paṇḍi-gei*, a feast.	*paṇḍu*, Tam. ancient; *paṇḍu*, Tel. to be ripe, to be accomplished; ultimate root *par-u*, old.
	tiri-gei, a mill.	*tiri*, to turn.
ṅgei	*kā-ṅgei*, heat.	*kāy*, to burn.
kkei	*paru-kkei*, a pebble, a grain of rice.	*par-u*, large (= *per-u*).
	vāṟ-kkei, felicity (*il-vāṟ-kkei*, domestic life; *il*, house).	*vāṟ*, to flourish.
śi	*pā-śi*, moss, sea-weed.	*pā-vu*, to spread.
ñji	*koṟu-ñji*, a shrub.	*koṟ-u*, tender (*koṟu-nḍu*, a tender twig).
chchi	*irei-chchi*, flesh.	*iṟei*, to flow, issue.
śu	*tari-śu*, fallow land.	*tari*, to remain.
chchu	*amei-chchu*, the office of a minister.	*amei*, to settle.

FORMATIVE.	NOUN.	ROOT.
śei	*poli-śei*, interest.	*poli*, to increase.
ḍi	*pada-ḍi*, chaff.	= *padar*, chaff, the same.
ṇḍi	*kaṛa-ṇḍi*, a spoon, a trowel.	= *kaṛa-ṇei*, the same.
ḍu	*kuṛa-ḍu*, pincers.	*kuṛa-ṇḍu*, to be crooked, from *kuṛ-u*, short.
	kuru-ḍu, blindness.	*kur-u*, tender.
di	*uru-di*, strength.	*ur-u*, to be strong.
ndi	*ōndi*, a lizard.	= *ōdi*, the same.
tti	*paru-tti*, cotton.	*par-u*, to expand.
du	*paṛu-du*, defect.	*paṛ-u*, old.
ndu	*maru-ndu*, medicine.	*mar-u*, sweet-smelling.
ttu	*kuru-ttu*, young shoot of palm.	*kuru*, tender.
dei	*iṛu-dei*, a lie.	*iṛ-u*, to swerve.
ndei	*kuṛa-ndei*, an infant.	*kuṛ-a*, young.
	[Euphonic changes of the formatives *di*, *du*, and *dei*, after consonants.]	
di	*kāṭ-chi* (*kāṇ-di*), a spectacle.	*kāṇ*, to see.
	tēr-chchi (*tēr-di*), intelligence.	*tēr*, to ascertain.
	uṛal-chchi (*uṛal-di*), a whirling.	*uṛal*, to whirl.
	nan-dri (*nal-di*), a benefit.	*nal*, good.
	veṛ-ṛi (*vel-di*), victory.	*vel*, to conquer.
	pugaṛ-chchi (*pugaṛ-di*), praise.	*pugaṛ*, to praise.
	āt-chi (*āḷ-di*), possession.	*āḷ*, to possess.
	āṭ-ṭi (*āḷ-di*), a woman.	*āḷ*, a person.
du	*toṇ-du* (*tol-du*), *ton-dru* (*tol-du*), } antiquity.	*tol*, old.
dei	*peṭ-ṭei* (*peṇ-dei*), a hen.	*peṇ*, female.
	paraṭ-ṭei (*paraṇḍ-dei*), shagginess.	*paraṇḍu*, to scratch.
	toṇ-ḍei (*toḷ-dei*), the throat.	*toḷ*, to perforate.
	ūt-tei (*ūn-dei*), uncleanness.	*ūn*, flesh.

FORMATIVE.	NOUN.	ROOT.
n	*kaḍ-an*, debt (=*kaḍ-am*).	*kaḍ-u*, harsh ? *kaḍ-a*, to pass over.
	aṟ-an, virtue (=*aṟ-am*).	*aṟ-u*, to cut, to define.
bu	*mara-bu*, usage.	*mara*, ancient ?
	paṇ-bu, quality.	*paṇ*, fit for use.
	en-bu, a bone.	=*elum-bu*, the same.
mbu	*nara-mbu*, a vein, fibre.	=*nār*, fibre.
	iḍu-mbu haughtiness, oppression.	*iḍ-u*, to press.
ppu	*seva-ppu*, redness.	*se*, *sev*, red.
	kaṟu-ppu, blackness.	*kaṟ-u*, black.
ppei	*kala-ppei*, a plough.	=*kala-m*, a vessel.
am	*paṟ-am*, a ripe fruit.	*paṟ-u*, old, mature.
	nal-am, a benefit.	*nal*, good.
	[Illustrations of nouns ending in *am*, which double and harden the final consonant of the root before *am*.]	
g=*kk*+*am*	*ākk-am*, increase.	*āg-u*, to become.
ṅg=*kk*+*am*	*vīkk-am*, a swelling.	*vīṅg-u*, to swell.
ñj=*chch*+*am*	*achch-am*, fear.	*añj-u*, to fear.
ḍ=*ṭṭ*+*am*	*kūṭṭ-am*, a company.	*kūḍ-u*, to join.
ṇḍ=*ṭṭ*+*am*	*tōṭṭ-am*, a garden (=*toḍ-u*).	*tōṇḍ-u*, to dig.
nd=*tt*+*am*	*nītt-am*, swimming.	*nīnd-u*, to swim.
mb=*pp*+*an*	*virupp-am*, a desire.	*virumb-u*, to desire.
ām	*kuṟ-ām*, a company.	*kuṟ-u*, to gather together.
mei	*muṟei-mei*, order.	*muṟei*, a turn.
	ei-mei, closeness.	*ei*, to be close (the number five).
āy	*kuṟ-āy*, a tube.	comp. *kuṟ-i*, a hole.
	pā-y, a mat.	*pā-vu*, to spread.
ar	*śuḍ-ar*, brightness.	*śuḍ-u*, to be hot.
	pud-ar, a thicket.	*pud-u*, new, fresh.

FORMATIVE.	NOUN.	ROOT.
ār	*pug-ār*, fog.	*pug-u*, to enter.
ir	*kuḷ-ir*, cold.	comp. *kuḷ-i*, to bathe.
	ug-ir, a finger-nail.	*ug-u*, to shed.
rei	*kudi-rei*, a horse.	*kud-i*, to leap ?
	[I do not include amongst the following nouns ending in *al* verbal nouns properly so called, which retain the force of a verb, and may be preceded by a nominative. The nouns I cite as specimens are secondary forms of still more primitive nouns; or else the verbs from which they are formed are uncertain.]	
al	*pei-(y)-al*, a boy (=*peid-al*).	*pei*=*paśu*, green, fresh.
	uḍ-al, the body.	*uḍ-u*, to put on.
	puś-al, a hurricane (=*puyal*).	*puy*, to seize ?
	ur-al, a mortar.	=*ur-am*, strength.
	vay-al, a rice field.	*vei*, to place ?
	vaṇḍ-al, sediment at bottom of tanks.	?
alei	*śuḍ-alei*, a burning ground.	*śuḍ-u*, to burn.
	maṟ-alei, childhood.	*maṟ-a*, young.
	viḍud-alei (=*viḍu-ttal*), release.*	*viḍ-u*, to leave.
il	*mug-il*, a cloud.	comp. *mug-iṟ*, to fold up, as a flower its petals.
	toṭṭ-il, a cradle.	=*toṭṭ-i*, a trough.
	viṭṭil, a grasshopper.	*veṭṭ-u*, to cut, to clip ?
ul	*alg-ul*, the female waist.	*alg-u*, to diminish (ultimate base *al*, not).
vi	*kuru-vi*, a small bird.	*kur-u*, small, tender.
vu	*tura-vu*, a large well.	comp. *tuṟei*, a ford.
vei	*iḍa-vei*, a lane.	comp. *iḍ-am*, place.
	paṟa-vei, a large bird.	*paṟ-a*, to fly.

* *Talei*, head, place, is a good deal used in the classical dialect as a sign of the locative case; but the other words ending in *alei* = *al*, seem to show that *viḍudalei* is formed, not from *viḍu-talei*, but from *viḍudal-ei*. The form *viḍu-dal* is a verbal noun, properly so called, in common use.

FORMATIVE.	NOUN.	ROOT.
aṟ	*id-aṟ,* a petal of a flower.	?
	ag-aṟ, a fort ditch.	=*agaṟ,* to dig.
aḷ	*ad-aḷ,* skin.	?
uḷ	*ar-uḷ,* grace.	*ar-u,* to trickle down, to be precious.
	por-uḷ, substance, wealth.	*por-u,* to unite with.
uḷei	*ur-uḷei,* a wheel.	=*ur-uḷ,* a wheel.
ṟu	*kiṇa-ṟu,* a well.	=*kēṇ-i,* a well, a mine ?
	veḷi-ṟu, paleness.	*veḷ,* white.

4. *Nouns of Agency.*—The participial nouns of the Dravidian languages are largely used as nouns of agency ; but such nouns are also formed in each of the Dravidian dialects in a more direct and primitive manner by suffixing *i* to the verbal root—*e.g., uṇ* (*ṇ*) -*i* (Tam. and Can.), an eater, from *uṇ,* to eat; *kol* (*l*) -*i* (Tam. and Can.), a killer, from *kol,* to kill. The Dravidian languages in borrowing feminine derivative nouns from Sanskrit, change the final *ī* of the Sanskrit feminine into short *i*—*e.g., sunda-rī,* Sans. a fair woman, becomes *sundari.* But this final *i* of feminine derivatives, which is directly borrowed from Sanskrit, is not to be confounded with the more distinctively Dravidian *i,* by suffixing which nouns of agency or operation are formed, without reference to gender, whether masculine, feminine, or neuter. It is also to be distinguished from the *i* which in Sanskrit is sometimes used as suffix of nouns of agency, generally masculines—*e.g., kār-i-n,* a doer, *kav-i-s,* a poet, literally, a speaker, in borrowing which from Sanskrit, the Dravidian languages invariably reject the sign of the nominative, and use the crude theme (*e.g., kavi*) instead.

Possibly *i,* the Dravidian suffix of nouns of agency, may have sprung from the same origin as the *i* by which similar nouns are sometimes formed in Sanskrit; but it appears certain that it has not been directly borrowed from Sanskrit, and it does not appear even to have been introduced into the Dravidian languages in imitation of it. Its independence of a direct Sanskrit origin will sufficiently appear from the following statement of the manner in which it is used.

(1.) Dravidian nouns of agency formed by suffixing *i*, are destitute of gender; their gender depends entirely upon the connection—*e.g.*, *panei-(y)-ēṟ-i*, Tam. a Palmyra climber (from *panei*, a Palmyra, and *ēṟ-u*, to climb), may be considered as masculine, because men only are climbers of the palmyra; *maṉ-veṭṭ-i*, Tam. a native spade, a hoe (from *maṉ*, the ground, and *veṭṭ-u*, to dig or cut), is in like manner neuter by the necessity of the case; but both these nouns, and all similar nouns, when regarded from a grammatical point of view, are destitute of gender in themselves, and may be applied at discretion to objects of any gender.

(2.) Nouns of agency may be formed in this manner from primitive, underived nouns, as well as from verbal roots—*e.g.*, *nāṟ-kāl-i*, Tam. a chair, literally that which has four feet, from *nāl-u*, four, and *kāl*, a foot.

(3.) When nouns of agency are formed from verbs, the suffix is often added, not to the crude root, but to the conjugational theme, or that form of the root which appears in the infinitive and in the aorist—*e.g.*, *uṇg-i*, Tam. (as well as *uṇ(ṇ)-i*), an eater.

(4.) My chief reason for regarding this suffix as a true and ancient Dravidian form, and as not directly borrowed from Sanskrit, whatever may have been its ulterior relation to it, consists in the very extensive use which is made of nouns of agency formed by means of this suffix, not only in the Tamil classics, but also in the language of the peasantry. It appears in the names of plants and animals, in the names of many of the objects of nature, in old compounds, in proverbs, in nicknames, in the very highest and in the very lowest connections, and to a much larger extent in all these varieties of use, than in Sanskrit itself. The following Tamil examples cannot be supposed to have been derived from Sanskrit precedents:—*kaḷ(ḷ)-i*, euphorbia, from *kaḷ*, toddy, sweet sap; *veḷ(ḷ)-i*, silver, from *veḷ*, to be white; *pul-i*, the cheetah, or leopard, from *pul*, small; *ili*, a person or thing that has nothing, from *il*, not; *āṟ-i*, the sea, from *āṟ-u*, to be deep. Compare also the following compounds; *vaṟi-kāṭṭ-i*, a guide, literally, a way-shower; *vānam-bāḍ-i*, the lark, literally the heaven-singer; *toṭṭāl-vāḍ-i*, the sensitive plant, literally, if (one) touch, the witherer, or as we should prefer to say, touch-me-and-I-wither.

Adverbs.—It is unnecessary in a work of this kind to enter into the investigation of the Dravidian adverbs, for, properly speaking, the Dravidian languages have no adverbs at all. Every word that is used as an adverb in the Dravidian languages is either a noun,

declinable or indeclinable, or a verbal theme, or the infinitive or gerund of a verb; and illustrations of the manner in which those words acquire an adverbial force and of their use will be found in the ordinary grammars of each of the Dravidian dialects. Much use is made in each of the dialects of a peculiar style of adverb formed by means of reiterative, mimetic syllables, to which is added the verbal participle saying, or the infinitive to say, or so as to say. Thus *maḍa-maḍa (v) endru iḍi viṛundadu,* Tam. it thundered terribly, literally, the thunderbolt fell, saying *maḍa-maḍa.* These mimetic adverbs may be invented at pleasure, though some of them are so commonly used that they have acquired a place in dictionaries.

COMPARATIVE PARADIGM OF A DRAVIDIAN VERB. Where Languages contain two Dialects, a Higher or more Ancient, and a Lower or Colloquial, the Conjugational Forms here given are those of the Former.

Root: Tam. *śey*, to do; Mal. *chey*; Tel. *chēy-u*; Can. *gey*; Tuḷu, *malpu* (= Can. *māḍ-u*), to do or make; Coorg, *key*.

Affirmative Mood.—*Present Tense.*

	Tamil.	Malayalam.	Telugu.	Canarese.	Tulu.	Coorg.
I do.	*śeygindrēn, śey-gindranen*	*cheyyunnēn.*	*chēyuchun-nānu.*	*geydapem.*	*malpuve.*	*keyuvi, keyuvaḷe.*
Thou doest.	*śeygindrāy, śey-gindri, śeygin-dranei.*	*(cheyyunnāy).*	*chēyuchun-nāvu.*	*geydapay.*	*malpuva.*	*keyuvi.*
He does	*śeygindrān, śey-gindranan.*	*cheyyunnān.*	*chēyuchun-nāḍu.*	*geydapam.*	*malpuve.*	*keyuva, keyuvaḷa*
She does.	*śeygindrāḷ, śey-gindranaḷ.*	*cheyyunnāḷ.*	*chēyuchun-nadi.*	*geydapaḷ.*	*malpuvaḷ'.*	
It does.	*śeygindradu.*	*(cheyyunnadu).*		*geydapudu.*	*malpuṇḍu.*	
We do.	*śeygindrōm, śey-gindrēm, śey-gindrām, śey-gindranam.*	*cheyyunnōm, chey-yunnēṅṅaḷ.*	*chēyuchun-nāmu.*	*geydapevu, geydapem.*	*malpuva.*	*keyuva, keyuvaḷa.*
Ye do.	*śeygindrīr, śey-gindranir.*	*(cheyyunnīr).*	*chēyuchun-nāru.*	*geydapir.*	*malpuvar'.*	*keyuvira.*
(Persons) They do.	*śeygindrār, śey-gindranar.*	*cheyyunnār, cheyyunnōr.*		*geydapar.*	*malpuver'.*	*keyuva, keyuvaḷa.*

AFFIRMATIVE MOOD.—*Present Tense.*

	TAMIL.	MALAYALAM.	TELUGU.	CANARESE.	TULU.	COORG.
(Things) They do.	*śeygindra, śeygindrana.*	(*cheyyunnava*).	*chēyuchunnavi.*	*geydapuvu.*	*malpuva.*	*keyuva, keyuvaḷa.*
PRESENT VERBAL PARTICIPLES.						
Doing.	*śeya, śeyya* (also future).		*chēyuchu, chēyuchunnu.*	*geyutum, geyvutum, geyutte, geyyutte,* &c.	*maltoṇḍu.*	*keyuta, kejj'ṇḍ'.*
PRESENT RELATIVE PARTICIPLES.						
That does.	*śeygindra.* Tamil poets use also a present formed from *ānindru*—*e.g.*, *seyyānindrēn*, I do. Every termination taken by *gindru* is taken also by *ānindru.*	*cheyyunna.*	*chēyuchunna.*	*geyva* (also future). Instead of the regularly inflected form of the verb, *geygum* is also used in all genders, numbers, and persons, and for the past future, as well as the present tense.	*malpu.*	*keyuva* (also future).

Affirmative Mood.—*Past Tense.*

					Imperfect.	Perfect.	
I did.	*śeydēn, śeydanen.*	*cheyden, cheydanēn,*	*chēsitini.*	*geydem.*	*maḷte.*	*maḷt'de.*	*kejjam.*
Thou didst.	*śydāy, śeydi, śydei, śeydanei.*	*(cheydāyi).*	*chēsitivi.*	*geyday.*	*maḷta.*	*maḷt'da.*	*kejjiya.*
He did.	*śeydān, śeydanan.*	*cheydān, cheydanan.*		*geydam.*	*maḷte.*	*maḷt'de.*	*kejja, kejjana, kejjat'.*
She did.	*śeydāḷ, śeydanaḷ.*	*cheydāḷ.*	*chēsenu.*	*geydaḷ.*	*maḷtaḷ'.*	*maḷt'daḷ'.*	
It did.	*śeydadu.*	*(cheydadu).*		*geydudu, geyditu, geydattu.*	*maḷt'ṇḍ.*	*maḷt'd'ṇḍ'.*	*kejjat'.*
We did.	*śeydōm, śeydēm, śeydām.*	*cheydōm.*	*chēsitimi.*	*geydevu, geydem.*	*maḷtā.*	*maḷt'da.*	*kejjat'.*
	śeydanem, śeydanam.		*chēsitiri.*				
Ye did.	*śeydīr, śeydanir.*	*(cheydīr).*		*geydir.*	*maḷtar'.*	*maḷt'dar'.*	*kejjira.*
(Persons) They did.	*śeydār, śeydanar.*	*cheydār, cheydanar.*	*chēsiri.*	*geydar.*	*maḷter'.*	*maḷt'der'.*	*kejjat'.*
(Things) They did.	*śeyda, śeydana.*	*(cheydana).*	*chēsenu.*	*geyduvu.*	*maḷta.*	*maḷt'da.*	

Past Verbal Participles.

Having done.	*śeydu, śeybu, śeyyā. śeyyū, śeydena.*	*cheydu.*	*chēsi.*	*geydu.*	*maḷti.*	*maḷt'd', maḷt'di.*	*kejit'.*

PAST RELATIVE PARTICIPLES.

	TAMIL.	MALAYALAM.	TELUGU.	CANARESE.	TULU.	COORG.
That did.	*śeyda.* *N.B.*—Instead of the more fully developed preterite, the poets use also *śeydu* for I did, *śeydum* for we did.	*cheyda.*	*chesina.*	*geyda.* *geygum* also used in all genders, numbers, and persons, instead of the regularly inflected verb.	Imperfect. *malṭi* Perfect. *malṭ'd'*, *malṭ'di*	*kejja.*

AFFIRMATIVE MOOD.—*Future Tense.* (*Aorist.*)

	TAMIL.	MALAYALAM.	TELUGU.	CANARESE.	TULU.	COORG.
I will do.	*śeyvēn, śeyven, śeyvanen, śeyvan, śeyval.*	*cheyvēn, cheyvan.*	*chēyudunu.*	*geyvem.*	*malpe.*	*keyuvam.*
Thou wilt do.	*śeyvāy, śeyvi, śevei.*	(*cheyvāyi*).	*chēyuduvu.*	*geyvay.*	*malpa.*	*keyuviya.*
He will do.	*śeyvān, śeyvan, śeyvanan.*	*cheyvan, cheyvōn.*	..	*geyvam.*	*malpe.*	*keyu.*
She will do.	*śeyvāḷ, śeyvaḷ, śeyvanaḷ.*	*cheyvāḷ, cheyvaḷ*	*chēyunu.*	*geyvaḷ.*	*malpaḷ.*	
It will do.	*śeyyum, śeyvadu.*	*cheyyum.*	...	*geyvudu.*	*malpu.*	
We will do.	*śeyvōm, śeyvēm, śeyvām, śeyvam, śeyvanam, śeyvanem.*	*cheyvōm.*	*chēyudumu.*	*geyvevu, geyvem.*	*malpa.*	*keyuva.*

Ye will do.	*śeyvīr*, *śeyvanir*.	..	..	*geyvir*.	*malpar'*.	*keyuvira*.
(Persons.) They will do.	*śeyvār*, *śeyba*(*en*, to say, takes also *enmar*, *enmār*, *enmanār*.	*cheyvār*, *cheyvar*, *cheyvōr*. (*enmar* as in Tam.)	*chēyuduru*.	*geyvar*.	*malper'*.	*keyu*.
(Things.) They will do.	*śeygum*, *śeyva*, *śeyna*.	*cheyyum*.	*chēyunu*.	*geyvuru*.	*malpa*.	
Future Verbal Participles.						
About to do.	*śeyvān*.	*cheyvān*.	..	..	*maltondu* (also present).	*keyuta*, *kejj'nd'* (also present).
Future Relative Participles.						
That will do.	*śeyyum*; also the uninflected root *śey*. (1.) Instead of the more fully inflected form of the future, the poets also use *gu* and *du* in the first person sing. (and *gum* and *dum* in the plur.)—*e.g.*, *śeygu*, *śeydu*, I will do; *śeygum*, *śeydum*, We will do. See also the paradigm of the past tense. (2.) The poets also often insert *gu* between *śey* and the sign of tense—*e.g.*, *śeyguven* for *śeyvēn*, I will do; *śeyguva* for *śeyva*, they (neut.) will do.	*cheyyum* (*cheyva*).	*chēyu*.	*geyva* (also present).	*malpu* (also present).	*keyuva* (also present).

COMPARATIVE PARADIGM OF A DRAVIDIAN VERB—*Continued.*

IMPERATIVE MOOD.

	TAMIL.	MALAYALAM.	TELUGU.	CANARESE.	TULU.	COORG.
Do thou.	*śey, śeyyāy, śeymō śeydi** (*śeygu*).	*chey.*	*chēyumu, chēyumō, chēyi.*	*gey, geyya, geyvudu.*	*malpula.*	*keyi.*
Do ye.	*śeyyīr, śeymin, śeyminīr, śeydīr** (*śeygu*).	*cheyvin.*	*chēyuṅḍu, chēyuṅḍi.*	*geyyim, geyvudu.*	*malpule.*	*keyiri.*

INFINITIVE MOOD

	TAMIL.	MALAYALAM.	TELUGU.	CANARESE.	TULU.	COORG.
To do.	*śeyya, śeyga, śeyguba, śeyyiya.*	*cheyya, cheyga.*	*cheya.*	*geyya, geyyal, geyye.*	*malpuni*, present, to make. *maltini*, perf., to have made. *maltidini*, pluperf., to have had made. second infinitive or supine, *malpere*, to make.	*keyuvak*[a].

NEGATIVE MOOD.—*Aorist.*

(Common to all tenses, but most used with a future signification.)

	TAMIL.	MALAYALAM.	TELUGU.	CANARESE.	TULU.	COORG.
I do not, did not, or will not do.	*śeyyēn.*	*cheyyēn.*	*chēyanu.*	*geyyem.*	..	..
Thou do.	*śeyyāy.*	*cheyyā* (impers.)	*chēyavu.*	*geyyay.*	..	..
He do.	*śeyyān.*	*cheyyān.*	*chēyaṅḍu.*	*geyyam.*	..	..
She do.	*śeyyāḷ.*	*cheyyāḷ.*	*chēyadu.*	*geyyaḷ.*	..	..
It do.	*śeyyādu, śeyyā.*	*cheyyā* (impers.)		*geyyadu.*	..	..

C. 71

We do not, did not or will not do.	*śeyyōm, śeyyēm, śeyyām.*	*cheyyā* (impers.)	*chēyamu.*	*geyyeva, gey-yem.*	..	..
Ye do.	*śeyyīr.*	*cheyyā* do.	*chēyaru.*	*geyyir.*	..	..
(Pers.) They do.	*śeyyār.*	*cheyyār.*		*geyyar.*	..	..
(Things) They do.	*śeyyā, śeyyāvana.*	*cheyyā* (impers.)	*chēyavu.*	*geyyavu.*	..	..

NEGATIVE VERBAL PARTICIPLE.

Not doing, not having done, or not being about to do.	*śeyyā, śeyyādu, śeyyādē, śey-yāmal.*	*cheyyā, cheyyād' cheyyāde.*	*chēyaka.*	*geyyade.*	*malpande.*	*keyate.*

NEGATIVE RELATIVE PARTICIPLE.

That does not, did not, or will not do.	*śeyyā, śeyyāda.*	*cheyyāda, chey-yāde, cheyātta.*	*chēyani.*	*geyyada.*	*malpandi.*	*keyata.*

NEGATIVE IMPERATIVE.

Do not thou.	*śeyyādē, śeyyēl, śeyyal, śeyan-mō, śeyarka* (*n* and *r* for *l*).	*cheyyāyga* (deprecative, also infinitive).	*chēyakuma, chēyakumō, chēyaka.*	..	..	..

* I regard these two forms rather as preterites than as imparatives.

COMPARATIVE PARADIGM OF A DRAVIDIAN VERB—*Continued.*

NEGATIVE IMPERATIVE—*Continued.*

	TAMIL.	MALAYALAM.	TELUGU.	CANARESE.	TULU.	COORG.
Do not ye.	*śeyyādēyum, śeyāmin, śeyanmin, śeyarpīr;* also *śeyarka.*	*cheyyāyvin.*	*chēyakuṅḍu, chēyakanḍi,*	..	..	..
NEGATIVE MOOD—*Present Tense.*						
I do not.	*śeygindrilēn** (= *śeygindr'-ilēn*).	*cheyyāyinnu* (impers.)	..	..	*malpuji.*	*keya, keyule;* also future.
Thou doest not.					*malpuja.*	
He does not.	..				*malpuje.*	
She does not.	..				*malpujal'.*	
It does not.	..				*malpuji.*	
We do not.	..	*cheyyāyinnu* (impers.)	..	..	*malpuja.*	*keya, keyule;* also future.
Ye do not.	..				*malpujar'.*	
(Pers.) They do not.	..				*malpujer'.*	
(Things) They do not.	..				*malpuja.*	
NEGATIVE MOOD—*Past Tense.*						
					Imperfect. Perfect.	
I did not.	*śeydilēn, ceydēn-ilēn.*	*cheyyāññu* (impers.)	..	..	*maltiji. malt'diji.*	*kejjile.*
Thou didst not.	do.	*cheyyāññu* (do.)	..	..	*maltija. malt'dija.*	
He did not.	do.	*cheyyāññān.*	..	..	*maltije. malt'dije.*	
She did not.	do.	*cheyāññāl.*	..	..	*maltijal'. malt'dijal'.*	
It did not.	do.	*cheyyāññu* (impers.)	..	..	*maltiji. malt'diji.*	

NEGATIVE MOOD.—*Past Tense—Continued.*

We did not.	*śeydilēn, ceydēn-ilēn.*	*cheyāññu* (impers.)	..	..	*maltija. malt'dija.*	*kejjile.*
Ye did not.	do.	*cheyāññu* (do.)	..	..	*maltijar'. malt'dijar'.*	
(Pers.) They did not.	do.	*cheyāññār.*	..	..	*maltijer'. malt'dijer'.*	
(Things) They did not.	do.	*cheyāññu* (impers.)	..	..	*maltija, malt'dija*	

NEGATIVE MOOD.—*Future Tense.*

I will not do.	*śeyyalēn.*	*cheyyāyum, cheyyāyyu* (impers.)	..	..	*malpaye.*	*keya, keyule;* also present.
Thou wilt not do.	do.				*malpaya.*	
He will not do.	do.				*malpaye.*	
She will not do.	do.				*malpayal'.*	
It will not do.	do.				*malpand'.*	
We will not do.	do.	*cheyyāyum, cheyyāyu* (impers.).	..	..	*malpaya.*	*keya, keyule;* also present.
Ye will not do.	do.				*malpayar'.*	
(Pers.) They will not do.	do.				*malpayer'.*	
(Things) They will not do.	do.				*malpaya.*	

* This form is properly a compound, the negative portion of which is the conjugated noun *ilēn* or *ilan*, I am one who is not = I am not. It may be used in each number and person like any other conjugated noun.

COMPARATIVE PARADIGM OF A DRAVIDIAN VERB—*Continued.*

NEGATIVE VERBAL PARTICIPLES.

	TAMIL.	MALAYALAM.	TELUGU.	CANARESE.	TULU.	COORG.
Pres., Not doing.	See Neg. Aorist.	See Neg. Aorist.	..	..	See Neg. Aorist.	See Neg. Aorist.
Past, Not having done.	do.	*cheyāññu.*	..	..		
Fut., Not being about to do.	do.	*cheyyāyvān.*	..	..		

NEGATIVE RELATIVE PARTICIPLES

	TAMIL.	MALAYALAM.	TELUGU.	CANARESE.	TULU.	COORG.
Pres., That does not.	..	See Neg. Aorist.	..	..	See Neg. Aorist.	See Neg. Aorist.
Past, That did not do.	..	*cheyyāñña.*	..	..		
Fut., That will not do.	..	See Neg. Aorist.	..	..		

PART VII.

GLOSSARIAL AFFINITIES.

The comparison of the words of languages used to be conducted in so loose a manner, without definite principles, without regard to dialectic changes, and to the neglect of the comparison of grammatical forms and structure, that this branch of philology long fell into not undeserved disgrace. A comparative vocabulary, however carefully prepared, appears to me to be of much less philological value than a comparative grammar. Isolated nouns and verbs are very apt to get corrupted in the lapse of time, and to adopt one phase of meaning after another, till the original meaning is overlaid or forgotten; whilst declensional and conjugational forms—the bones and sinews of a language—retain for ages both their shape and their signification with greater persistency. Nevertheless, I regard the comparison of words, when carefully and cautiously conducted, as an important help to the determination of lingual affinities; and it will be found, I think, that the following vocabularies bear independent testimony, in their own degree, to the same result at which we arrived by grammatical comparison—viz., that the Dravidian idioms exhibit traces of an ancient, deep-seated connection with Præ-Sanskrit,—the assumed archaic mother-tongue of the Indo-European family,—whilst at the same time the traces they exhibit of relationship to the languages of the Scythian group, especially to the Ugrian tongues, are, on the whole, closer, more distinctive, and more essential.

SECTION I.—INDO-EUROPEAN AFFINITIES.

I. INDEBTEDNESS OF SANSKRIT TO THE DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES.

Before entering upon the comparison of Dravidian with Sanskrit words, it is desirabe to disentangle the subject from extraneous questions by a preliminary examination of words which appear to have been borrowed by Sanskrit from the Dravidian languages. I have long felt persuaded that some words of Dravidian

origin have found their way into Sanskrit vocabularies; and I have no doubt that a still larger number of words have been introduced into Sanskrit from various other extraneous sources. I have already discussed the question (in Part I., on "Sounds") whether it was from the Dravidian languages that the Sanskrit derived its "cerebral" or lingual consonants.

There is probably almost as large a proportion of Dravidian words in Sanskrit, as of British words in English: but this probability has generally remained unnoticed; and wherever any word was found to be the common property of the Sanskrit and any of the Dravidian tongues, it was at once assumed to be a Sanskrit derivative. Doubtless, the number of Sanskrit derivatives, properly so called, which have been introduced into the Dravidian languages, is very great; but those words are almost always recognised and admitted to be derivatives by Tamil and Telugu lexicographers, and carefully distinguished from *national* or native Dravidian words. In a few cases, as might be expected, but in a few cases only, some doubt exists whether a particular word was borrowed by the Sanskrit from the Tamil, or by the Tamil from the Sanskrit. Sanskrit lexicographers and grammarians were not always so discriminate as their Dravidian brethren; and if any writer had happened to make use of a local or provincial word, that is, a word belonging to the vernacular of the district in which he resided (and it was natural that such words should occasionally be used, for variety of metre or some other cause, especially after Sanskrit had ceased to be a spoken tongue), every such word, provided only it were found written in Sanskrit characters, was forthwith set down in the vocabularies as Sanskrit. Some words of Greek or Roman origin, such as *denarius*, ωϱα (*hōra*), λεπτόν (*lepton*), (in the sense of a minute of a degree), and even the Greek names of the signs of the Zodiac, have found their way into Sanskrit. If so, it may safely be concluded that a more considerable number of words belonging to the old Dravidian vernaculars must have obtained a footing in the Sanskrit vocabularies.

The grounds or conditions on which I think any word contained in the Sanskrit lexicons may be concluded to be of Dravidian origin, are as follows:—

(i.) When the word is an isolated one in Sanskrit, without a root and without derivatives, but is surrounded in the Dravidian languages with collateral, related, or derivative words; (ii.) when Sanskrit possesses other words expressing the same idea, whilst

the Dravidian tongues have the one in question alone; (iii.) when the word is not found in any of the Indo-European tongues allied to Sanskrit, but is found in every Dravidian dialect, however rude; (iv.) when the derivation which the Sanskrit lexicographers have attributed to the word is evidently a fanciful one, whilst Dravidian lexicographers deduce it from some native Dravidian verbal theme of the same or a similar signification, from which a variety of words are found to be derived; (v.) when the signification of the word in the Dravidian languages is evidently radical and physiological, whilst the Sanskrit signification is metaphorical, or only collateral; (vi.) when native Tamil and Telugu scholars, notwithstanding their high estimation of Sanskrit, as the language of the gods and the mother of all literature, classify the word in question as a purely Dravidian one;—when any of these reasons is found to exist, and more especially when several or all of them coincide, I conceive we may safely conclude the word in question to be Dravidian, not a Sanskrit derivative.

Words probably borrowed by Sanskrit from the Dravidian tongues.

akkā, a mother. For the wide Scythian relationship of this word, and proof of its derivation by the Sanskrit from the Indian vernaculars, see the list of Scythian Affinities. "Apparently a foreign word."—Williams' Sans. Dict. Comp. *Acca Larentia,* Lat. Mother of the Lares.

attā, atti, a mother, an elder sister, a mother's elder sister. See Scythian Affinities. "Probably a word borrowed from the Deccan."—Williams' Sans. Dict.

aṭavi, a jungle, a forest. The root of this word is represented by Sanskrit pandits to be *aṭ,* to roam, because a forest is a place where people and animals roam, which is evidently a fanciful derivation. All the Dravidian languages contain a primary root *aḍ,* the radical signification of which is nearness, closeness; and this monosyllabic root is modified and expanded so as to signify every variety of closeness. Amongst other derived words we have in Tamil *aḍar,* to be crowded, to grow thick together (like the trees of a forest); and there can be little doubt that it was from this verbal root, not from any native Sanskrit one, that *aṭavi* (in Tamil and Telugu *aḍavi*) was derived. Even the formative *vi* is one which is distinctively Dravidian—*e.g., kēḷvi,* Tam. hearing, from *kēḷ,* to hear.

aṇi, āṇi, the pin of the axle of a cart; derived, native pandits say, from *aṇ,* to sound. On comparing this word with the Tamil *āṇi,* a nail, a pin or peg of any kind, it sems evident that they are not different words, but one and the same; and the only question is, which is the original? The Tamil word is connected with a family of roots, each of which has a real affinity in signification to that of a nail, considered as a fastening—*e.g., aṇ-ei,* to embrace, to tie; *aṇ-i,* to put on; *aṇ-avu,* to cleave to; *aṇ-u,* to touch. The derivation of the Sanskrit word from this Dravidian root is, therefore, much more natural than that which Sanskrit pandits have devised. Dr Bühler derives *āṇi* (after the analogy of *pāṇi,* hand = *parni*) from the root *ar,* the original meaning of which was, he supposes, to fit. He compares also *ara,* a spoke. The Dravidian derivation seems to me preferable.

ambā, amba, father, mother; voc. *ambe, amba.* This word is found also in some of the Western Indo-European dialects—*e.g.,* Old High German and Oscan *amma;* Icelandic *amma,* grandmother; German *amme,* nurse. Notwithstanding this, it has so many collateral forms in the Dravidian languages, that I am inclined to believe it Dravidian. See illustrations of its Scytho-Indian character in the Scythian Affinities.

āli, a woman's female friend. Compare *āli,* Tel. a wife; *ālu,* a feminine affix; Gōnd, *ālī,* a wife.

kaṭuka, kaṭu, sharp, pungent, fierce; assumed Sanskrit derivation *kaṭ,* to go. The corresponding Dravidian word is in Tamil *kaḍ-u,* the root meaning of which appears to be 'excessive.' Dr Bühler derives *kaṭu* from *kṛit,* to cut, and thinks *kaṭu* stands for *kartu.* The word *kaṭu* is deeply rooted in Sanskrit, and is *à priori* unlikely to have been borrowed from the Dravidian tongues; and yet it can scarcely be doubted, I think, that its origin is Dravidian. Not only are the direct derivatives of this word more numerous in Tamil than in Sanskrit, but collateral themes and meanings are also very abundant, whereas in Sanskrit no correlative root exists. *kaḍ-u,* Tam. to be sharp, is one of a cluster of roots which are united together by a family resemblance. Some of those are *kaḍ-u-gu,* to make haste; *kaḍ-i,* to cut, to reprove; *kaḍ-i* (with another formative), to bite; *kaṟi,* probably identical with *kaḍi,* curry; *kaḍu-kaḍu* (a mimetic word), to appear angry; *kāḍu,* and also *kaḍam, kaḍaṟu,* a forest. Moreover,

the Sanskrit *kaṭuka,* pungent, appears to have been derived from the Tamil *kaḍugu,* mustard. Nouns formed from verbal themes in this manner, by suffixing the formative *ku,* pronounced *gu,* are exceedingly abundant in Tamil.

kalā, any practical art, mechanical or fine; assumed derivation *kal,* to sound, to count. Tamil makes use of the same word (*kalei* for *kalā*), but includes in the signification every science, as well as every art. We cannot, I think, doubt the derivation of *kalei* or *kalā* from the primitive Dravidian root *kal,* to learn (another derivative of which is *kalvi,* learning). The other meanings of the Sanskrit word *kalā* are so entirely unconnected with this, that it is evident that two different words spelled in the same manner (one of them Dravidian) have erroneously been supposed to be one and the same.

kāvēr-i, turmeric, also the river Kāvērī (Cauvery) (from its muddy colour): assumed root *kav,* to paint. Greek name of the same river, Χάβηρος (*Kabēros.*). Possibly this word may be of Sanskrit origin. I may suggest, however, the possibility of the origin of the name of the river Kāvērī, from the Dravidian *kāvi,* red ochre, or *kā* (*kā-vu*), a grove, and *ēr-u,* Tel. a river, or *ēr-i,* Tam. a sheet of water. A celebrated temple on the banks of the river exhibits this latter word *kā*—viz., Tiruvānei-(*k*)*kā,* near Trichinopoly, 'the sacred grove of the elephant.'

kuṭi, a house; related words *kuṭira, kuṭīra,* also *kuṭēra,* a cottage, a hut, and *kuṭumba,* a family: assumed derivation *kuṭ,* to be crooked. There can be little doubt of the derivation of *kuṭa-m,* a water-pot, from *kuṭ,* crooked; but the other words are probably of Dravidian origin. In Tamil *kuḍi* means a house, habitation; root *kuḍ,* to be together, a lengthened form of which is *kūḍ,* to come together; related Tamil words are *kuḍil* and *kuḍiśei,* a hut; a provincial form of the latter of which is *kuchchu.* In Tel. and Can. *guḍi* means a temple, and *guḍise.* In Can. also *guḍasal-u,* a hut. In Hindus. *guṭi* means a house. By native grammarians these words are considered to be of Dravidian origin; and the existence of the same root in all the Finnish tongues favours the supposition that it was not borrowed by the Dravidian languages from the Sanskrit. Compare the Finnish *kota,* Cheremiss *kuda,* Mordvin *kudo,* Ostiak *chot,*—each signifying a house. Was the Teutonic *cot, cote,* &c., also derived from this same Scythian or Finnish source?

kuṇi kūṇi, having a crooked or withered arm,—a cripple? Compare this with *kūn,* Drav. crook-back; a derivative from *kun,* to stoop, an undoubtedly Dravidian root, from which it seems probable that the Sanskrit *kuṇi* or *kūni* has been derived.

kūla, a pond or pool, also a bank; assumed derivation *kūl-a,* to cover. Compare the Tam.-Mal. *kuḷ-am,* and the Tel. *kol-anu,* a tank, a pool. The Tamil *kuḷ-am,* a tank, is derived from *kuḷ-i,* to bathe, ultimate root *kuḷ-u,* to be cold, a pure Dravidian root.

kōṭṭa, kōṭa, a fort, a stronghold; assumed derivation *kuṭ,* to be crooked. The Dravidian dialects make use of the same or a similar word for a fort, viz., *kōṭa* in Tel., *kōṭe* in Can., and *kōṭṭei* in Tam. Tamil having another and very ancient word for a stronghold, viz., *araṇ,* which is certainly a Dravidian root, it might be conjectured that *kōṭṭei* had been borrowed from the Sanskrit. But where did Sanskrit itself obtain this word? Probably from a Dravidian root after all; for we could not desire a better or more natural derivation than the Tam.-Mal. *kōḍ-u,* a line, a diagram, a line of circumvallation, which is sometimes used, especially in Malayāḷam, to denote also a walled town, a fortification—*e.g., Kōḷi-kōḍu,* Mal., Calicut. *kōḍu* itself is a verbal noun from *koḍ-u,* crooked, as in *koḍun-Damiṛ,* bad Tamil, literally crooked Tamil. *kōḍ-u,* when used adjectivally, becomes *kōṭṭ-u.*

khaṭvā, khaṭṭā, a couch, a cot; assumed derivation *khaṭṭ,* to screen. Compare the Tam.-Mal. *kaṭṭ-il,* a cot, from *kaṭṭ-u,* to tie or bind. The word *kaṭṭ-u* is thoroughly and essentially Dravidian, and one which abounds with derivatives and related words.

nānā, several, various, multiform. No good Sanskrit derivative for this word can be assigned. Bopp derives it from certain assumed obsolete demonstratives signifying this and that.

May it not have been derived from the Dravidian *nāl-u* (class. Tam. *nān-gu*), four, this numeral being constantly used in the Dravidian languages to signify several, various, or an indefinite number of moderate extent? By a corresponding usage the numeral ten is taken to represent any large indefinite number. Thus a Tamilian will say, I was told so and so by four persons—*i.e.,* by several persons; or, We must do as ten people do—*i.e.,* as the world does. A numeral adjective *nālā* (from *nāl-u,* four) is occasionally used in Tamil to signify various, though literally meaning fourfold.

The Tamil Dictionary gives us, as an instance of the use of *nālā*, one which is identical with the instance of the use of *nānā* given in the Sanskrit dictionaries, viz., *nālā vidam*, in various ways, literally in a fourfold way; with which compare the Sanskrit *nānā vidha*, in various ways. It must be mentioned, however, that Tamilians consider this *nālā* a mistake for the Sanskrit *nānā*. With respect to the Dravidian relationship of this word, the testimony of Tamil usage, such as it is, stands alone; for in the Tamil dictionaries, and also in the Canarese and Telugu dictionaries, *nānā* is regarded as Sanskrit.

nīra, water; assumed derivation *nī*, to guide. This derivation shows that the word was not familiar to the Sanskrit pandits. Bopp derives it from *nāra*, water, and that from *snā*, to bathe. *nīra* and *nāra* may have been originally identical, but a reference to the Dravidian languages will show that *nīra* must have been the older form. The Dravidian *nīr* may perhaps be traced to *nira*, Tam.-Mal. to be level, another derivative of which is *nēr*, Tam. straight. *nīra* is rarely used in Sanskrit in comparison with *ap* (connected with *aqua*), and *uda* (connected with *unda* and ὕδωρ) (*hudōr*). *jala*, another Sanskrit word for water, is supposed to have been borrowed from the Præ-Sanskrit northern vernaculars; whilst I have little doubt that to *nīra* a Dravidian origin should be ascribed. The corresponding Dravidian word is *nīr* or *nīr-u*; and as this is the only word properly signifying water which the Dravidian dialects possess, they cannot be supposed to have borrowed it from Sanskrit. Telugu ordinarily uses *nīḷḷu* for *nīru*—*i.e.*, the plural (*nīrulu*, corrupted to *nīḷḷu*) for the singular; but *nīru*, the singular, is also occasionally used. *nīr* is in Gōnd softened to *īr*, and in Brahui it has become *dīr*. Malayāḷam alone commonly uses for water another word, viz., *veḷḷum*, which properly means a flood. This word is used in Tamil to denote the water with which rice-fields are flooded; and it has probably thence come to signify water in Malayāḷam. Even in that dialect, however, *nīr* is also used. In Tamil the adjective *taṉ*, cool, is so frequently prefixed to *nīr*, that in the colloquial dialect the compound *taṉṉīr*, water, literally cold water, has superseded the original and simple noun. The Tamil *nīndu* (base *nī*), to swim, seems to be closely related to *nīr*, water. If so, it may have an ultimate relation with the Greek νέ-ω (*ne-ō*), Lat. *no*, *nato*, and also to *nau*, Sans. a boat. Pro-

bably *nīr* may also have some ulterior connection with the Greek νηρός (*nēros*), and ναρος (*naros*), wet (and through them with the modern Greek νηρό (*nēro*), water), though these words are supposed (and perhaps correctly) to be derived from ναω (*naō*), to flow.

paṭṭana, pattana, paṭṭa, a city, town, or village; assumed derivation *paṭ,* to surround. Beames derives it from *patra,* a leaf, thatch. The Dravidian languages have probably borrowed the word *paṭṭanam* as it stands, from Sanskrit; and yet, as in the case of *kōta,* a fort, it will be found, I think, that the Sanskrit word itself was derived originally from an older shape of the word retained in the Dravidian vernaculars. Professors Wilson and Williams conjecture that *paṭṭa* is probably identical with the *pettah* of Southern India; but the word from which I conceive it to have been derived is *paṭṭi,* a fold for cattle, a pound, a small village,—a word which constitutes the final portion or termination of the names of so many towns and villages in the south—*e.g., Kōvil-paṭṭi,* Temple-town. In Canarese the same word is *haṭṭi*—*e.g.,* Dim-hutty. The ultimate root of *paṭṭi* is probably *paḍu,* to settle down, to sink. Sanskrit seems to have adopted this word *paṭṭi,* in addition to its own *pura* (which is a true Indo-European word), and formed from it first *paṭṭa,* and then *paṭṭana.*

The word *pettah,* a suburb (Tam. *pēṭṭei*), which is referred to by Wilson and Williams, belongs probably to the same root as *paṭṭi,* though it is not so likely to have been the origin of the Sanskrit *paṭṭam.* *pēṭṭei* is derived from *pēḍu,* Tam. a suffix to the names of villages; which, again, is identical with *pāḍu* and *pāḍi,* a place, a settlement, from *paḍu,* to settle down, each of which is suffixed to names of villages like *pēḍu.*

panno, Prakrit, gold. This word is supposed by Ellis to be derived from the Sanskrit *suvarṇa.* May it not have been adopted into Prakrit from the Tamil *pon,* or the Telugu *ponn-u,* gold?

palli, a city, a town, a village, especially an agricultural village. This is without doubt identical with the Dravidian word *paḷḷi,* which is added to various names of places in the south —*e.g.,* Trichinopoly, properly Tiriśirāppaḷḷi, "the city of the three-headed Asura." The Dravidian origin of this word is indicated, if not proved, by the circumstance that it is chiefly, if not exclusively, used to denote places which are

within the limits of the Dravidian tongues. From this word I derive the word *paḷḷa*, the name of the principal tribe of agricultural labourers or serfs in the Tamil country.

bhaj, to share.

bhāg-a, a portion. I am doubtful whether to regard these words as derived from the Tamil *pag-u*, to divide, to share, or to suppose both the Sanskrit and the Tamil to be derived from a common and earlier source. Probably the former supposition is in this case the more correct. At all events the Tamil-Malayāḷam *pag-u* is a pure, underived Dravidian root. A noun formed from it, signifying a share, is *paṅg-u* (*ṅg* for *g*, as is often the case) ; and a collateral root is *pag-ir*, meaning also to share. The Sanskrit word *paṅgu* means lame, and is altogether unconnected with the Tamil one. Other derived nouns are *pagal*, a division, daylight; *pāl* (= *pagal*), a portion; and *pādi* (*pagudi*), half.

mīna, a fish; assumed derivation *mī* (*mīnāti*), to hurt.

The Dravidian word for fish in *mīn*, a word which is found in every dialect of the family, and is the only word signifying fish which these languages possess. *mīn* is found even in the small list of Dravidian words contained in the Rāj-mahāl dialect. Gōnd has *mīnd*. It seems much more probable that the Sanskrit-speaking people borrowed this word from the Indian aborigines, and then incorporated it in their vocabulary with other words signifying the same object, than that the Dravidian inhabitants of the Malabar and Coromandel sea-boards were indebted for the word which denoted so important an article of their food and commerce, to a race of inland people coming from the North-West. Moreover, the derivation of *mīn*, which is supplied by the Dravidian languages, is as beautiful as the Sanskrit derivation is uncouth. The root of *mīn*, a fish, is *min*, to glitter, to be phosphorescent. Hence the glow-worm is *min-mini* by reduplication; and *mīn*, a verbal noun which is formed from *min* by the lengthening of the included vowel (like *tīn*, food, from *tin*, to eat), signifies in poetical Tamil a star, as well as a fish—*e.g.*, *vān-mīn*, a star (literally a sky-sparkler) ; and *aṟu-mīn*, the Pleiades—*i.e.*, the six stars. Who that has seen the phosphorescence flashing from every movement of the fish in tropical seas or lagoons at night, can doubt the appropriateness of denoting the fish that dart and sparkle through the waters, as well as the stars that sparkle in the midnight

sky, by one and the same word—viz., a word signifying that which glows or sparkles ?

valaksha, white ; assumed derivation *vala*, to go. May not this word be derived from the Dravidian *veḷ*, white ? Compare also the relative Dravidian words *veḷi*, space, the open air ; *veḷḷi*, silver ; *veḷichcham*, light. The Hungarian *vilāg*, a light, appears to be an allied word. Has the Slavonian *veli*, white, been borrowed from a Scythian source ? or is it one of those ultimate analogies which bind both families together ?

val-a, to surround.

valaya-m, a circlet, a bracelet. The Dravidian languages seem to have borrowed the Sanskrit noun, with or without modification ; but the verb from which the noun has been formed was itself, apparently, borrowed by Sanskrit from the Dravidian languages. The corresponding Dravidian root is *vaḷ-ei*, to bend, to crook, metaphorically to surround. This word has a larger store of secondary meanings and wider ramifications than the Sanskrit verb. It is also used as a noun, without any formative addition, when it signifies a hole, a sinuosity—*e.g.*, *eli-vaḷei*, Tam. a rat-hole. Whilst the Tamil makes occasional use of the Sanskrit *valayam*, a bracelet, an armlet, it also uses *vaḷeiyal*, a verbal noun formed from *vaḷei*, its own verbal root, to signify the same thing. Taking these various circumstances into consideration, I conclude that the Dravidian verb has certainly not been borrowed from the Sanskrit, and that the Sanskrit verb has probably been derived from the Dravidian.

valgu, handsome.

valguka, sandal-wood. This word seems to resemble the Tamil-Malayāḷam *aṛagu* (pronounced *aḷagu*), beauty.

śava, a corpse.

śāva, adj., relating to a dead body.

These words are said to be derived from *sav*, to go ; but this derivation is surely much less probable than the Dravidian verbal root to die, which is *śā* in Tam.; *chā*, Mal. ; *śā*, Can. ; *sei*, Tuḷu ; *cha-chu*, Tel. ; Tel. infinitive, *chāvaḍama*. The vowel of *śā* is short in Telugu ; and in Tamil, Malayāḷam, and Canarese is short in the preterite tense. *śā* is undoubtedly a pure Dravidian root. Compare the Samoïede *chawe*, dead. Probably also the Sanskrit *shei* (*śāyati*), to waste away, and *shō*, to be destroyed, have some ulterior connection with it.

śukti, a curl. Tam. *śuttru*, Can. *śuttu*, Tel. *chuṭṭu*, anything round, as a ring, a coil, a roundabout way. Root, *śuttru*, to go round.

sāya, the evening; assumed derivation, *sō*, to destroy, to put an end to. The Tamil-Malayāḷam *śāy*, to lean, to incline (a pure Dravidian word), seems to be a much more natural derivation, the evening being the period when the sun inclines to the west.

In the foregoing list of Dravidian words which have found a place in the vocabularies of Sanskrit, I have not included the names of various places and tribes in Southern India which are mentioned in the Sanskrit historical poems, and which have, in consequence, found a place in the dictionaries. In general, the vernacular origin of those words is admitted by Sanskrit lexicographers. In one case, however, a Sanskrit origin has erroneously been attributed to a Dravidian word of this class. Malaya, a mountain or mountainous range in Southern India, is represented as being derived from *mal*, Sans. to hold or contain (sandal-wood). The real origin is unquestionably the Dravidian *mal-a*, *mal-ei*, a hill or mountain, and also a hilly or mountainous country; and the range of mountains referred to under the name of Malaya is doubtless that of the Southern Ghauts or the Malayāḷam country, which was called Male by the later Greek and early Arabian geographers.

The indebtedness of Sanskrit in some particulars to the Dravidian languages seems now to be generally admitted. Professor Benfey says, in his "Complete Sanskrit Grammar," p. 73 (I quote from Dr Muir's translation, "Sanskrit Texts," Part II., p. 461)—"Sanskrit is a language of great antiquity and of wide diffusion. Long after it had ceased to be vernacularly spoken, it continued to be employed as the organ of culture and religion, and in this capacity it prevailed over extensive regions where there existed alongside of it, not merely a variety of dialects which had been developed out of it, but also several popular dialects which were originally quite distinct from it. From these circumstances it has resulted, not only that forms which have been admitted into the Prakrit dialects have been afterwards adopted into Sanskrit, but, further, that words which were originally quite foreign to the Sanskrit have been included in its vocabulary. To separate these foreign words will only become quite possible when an accurate knowledge of the dialects which have no affinity with Sanskrit shall have been attained."

Dr Gundert, the eminent Dravidian scholar, has turned to good account his "accurate knowledge of the dialects" referred to by Professor Benfey. He expresses himself thus (in an article on the "Dravidian elements in Sanskrit," contained in the *Journal of the German Oriental Society for* 1869)—"It might have been expected beforehand that a great many Dravidian words would have found their way into Sanskrit. How could the Aryans have spread themselves all over India without adopting a great deal from the aboriginal races they found therein, whom in the course of thousands of years they have subdued, partly by peaceful means, partly by force, and yet imperfectly after all up to this day? In like manner no one can study the Dravidian languages without perceiving that Aryan elements are so deeply imbedded in them that their original nature can be discovered only with difficulty. Long labour and careful comparison of the principal dialects are needed to bring those elements to light. In the beginning of the investigation it may appear easy to distinguish what has been borrowed. Soon, however, it appears how wonderfully the Aryan elements have spread themselves in every direction, so that they present themselves nowadays in the strangest disguises, and often go far to lead the inquirer astray. Something similar to this appears in Sanskrit also. Dravidian words have not only got themselves naturalised therein, but have allied themselves so intimately to similarly sounding words, that through the passion for etymologising and the overvaluing of their sacred tongue by which the Brahmans are distinguished, they either derive those words anyhow from genuine Aryan roots, or cut the knot by representing the Dravidian roots themselves as Sanskrit. We scarcely ever meet in India a native philologist who would be willing to acknowledge the existence of Dravidian elements in Sanskrit; whilst we meet with many, at least in Malabar, who boldly take upon themselves to derive from corruptions of the Sanskrit the whole of the Dravidian vocabulary, and even Arabic and European names. We Europeans, on the other hand, look simply at the nature of the case. Where peoples speaking differing languages are in constant intercommunication with one another—when they trade or fight with one another, and have many joys and sorrows in common, they naturally borrow much from one another, without examination or consideration. And this must have happened to the greatest extent in the earliest times, when those nations still stood face to face in their primitive condition.

"It might be anticipated, therefore, that as the Aryans penetrated further and further to the south, and became acquainted

with new objects bearing Dravidian names, they would as a matter of course adopt the names of those things together with the things themselves."

Selections from Dr Gundert's list of words which he thinks have probably been borrowed by Sanskrit from the Dravidian languages.

Urunḍa, the name of a demon, round or rolling, from *uruḷ* (pret. *urunḍu*), to roll.

ēḍa, eḍaka, a sheep or goat; Drav. *āḍu.* a sheep or goat; root *āḍu,* to frisk; Tuḷu *ēḍu.*

karabāla, karavāla, a sword; compare Drav. *kai-vāḷ,* a hand-sword; *vāḷ,* a sword, may be from *vaḷ,* to bend.

Karṇāṭaka, Kar-nāṭ-agam, interior of the black country, from *kar,* black, *nāṭ* (*nāḍu*), country, and *agam,* interior—the black cotton soil of the Dekkan. *nāḍu* means properly the cultivated country, from *naḍ-u,* to plant.

kunḍa, a hole; Tam. *kunḍu;* Tel. *gunḍa;* Can. *kuni;* Tam. *kuṛi.*

kurkura, a dog; Drav. *kura,* to make a noise; ultimate root *ku,* to cry.

kēyūra, a bracelet worn on the upper arm; Drav. *kei,* hand, arm, *uṛu,* to be used.

kōkila, the cuckoo; Drav. *kuyil.* The Dravidian word is generally regarded as a corruption from the Sanskrit. Probably neither word is derived from the other, but each is mimetic. Drav. root *ku,* to cry, with the formative *il,* place.

ghōṭa, a horse; Tel. *gurram.* Compare Tam. *kudirai,* a horse, probably from *kudi,* to leap. (See my own list.)

champaka, the Michelia champaka, a tree with a yellow fragrant flower. Also *jambu,* the rose-apple; Drav. *śembu,* red.

nāranga, the orange; Drav. *nār,* to smell; Mal. (*nārañña*) *naraṅgāy* (*kāy,* fruit), an orange. Compare also, however, Sans. *nāgaranga,* an orange.

piṭa, piṭaka, a large basket; Drav. *piḍ,* to catch, to hold.

putra, son; Drav. root *pud,* new?

punnāga, a tree from the flowers of which a yellow dye is prepared; Drav. *pon,* gold.

pēṭa, a basket; Drav. *peṭṭi,* a box or basket; root, Tel. *peṭ,* to place. [*piḍ,* to hold, contain.]

phala, fruit; Drav. *paṛam, paḷam,* ripe fruit; root *paṛ,* to become old. (Tel. *panḍu* is from the same root.)

marutta, a medicine-man, a sorcerer; Drav. *marundu* (oblique *maruttu*), medicine.

markaṭa, a monkey; Drav. root *mara*, a tree.

muktā, a pearl; Prakrit *muttā*; Tam. *muttu*. Probably both Sanskrit and Tamil words are from *mut*, the equivalent of Tamil *mudal*, first; root *mu* or *mi*, to be first—the *first* of gems.

Bhillas, probably *Billas*, from the Drav. *vil*, *bil*, a bow, bowmen.

rātri, night; Drav. *irā*, *iravu*; Tel. *rē*; root, *ir*, to be dark (*ir-uḷ*, darkness).

virala, loose; Tam.-Mal. *viral*, expansion, from *viri*, to expand.

hēramba, a buffalo; Drav. *eruma*, *erma*.

śringavēra, ginger. The whole of this word seems to be Dravidian. Ginger is in Tamil and Malayāḷam *inji* or *inchi*, and this word seems to have commenced with *s* originally, as in Canarese the parallel word is *śūnti*. (See *Indian Antiquary*, Nov. 1872, contribution by Dr Burnell.) In earlier times, Dr Burnell says, the Greeks procured this article almost exclusively from Malabar. *inchi*, ginger, would naturally take the addition of *vēr*, the Dravidian word for root (from *vir*, to expand); also Sans. *vēra*, saffron. *vēra* in both words seems to have been intended to mean a bulbous root.

Dr Gundert adduces many other words which I do not insert here, as they appear to me too conjectural. I am doubtful indeed whether much dependence can be placed on several of the words I have quoted.

The following additional illustration, however, which he gives in a different connection, is worthy of consideration. The Sanskrit *rūpa*, form, is in Tamil *uruvam*, *uruvu*, which seem undoubtedly *tadbhavas*. But there is also in Tamil an independent verb, *uru*, to be firm, solid, &c., of which another shape is *uṟu*; and from this *uṟu* comes the Tamil noun *uṟuppu*, a member of the body, the body itself, a form—*e.g.*, the sign of a case is called the *uṟuppu?* of the case. Dr Gundert does not doubt that the Sanskrit *rūpa* is derived from this Dravidian *uṟuppu*, even though *uruvu* may be a *tadbhava* of *rūpa*.

The following instances of words probably borrowed by Sanskrit from the Dravidian languages are selected from a list of such words beginning with *a*, *ā*, contained in an article by Mr Kittel in the *Indian Antiquary* (No. for August 1872) on "The Dravidian Element in Sanskrit Dictionaries."

aṭṭa, an upper loft; Drav. *aṭṭa*, the same; root *aḍ*, to place one thing upon another.

aṭṭa, boiled rice, food; Drav. *aḍ*, to cook, past participle *aṭṭa*.

aṭṭa (properly *haṭṭa*), a market, a market-place; Drav. *haṭṭa* (*haṭṭi*), a hamlet, properly *paṭṭi*. See *paṭṭanam* in my list.

ām, yes; Drav. *ām,* yes, literally it is or will be, the aorist future (neuter singular) of *ā-gu,* to become.

āra-kūṭa, brass, a combination of metals; Drav. *kūṭṭa,* union; root *kuḍ,* to join.

āṭa, āḍa, as a suffix, playing with, tending after—*e.g., vāchāṭa,* talkative; Drav. *āḍu,* to play, to use.

āla, as a suffix, possessing—*e.g., Malayāla,* mountain possessing, *aśvavāla,* horse possessing; Drav. *āḷ,* to possess.

āli, a ditch; Drav. *āḻi,* a deep place; root *āl,* to be deep.

A few words are appended by Mr Kittel which do not begin with *a.* I quote those that have not been adduced already.

pālana, the milk of a cow that has recently calved; Drav. *pāl,* milk.

valli, a creeper; Drav. *vaḷḷi,* the same; root *vaḷ,* to bend, to surround.

mukura, mukula, a bud; Drav. *muguḷ;* root *mug,* to shut up as a flower.

kuṭa, an earthenware vessel; Drav. root *kuḍ,* to take in, receive.

kuṭhara, an axe; Drav. *kaḍi,* to cut.

The other words adduced by Mr Kittel appear to me to belong, not to the class of words actually borrowed by Sanskrit from the Dravidian languages, but to that of words which are the common property of both families. This is shown by the number of Mr Kittel's illustrations derived from one initial vowel alone to be a very large class; and it is evident that in many instances the Dravidian use of the word, or its relationships, throws light on the use of the word in Sanskrit.

2. Sanskrit Affinities.

I now proceed to point out the existence of another class of Sanskrit affinities in the vocabularies of the Dravidian languages. The words contained in the following list are true, underived Dravidian roots, yet they seem to be so closely allied to certain Sanskrit words, that they may reasonably be concluded to be the common property of both families of tongues. Possibly one or two words may have been borrowed at an early period by the one language from the other; but in most cases, if not in every case, there is a preponderance of evidence in favour of the mutually independent origin of both the Sanskrit word and the Dravidian one, from a source which appears to have been common to both. The various words appear to be too deeply seated in each family of languages, to have too many ramifications, and (whilst they retain a family likeness) to differ too widely, either in sound or

in signification, to allow of the supposition of a direct derivation of the one from the other. Moreover, notwithstanding the general resemblance of the Dravidian words contained in the following list to the Sanskrit ones with which they are compared, and notwithstanding the prejudice of native grammarians in favour of everything Sanskrit, these words are invariably regarded by native scholars as independent of Sanskrit, and as underived (*dēśya*) national Dravidian words. Consequently, if a connection can be traced, as I think it can, between these words and the corresponding Sanskrit ones, it must be the connection of a common origin. I place in another and subsequent list those Dravidian words which appear to be more directly allied to Greek or Latin, Persian, or some other extra-Indian member of the Indo-European family, than to Sanskrit. In this list I place those Dravidian words which appear to be allied to the Sanskrit alone, or more directly to Sanskrit than to any other Indo-European language; and it is remarkable how few such words there are, compared with those of the other class. A comparison of the two following lists will, I think, lead to the conclusion that the Indo-European elements contained in the Dravidian languages were introduced into those languages before Sanskrit separated from its sisters, or at least before Sanskrit, as a separate tongue, came in contact with the Dravidian family.

The Dravidian words which follow are quoted from Tamil, if it is not expressly mentioned that it is otherwise. Where it is certain that the final vowel or syllable of a Dravidian word is no part of the root, but is a separable formative accretion, or a particle which has been added merely for euphony, or for the purpose of facilitating enunciation, I have separated such vowel or syllable from the genuine portion of the word by a hyphen.

Words which appear to be the common property of Sanskrit and the Dravidian tongues.

aḍi, to strike, to beat, to kill.

ud-ei, to kick, to stamp; *uḍ-ei*, *oḍ-i*, to break. Comp. *uṭh*, *ūṭh*, Sans. to strike, to knock down.

aḍ-ei, to get in, to attain, to possess. Comp. *aḍ*, Vedic-Sans. to pervade, to attain.

an-u, Tel., *en*, Tam., to speak, to say. Comp. *aṇ*, Sans. to sound.

ar-u, to be scarce, precious, dear. Comp. Sans. *arh*, to deserve; *argha*, value.

ūr-u, to creep; in the higher dialect of the Tamil, to ride (as in a palanquin). Comp. Sans. *ur*, to go.

kaḍ-a, to pass by or over. Comp. *kaṭ,* Sans. to go.

kaḍ-u, to ache, to be hot, pungent, fierce, swift. This is one of a cluster of roots united together by a family resemblance. Some of these are the following:—*kaḍ-i,* to bite; *kaḍ-i* with another formative, to cut, to reprove; *kaḍ-u-gu,* to make haste; *kaṟ-i* (probably identical with *kaḍ-i*), curry; *kaḍu-kaḍu,* an intensitive form of *kaḍ-u. kaḍ-am, kaḍ-aṟu,* more commonly *kāḍ-u,* a forest; *kaḍ-u-gu,* mustard. Supposing *kaḍ-u* to have meant originally to be excessive, or to have acquired that meaning, another root will then appear to be related to it, viz., *kaḍ-a,* to pass; Sans. *kaṭ,* to go. Comp. Sans. *kaṭu, kaṭuka,* sharp, pungent, vehement; assumed root *kaṭ,* to go. Dr Bühler's derivation of *kaṭu* (in his paper on the origin of the linguals of the Sanskrit, see p. 35), from *kṛit,* to cut (*kartu* = *kaṭu*), seems much more probable; and supposing this derivation to be correct, the connection between the Sanskrit and the Dravidian words turns out to be one of primary, and not merely of secondary, meanings. The word *kaṭu* is deeply rooted in Sanskrit, and is unlikely to have been borrowed from another tongue. It is still more unlikely that the Dravidian languages borrowed the word from Sanskrit. Not only are the direct derivaties of this word more numerous in Tamil than in Sanskrit, but collateral themes and meanings also abound, whereas in Sanskrit no collateral root exists. It seems therefore clear that this root, meaning primarily to cut or bite, must have been the common property of both Sanskrit and Tamil. Probably the Sanskrit secondary word *kaṭuka,* pungent, mustard, has been directly derived from the Tamil *kaḍu-gu,* mustard; nouns like this, formed by appending *gu* to the verbal theme, being specially characteristic of Tamil.

kaṛudei, an ass; Tel. *gāḍide,* Can. *katte.* Comp. Sans. *khara,* an ass. The Sanskrit word is borrowed and used by the Tamil poets; but it is never confounded with *kaṛudei,* which is considered to be a purely Dravidian word. Nevertheless, *kaṛudei* appears to be allied to *khara* in origin, and also to the Persian *char,* and Kurdish *kerr.* Comp. the Laghmani *kara-tik,* a female ass.

Kinna, Can. small, Tuḷu *kini,* Tel. *chinna,* Tam. *śinna.* Comp. *kaṇa,* Sans. a minute particle; also *kanīka, kanīya,* small, young. There is no doubt of the Tamil *śinna* having been softened from *kinna;* but I have some doubt whether the *n* has not

been corrupted from ṟ, for the ultimate root to which *śinna* is referred by Dravidian scholars is *śiṟ-u*.

key, Coorg, to do; Tuda *kei*, Kota *kē*, Gōnd *kī*, Old Can. *gey*, Coll. Can. *gēy*, Tel. *chēy*, Mal. *chey*, Tam. *śey*.

kei, hand; all Dravidian dialects. Telugu has in addition *kēḻu* and *chey-i* or *chēy-i*.

The harder form is probably the more ancient; hence the words we have to compare with corresponding words in other languages are *key*, to do, and *kei*, hand. It cannot be doubted that these words were originally identical, like *kar*, to do, and *kar-a*, hand, in Sanskrit. *key* would naturally become *kei*, of which we see an appropriate instance in *gei-du*, having done, in colloquial Canarese, which is the shape the older and more classical *gey-du* has taken. Though it seems certain that these words were originally identical, it does not seem quite so clear which of the two meanings, 'to do' or 'the hand,' was the original one. It would be very natural to call the hand the doer; on the other hand, 'to do' is an abstract word, which cannot well have come into use until a large number of doings and doers had been provided with special names. Some word for hand would be required at a much earlier stage, and it is conceivable that to do meant first of all to use the hand.

Compare these words with *kar* (*kṛi*), Sans. to do, and *kar-a* hand. The *k* of *kṛi* is changed to *ch* in some of the tenses of the verb (*e.g.*, *chakāra*, I did), just as we have seen above that the Dravidian *k* changes (still more systematically) into *ch*. The *r* of *kar* (or *kṛi*) always retains its place in Sanskrit; and it appears in the corresponding Zend *kar*, to make (*e.g.*, *karōiti*, he made; compare Sans. *karōti*, he does), and also in those western Indo-European languages in which this root appears—*e.g.*, Irish *caraim*, (I perform). It is retained in the New Persian *kar* (*kardam*, I did), but seems to have disappeared in the Old Persian *ki*, to do, and also in some inflexional forms in the North Indian vernaculars—*e.g.*, Prakrit *ka-da*, and Maṟathi *kē-lā*, made, the former supposed to be a weakening of *kar-da* or *kra-da*, the latter for *karilā*. The included vowel of *kar*, Sans. changes in some inflexions to *kur*. Though there are traces of the existence of *kar*, to do, in most, if not all, of the Indo-European languages, it is not certain that there are any traces of *kar-a*, hand. The Greek χείϱ (*cheir*) (gen. χεϱ-ός) (*cher-os*), and the Old Latin *kir*,

hand, are supposed to be connected rather with *har* (*hṛi*), to take, than with *kar* (*kṛi*), to do. The Sanskrit *śaya*, lying down, one of the meanings attributed to which is 'hand', seems to me to have no connection either with *kar-a* or the Dravidian *kei* (Tel. *chey*). But it seems impossible to avoid the conclusion that between the Sanskrit pair of words, *kar*, to do, and *kar-a*, the hand, and the Dravidian pair, *key*, to do, and *kei*, the hand, a close connection subsists. The existence of *kar*, to do or make, in Zend, shows that the Sanskrit word was not borrowed from the Dravidian; besides which, it occupies too important a place in Sanskrit to allow that supposition to be entertained. It is equally impossible to suppose that the Dravidian languages borrowed *key*, to do, and *kei*, hand, from Sanskrit. *kei*, hand, is found in every Dravidian dialect, however rude; and *key*, to do, or its equivalents, is found in every dialect except the Tuḷu, which shows by its retention of the noun *kei* that it must originally have possessed the verb also. Each of these words *key* and *kei* holds as essential a place in the Dravidian languages as *kar* and *kar-a* in Sanskrit, and each of them has developed a host of derivatives and compounds. The Sans. *kara*, hand, and *karma*, work, are freely borrowed by the Dravidian dialects; but these words are never confounded with their vernacular equivalents, *kei*, hand, and *śeygei*, *śeyal*, *śeydi*, Tam. action, occurrence. There is also an old *tadbhava* of *karma* in use in all the dialects, viz., *kam* (also *kammam* in Tam.), meaning 'work,' especially smith's work, from a comparison of which with *śeygei*, &c., we see how easily the Sanskrit derivative can be distinguished from the Dravidian word. Comp. Sans. *karma-kāra*, a mechanic, a blacksmith, with *kammāra*, the *tadbhava* of the same in Canarese. This proves conclusively that *kam* is not Dravidian, but Sanskrit.

If, then, it may certainly be concluded that the Sanskrit pair of words and the Dravidian are closely connected, and if it may be concluded with equal certainty that neither of these languages borrowed them from the other, we cannot, as it appears to me, escape from the conclusion that they are the common property of both. If this be the case, they bear testimony either to the intimate association of the Dravidian and the Sanskrit speaking peoples in very early times, or to their original oneness. This oneness, however, does not stop here, nor does it prove the Dravidian languages to

be exclusively or distinctively Aryan; for it will be shown hereafter, under the head of Scythian affinities, that this same pair of words is found in the Tartar and Finnish languages as well as in the Aryan and Dravidian, and in particular that the Dravidian word for 'hand' reproduces itself in all those languages with an almost perfect exactness.

kur-al, Tam. noise, voice; root *kur*, to make a noise. Comp. Sans. *kar*, to shout; *gar*, to sound. Possibly the Tam. *kōṛi*, the *gallus gallinaceous*, is connected with *kur*; and if so, the word *gallus* itself will appear to be related to *kōṛi*, *gallus* being instead of *garrus*; comp. *garrulus*. The ultimate root of the Tam. *kur* appears to be *ku*, to sound (probably a mimetic word), as in *ku-y-il*, the Indian cuckoo.

kudirei, a horse; Can. *kudure*, probably from *kudi*, to leap. Comp. Sans. *ghoṭa*, a horse. The Dravidian languages have borrowed *ghōṭa* from Sans. (in Tamil *gōṛam*, *gōḍagam*), said to be from *ghuṭ*, to retaliate; but *kudirei* is regarded as an underived, indigenous Dravidian word. It is probable, however, that the two words are ultimately related.

kiṛ-i, to tear. Comp. *khur*, Sans. to cut, to scratch.

keḍ-u, to spoil or destroy, or (intransitively) to be spoiled or destroyed; verbal noun *kēḍ-u*, ruin; relative participle *keṭṭa* (*ṭṭ* for *ḍḍ*), bad; Tel. *cheḍ-u*. Comp. Sans. *khid*, to suffer pain or misery, and its verbal noun *khēda*, sorrow, distress. Comp. also *khiṭ*, to terrify, and its derivative *khēṭ*, bad, low; Greek *χῆδος* (*chēdos*), sorrow. If these words are allied to the Dravidian one, as they appear to be, it must be in virtue of a common origin, for there is not a more distinctively Dravidian word in existence than *keḍ-u*.

koḍ-u, Tam.-Mal. fierce, extreme, rough, literally crooked—*e.g.*, *koḍukku*, Tam. the claws of the crab; *koḍ-il*, Mal. pincers. Comp. Sans. *kuṭ*, crooked.

śil-ir, to tremble, to have the hair standing on end. Comp. *chēl*, Sans. to shake, to tremble.—See also subsequent list under *kuḷir*, cold.

śe, to be red; Can. *kena*, *ken*; *chem*. *chen*. This root forms the basis of many adjectives and nouns (*e.g.*, *śen*, red), but is not used anywhere in its primitive, unformed shape. Comp. *śoṇa*, Sans. to be red.

śevi, Tam.; *chevi*. Mal.-Tel., the ear; Can. *kivi*, Tuḷu *keppi*. Comp. *śrava*, the ear, Sans., from *śru*, to hear.

taḍ-i, a stick, a club; verbal theme, *taḍi,* to be thick or heavy; *taṭṭ-u,* to hit. Comp. *taḍ,* Sans. to strike, to beat.

tī, fire. Comp. Sans. *dī,* the base of *dīp,* to shine.

tūv-u, to sprinkle gently (as dust).

tūṟ-u, to drizzle, to scatter, to spread abroad (as a report).

The transitive of *tūṟ-u* is *tūṟṟ-u* (pronounced *tūttru*), to winnow. The ultimate root of all these words evidently is *tū,* which is also a Tamil form of the root. Comp. *dhū* Sans. to shake, to agitate; a derivative from which is *dhūli,* dust. Comp. also *tūsta,* dust (derivative *tuś,* to sprinkle), with which our own word dust is evidently identical. From Sans. *dhūli,* Tamil has borrowed *tūḷi, tūḷ,* dust, and also *tūs-i;* but there cannot be any doubt of the Tamil verbs *tūv-u* and *tūṟ-u* being underived Dravidian themes. *dhū* or *tū* appears therefore, to be the common property of both families of languages; whilst it is in the Dravidian family that the original meaning of this root appears to have been most faithfully preserved.

naḍ-a, to walk. Comp. the Sanskrit theme *naṭ* (said to be from *nṛit*), to dance, to act; derivatives from which are *naṭa,* dancing, *nāṭaka,* a drama, a play. It seems improbable that the Sanskrit word has been borrowed from the Dravidian tongues; and yet it seems certain that the Dravidian word has not been borrowed from Sanskrit; for Telugu and Canarese make a broad distinction between the Sans. derivative *naṭinchu* or *naṭisu,* to dance, and their own theme *naḍuchu* or *naḍi,* to walk; and whilst Sanskrit has many words signifying walking, the Dravidian languages have *naḍ* alone. *naḍ-u,* to plant, means also in Malayāḷam to enter, to walk, probably to plant the foot; *naḍēr* (*naḍei*), a way, a derivative from this root, is one of the words adduced by *Kumarila-bhatta* as specimens of the non-Sanskritic words contained in the Dravidian languages. Probably, therefore, the Sanskrit *naṭ, nṛit,* and the Dravidian *naḍ,* have been derived from a common source.

ney, to weave. Comp. Sans. *nah,* to spin, originally to join together. Comp. also Greek *νηθω* (*nēthō*); German *nahen,* to sew; Latin *necto. nūl,* Tam. thread, to spin, seems to be a verbal noun from a lost root *nu,* which must have meant to join together, like the Sans. *nah.*

pal, many; as a verb, to be multiplied. Comp. Sans. *pulu,* much, more commonly *puru.*

pāḍ-u, Drav. to sing. Comp. Sans. *paṭh*, to read to recite. The Sans. *paṭh*, is, I have no doubt, the theme from which the corresponding Tel. *paṭh-i*, and the Tamil *paḍ-i*, to read, have been borrowed; and the Tamil *pāḍa-m*, a lesson, is clearly derived from the Sans. *pāṭha*, reading. *pāḍ-u*, to sing, however, and *pāṭṭ-u*, a song (Tel. *pāṭa*, Can. *pāṭ-u*, Gōnd *pāṭā*), do not seem to be derivatives from Sanskrit; but I suspect them to be ultimately related to *paṭh-a* and *pāṭha*, as descended from some ancient source common to both. The ideas expressed are nearly related; for the reading of all Hindūs (and all Orientals) is a sort of *cantilena;* and even the Sanskrit derivative *paḍi*, to read, often receives in colloquial Tamil the meaning to sing.

pāl, Tam. Mal. and Can. a portion, a part, a half. Comp. Sans. *phal*, to divide; also Latin *par-s*, a portion. *pāl* appears to be identical with *pagal*, Tam. a division (also daylight), from *pag-u*, to divide. The medial *g* was softened away, as in *pādi*, half, originally *pagudi*, from the same root *pag-u*. See Semitic affinities of this word.

piṟa, other—*e.g.*, *piṟa-n*, another man. Comp., *para*, Sans. in the sense of other, different, foreign, a sense which it often bears —*e.g.*, *para-dēśa*, a foreign country. It is with this preposition, and not with *pra*, before, forward, that I think the Tamil *piṟa*, other, should be compared. The use of the Tam. *piṟa*, and that of the Sans. *para* (in the signification adduced above), are identical; and we might naturally suppose the Tamil word to have been derived from the Sanskrit. Tamil, however, whilst it admits that *para* was borrowed from Sanskrit, regards *piṟa* as an indigenous theme. The *ṟ* of *piṟa* is unknown to Sanskrit, and is considered to be a distinctive mark of Drāvidian words. Tamil has another word, *piṟ-a-gu*, after (ultimate base *piṟ*), which is generally considered to be independent of, and unconnected with, *piṟa*, other; and yet this very meaning, after, is one of the many significations which are attributed to *para* in Sanskrit. Possibly, both in Tamil and in Sanskrit, after may have been the first meaning; other, the secondary one. Comp. also *piṟa*, Tam. to be born = to come after.

It may be concluded, I think, that *para* and *piṟa* are radically allied; and yet the supposition that the one is derived from the other is inadmissible. Each is too deeply seated in its own family of tongues to allow of this supposi-

toin, and we seem, therefore, to be driven to conclude that both have been derived from a common source.

poṟ-u, to bear. Comp. Sans. *bhṛi* (bhar), to bear. It is impossible to suppose that either of these words has been borrowed by the one language from the other; yet they appear to be nearly related. See next section.

pāl, milk. The Dravidian languages do not seem to contain the verbal theme from which this word is derived. We may compare it with the Sanskrit *pāyasa,* milk, and also with *pāya,* water, *Zend péo,* Afghan *poï;* all of which words are derived from *pā,* Sans. to drink—a root which runs through almost all the Indo-European languages. Possibly the Dravidian *pāl,* milk, may be a verbal noun formed from this very theme; for a large number of verbal nouns are formed in Tamil by simply adding *al* or *l* to the root. Notwithstanding this, the purely Dravidian character and connections of this word *pāl,* preclude the supposition of its *direct* derivation from the Sanskrit *pā.* If *pāl,* milk, could be considered as identical with *pāl,* a portion, its root would be *pag-u,* to divide. It is difficult, however, to see why milk should have been called a portion, a share. A poetical, but very common, name for *ariśi,* unboiled rice, in Tamil is *amudupaḍi,* the ambrosial portion or allowance. Was it in some such sense that milk was called *pāl?*

peś-u, to speak. Can. *pēḷ-u.* Comp. *bhāsh,* Sans. to speak.

pū, a flower, or to blossom, Tam., Tel. and Can. Comp. *phull-a* Sans. to blossom, and *pushpa,* a flower. Looking, however, at the Marāṭhi *phūl* (a flower, from *phulla,* the Dravidian *pū* seems likely to have been derived from the Sanskrit after all. Tamil has an ancient word of its own for flowers, *malar.*

val, strong; *val-mei,* strength. Comp. Sans. *bal-a,* strength. See also next section.

3. Extra Sanskritic or West Indo-European Affinities.

Dravidian words which appear to be specially allied to, or specially to resemble, words that are contained in the languages of the Western or Non-Sanskritic branches of the Indo-European family.

Some of the words contained in the following list have Sanskrit as well as West-Aryan analogies; but they have been placed in this, rather than in the preceding list, because the West-Aryan affinities appear to be clearer and more direct than the Sanskrit ones. The greater number, however, of the words that follow,

though apparently connected with the Western tongues, and especially with Greek and Latin, exhibit little or no analogy to any words contained in Sanskrit. If the existence of this class of analogies can be established, it may be concluded either that the Dravidians were at an early period near neighbours of the West-Aryan tribes, subsequently to the separation of those tribes from the Sanskrit-speaking people; or, more probably, that both races were descended from a common source. The majority of the Dravidian words which exhibit West-Aryan resemblances, do not belong to that primary, rudimental class to which the words that the Dravidian languages have in common with the Scythian are to be referred. Nevertheless, they are so numerous, many of them are so interesting, and, when all are viewed together, the analogy which they bring to light is so remarkable, that an ultimate relation of *some* kind between the Dravidian and the Indo-European families may be regarded as probable.

As before, the Dravidian words are to be regarded as Tamil, except it is stated that they are taken from some other dialect.

aś-ei, to shake. Comp. σεί-ω (*sei-ō*), to shake, to move to and fro.

aru-vi, a waterfall; from *ar-u*, to trickle down. Comp. *riv-us*, Lat. a brook, Eng. river; also the verbal theme of those words, ῥέ-ω (*rhe-ō*) or ῥύῳ (*rhuō*) (as in ῥύη) (*rhuē*), to flow; Sans., *sru* or *ru*, to run.

al-ei, to wander, to be unsteady: *alei*, as a noun, means a wave. comp. ἀλά-ομαι (*ala-omai*), to wander, ἄλη (*alē*); Germ. *welle*, Armen. *alik'*, a wave.

av-ā, desire; also *āv-al*, a verbal noun, derived from an obsolete root *āv-u*, to desire. Comp. Sans. *av*, of which one of the rarer meanings is to desire. The affinity between *avā* and the Latin *ave-o*, to desire, is still more complete, inasmuch as this is the only meaning of the word in Latin, as in Tamil. See also Semitic Affinities.

avv-a, Tel. a grandmother. In Tuda *av* means a mother. In Canarese *avva* or *avve* means either a mother or grandmother, or generally, an old woman. The ordinary Tamil form of this word is *auv-ei*, an honorific term for a matron, an elderly lady, but *avv-ei* is also used. Comp. the Latin *av-us*, a grandfather; *avi-a*, a grandmother; *av-unculus*, a maternal uncle.

āvi, a spirit. literally vapour, breath; then life. and also a spirit: verbal theme *āvi*, to yawn, to breathe. Comp. the Greek ἄω (*aō*), to blow; also Sans. *vā*, to blow.

iṟ-u, to draw, to pull. Comp. ἐρύ-ω (*eru-ō*), to draw. Comp. also *eḷe,* the Canarese equivalent of *iṟu* with ἑλκ-ω (*helk-ó*), to drag, a word which is probably related to ἐρύ-ω (*eru-ō*), through that alliance of *r* to *l* which is apparent in all languages.

iru-mbu, iron; from *iru, ir,* the ultimate root, and *mbu,* a formative euphonised from *bu* or *vu*: Tel. *inumu.* Comp. the Lat. *æs, ær-is,* Saxon *iren,* Danish *iern,* Old Ger. *ēr,* Armen. *erketh.* The *r* of these words appears to have been hardened from *s,* as may be concluded from comparing them with the German *eisen* and the Sanskrit *ayas.* Though I compare this word with Sanskrit, I do not suppose the one to be derived from the other. The root of the Tamil word (*ir*) appears to mean dark, and *iruḷ,* darkness, appears to be another derivative from it; perhaps also *irā,* night.

īn-u, to bring forth young, Tam. Can., said of cattle especially. Comp. Eng. to *ean* or *yean* (Shakespeare *ean*), Anglo-Sax. *eanian.*

uyar, high; when used as a verb, to raise (ultimate root probably *u,* that). Comp. ἀείρ-ω (*aeir-ō*), to raise up; also ἀερ (*aer*) in ἀέρ-θην (*aer-thēn*) (Aor. pass.), and in the adverb ἀέρ-δην (*aerdēn*), lifted up. Comp. also ἀηρ (*aēr*), the air; Armenian *wor,* high; Ossete *arw,* heaven.

ur-i, Can. Tuḷu, to burn; Tam. *er-i.* Comp. *ur-o,* Lat. to burn; Armenian *ōr,* fire; Afghan *or, wur.* There are also some Semitic analogies—*e.g.,* Hebrew *ūr,* fire, and *ōr,* light.

uḷ-ei, mire. Comp. ἕλ-ος (*el-os*), a marsh.

ūḷ-ei, howling. Lat. *ululo,* to howl; Greek ὀλολύζω (*olo-luzō*); English *howl* (mimetic words).

ey, to shoot (an arrow), to cast (a dart). Comp. ἰός (*ios*), an arrow, ἵω (*hiō*), to shoot, to cast, ἑω (*heō*), to send.

eṟ-u, to rise, to get up. Comp. Lat. *or-ior,* to rise, to get up. *eṟu-ñāyiṟu,* Tam. the rising sun, may be compared with the Latin *ori-ens sol.*

ell-a, all. The classical Tamil forms *el-ām,* all we, *el-īr,* all ye, show that the root is *el.* Tel.-Can. *ella,* all; colloquial Tam. *ellā.* The meaning of *el,* from which that of 'all' was derived, appears to have been 'boundary.' The primitive meaning seems to have been 'where ?'

Comp. Ossete *al, ali,* all; Saxon *eal;* old High German *al;* English *all.* Probably the Greek ολ-*os* (*hol-os*) and the Hebrew *kol* are allied rather to our own 'whole,' Lat. *salvus,* Sans. *sarva,* than to the Dravidian and Germanic *el,* all.

ēr, a plough; also in classical Tam. the work of ploughing; Can.-Tuḷu *ēr-u,* a plough. We find also in Canarese *āṟ-u,* a plough, which appears to be a different form of the same word. Judging by analogy *ēr* must be a lengthened form of *er,* a verbal root, of which the meaning must have been to plough. This verbal root no longer exists in a separate shape, but it seems to survive in *erud-u,* the ox, *erumei,* the buffalo, literally as appears, the ploughing animals. In Tuḷu both animals are called *ēr'* (*er'*). In Tam. *er-u,* in Tel. *ēr-u* means also manure, especially cow-dung. There is in Tamil a secondary verb, *er-ukku,* to hew, to cut, which seems to contain a reminiscence of the primitive meaning of *ēr.* This meaning appears more distinctly in the classical Canarese *āṟ-u,* a plough, which seems to be a lengthened secondary form of *aṟ-u,* to cut, to sever, a root still in common use in each dialect (comp *aṟ-u, āṟ-u,* six). The verb meaning 'to plough' in actual use at present is Tam.-Mal. *uṛ-u;* Can. *uḷ-u;* Tuḷu *ur.*

Comp. Lat. *ar-o;* Greek ἀρό-ω (*aro-ō*), ἀρο-τός (*aro-tos*); Lith. *aru.* I do not feel sure of the existence of any relationship between these and the Dravidian words, but the resemblance is worthy of notice. Dr Schlegel in his "Sinico-Aryaca" (Batavia 1872) connects all the Indo-European words which designate the plough and its uses, and which contain the root *ar, er, ir, or,* with the Sanskrit *ar* (*ri* or *ṛi*), signifying to cut or hurt, and ultimately with the Chinese *li* sharp, ground to a point, whence are derived various compounds, also pronounced *li,* with the signification of to plough, &c. From this basis he derives the renowned designation of Aryas or Āryas, as meaning 'the ploughing people.' If the Sanskrit *ri* or *ṛi* ordinarily or naturally meant to cut, or even if it could be clearly proved to have ever meant to cut at all, this explanation of the meaning of the words used for plough and ploughing in the Indo-European languages would have carried more weight. I should then also have felt surer of the relationship of the Dravidian words with the Indo-European *aṟ',* to cut, being an undoubtedly Dravidian root, and probably the origin of *āṟ,* Can. a plough. The radical meaning of *ṛi* however, seems rather to be to run.

ōr-am, border, brim, margin, coast. Comp. Lat. *ora,* border, margin. *ōr-am* has no connection with any Dravidian word signifying mouth; probably therefore its resemblance to the

Latin *ora* is accidental. The corresponding word in Gujarāthi, Marāṭhi, and Hindi, is *kōr*.

kaḍ-i, to cut, to rend, to reprove; *katti*, a knife, a sword. Comp. Sans. *kṛit*, to cut, but especially the English cut; Norman-French *cotu*; Welsh *cateia*, to cut; Lat. *caed-o*. The Persian and Ossete *kard*, a knife, and probably also the Dravidian *katti*, a knife. *kattiri*, scissors, is from *kartari*, Sans., a derivative of *kṛit*.

kaṇ, the eye; *kāṇ* (in the preterite *kaṇ-ḍu*), to see; also secondarily, to mark, to consider, to think. In the latter sense it becomes *kaṇṇu* in Tamil, but the base remains unchanged. In (*kanu*, *kannu*) Telugu, the ordinary *n*, the nasal of the dental row, is used instead of *ṇ* the cerebral nasal. Comp. the Welsh *ceniaw*, to see; English *ken*, view, power or reach of vision, to ken, to know by sight. In Webster's "English Dictionary" *kanna* was said to be 'an eye' in Sanskrit; whereas it is exclusively a Dravidian word. This error may be compared with Klaproth's representing *kuruta*, blind, as a Sanskrit word, instead of referring it to the Dravidian languages, to which alone it belongs. There is a curious word in Sanskrit, *kāṇa*, one-eyed, which seems to have some Dravidian relationship. It becomes in Bengali *kāṇā*, blind, which, in form at least, is identical with the Dravidian negative *kāṇā*, that sees not. Possibly the Dravidian *kāṇ*, to see, *kaṇṇu*, to consider, may have some ulterior connection with the Gothic *kunn-an*, to know; Greek γνω- ναι (*gnō-nai*); Sans, *ñā*; Latin *gna* (*gnarus*); Old High German *chann*. The different shades of meaning which are attributed in Greek to γνῶ- ναι (*gnō-nai*) and εἰδέ- ναι (*eide-nai*), seem to corroborate this supposition; for the latter is represented as meaning to know by reflection, to know absolutely, whereas the former means to perceive, to mark, and may therefore have an ulterior connection with the Dravidian root.

karaḍi, a bear, from *karaḍu*, rough, knotty, uneven, the ultimate base of which must be *kara* or *kar*. The Tuda word for 'a bear' is *karsh* (*kar*). Comp. the Persian *chars*, Kurd *harj*, and even the Latin *urs-us*. Comp. also the Samoïede *korgo*, and the Tungusian *kuti*.

kaṛug-u, an eagle. Comp. Persian *kergish*; Ossete *kartziga*; also Sans. *garuḍa*, the mythical eagle; *gṛidhra*, a vulture.

kaḷ-a, Can. to steal; Tam. *kaḷavu*, Mal. *kaḷḷ-am*, a theft. Comp. Lat. *clep-o*, to steal; Greek κλαπ-εις (*klap-eis*): See also Scythian Affinities.

gav-i, Can. a cave, a cell, *kapp-u*, Can. a pit-fall; *keb-i*, Tam. a cave. The equivalent Sanskrit words are *guhā*, a cavern, from *guh*, to conceal, and *gaha*, a cave, from *gah*, to be impervious. *guhā* has become in Tamil *kugei*. It seems doubtful whether the Canarese *gavi* and the Tamil *kabi* are not both *tadbhavas* of *guhā*. On the supposition that they are independent words, comp. the Lat. *cave-a*, a cavity, a den, from *cav-us*, hollow; theme *cav-o*, to hollow out; and with this the Telugu *kapp-u*, to cover over, probably the origin of the Tamil *kapp-al*, a ship. See also Scythian Affinities.

kāy, to be hot, to burn. The Tel. *kā-gu* (also *kā-lu*), Can. *kāy-u*, to burn, and the Can. *kāge*, heat, compared with the Tamil *kāṅgei*, show that the ultimate root is *kā*, to which *y* or *gu* is added dialectically as a formative. The only Sans. word which seems to be related to this Drav. one is *kām-a*, to desire; and we should not, perhaps, have suspected this to be related, were it not for its connection with the Hebrew *hām-ad*, to desire, and the derivation of that word from *ḥām-am* (base *ḥām*), to be warm. Comp. with the Dravidian *kā* or *kāy*, the Greek καί-ω (*kai-ō*) (Attic κά-ω) (*ka-ō*), to burn, to be hot. The words seem identical. Liddell and Scott represent καίω (*kaiō*) to be connected with the Sanskrit *such*, to dry. How much more nearly it appears to be connected with the Dravidian *kāy*. Besides, the Dravidian languages have another word which seems to have a real relation to *sush-a*—viz., *suḍ-u*, to burn.

kiṇḍ-u, to stir, to search, to turn up the ground. Comp. κεντ-έω (*kent-eō*), to prick, to goad, to spur on.

kiṛa, old (not by use, but with respect to length of life); ultimate root *kiṛ*, beneath, that which has gone down. Comp. Sans. *jar-as*, age, but especially the Greek words signifying age, aged—viz. γῆρα-ς, (*gēra-s*), γηραι-ός (*gērai-os*), γεραι-ός (*gerai-os*), γέρ-ων (*ger-ōn*). See also the Scythian affinities of this word.

kiṛa-mei (base *kiṛa*), a week, literally property, possession, each portion of a week being astrologically regarded as the property or inheritance of some planet. Comp. Ossete *kuri*, *kōre*, a week; Georgian *kuire*. Possibly these words are derived from the Greek κυρι-ακη (*kuri-akē*), Sunday, the Lord's day; but whence is the Greek word derived? From κύρι-ος (*kuri-os*), a lord, a possessor, the base of which may perhaps be allied to the Tamil *kiṛa*, possession. The ultimate

root of *kiṛa* is doubtless *kiṛ*, ordinarily lengthened to *kīṛ*, beneath; hence *kiṛa-mei* means that which is beneath one, under his power, in his possession.

kiḷ-ei, a young branch. Comp. Ossete *kalius;* Servian *galusa;* Greek κλάδος (*klados*), a young shoot, a branch. The theme of the Greek word is κλάω (*kla-ō*), to lop, to break; and the Tamil *kiḷ-ei*, considered as a verbal theme, means not only to sprout, but also to pluck off, *kiḷḷ-u*, to pinch, to pluck, is a collateral theme.

kupp-ei, sweepings, refuse, dung, a dung-heap. Comp. κόπρος (*kopros*), dung, dirt, a farm-yard.

kuṟ-u, short, brief: derivative verb *kuṟu-gu*, to diminish: collateral root *kuṟ-ei*, a defect, to be or make defective. Comp. Persian *chord*, short; German *kurz;* Latin *curt-us*, short, small, defective. On comparing the Latin word *curt-us*, with such words as *sert-us*, connected, from *ser-o*, it may be concluded that *curt-us* is derived from an obsolete verbal theme *cur-o*, which would be identical with the Tamil *kuṟ-u*. Comp. Greek κυρτός (*kurtos*), curved.

kuru-ḍu, blindness, blind: ultimate base *kuru* (like *kiṛa*, the ultimate base of *kiṛaḍu*, old). Comp. Persian *kūr;* Kurd *kor;* Ossete *kurm*, blind.

kuri, Can. a sheep, Tel. *gorre*, Tuda *gurri*. Comp. Irish *kaora*, Georg. *chhuri*.

kuḷ-ir, cold, Tam. and Can.: ultimate base, by analogy, *kuḷ-u;* Telugu and Canarese *chali*, cold: collateral root, *śilir*, Tam. to tremble with cold. *kūdal* and *kūdir*, cold, are doubtless derivative or allied words. Comp. German *kühl;* Saxon *cyl, col, cele;* Russian *cholod;* English *cool, cold;* Latin *gelu;* English *chill*. See also Scythian Affinities.

kēḷ, to hear, Tam. and Can. Comp. Latin *aus-cul-to*, to hear, to listen; also the Greek κλύ-ω (*klu-ō*), to hear; Welsh *clyw*, hearing; Irish *cluas*, the ear; Lithuanian *klau*, to hear; Latin *clu-o*, to be called. See also the Scythian Affinities.

kol, to kill. Comp. Russian *kolyu*, to stab; and especially the English *kill* and *quell*. See also Scythian Affinities.

śātt-u, to close a door, to shut; Saxon *scytt-an*, to shut in; Dutch *schutt-en*, to stop; English *to shut*.

śāḍ-i (pronounced *jāḍi*), a jar. Probably from Port. *jarra;* English *jar*.

śāl, a bucket, a furrow. Comp. σηλ-ία (*sēl-ia*), any flat board or tray with a raised rim. See also Semitic Affinities.

śivar-u, Can, a splinter. Comp. English *a shiver*.

sīṟ-u (pronounced *süṟ-u*), to hiss; Can. *sīr-u*, to be angry. Comp. συρ-ίζω (*sur-izo*), to pipe, also to hiss; Latin *su-surr-us*, a whispering, or whistling. Our English word 'hiss' is evidently mimetic; but *sīṟu* and its allied roots bear no trace of an imitative origin.

śuḍ-u, Tam. and Can. to heat, to burn, to fire: secondary theme *śuḍ-ar*, Tam. to shine. Comp. Persian *sus-an*; Kurd. *sodj-an*; Ossete *suds-in*, to burn. Comp. also Sans. *sush*, and Latin *sicc-o*, to dry.

śuvei, taste, flavour. Comp. English *sap*, German *saft*.

śurung-u, to shrink. Comp. English *shrink*, German *schrumpfen*.

śepp-u, to speak. Comp. ἔπ-ω (*ep-ō*) (for Γέπω) (*gepō*), to speak.

śel, to go, to proceed. This is unquestionably a Dravidian root, and abounds in derivatives—*e.g.*, *śel*, the white ant; *śel-avu*, expenditure; *śel-vam*, prosperity. It forms its preterite also in a manner which is peculiar to pure Dravidian verbs. It is obviously allied to the Sanskrit *śal*, to go or move; *śel*, to move, to tremble; *chal* and *char*, to go, to shake, to totter; and also to the Hindustani derivative *chal*, to go. Close as these analogies are, *śel* appears to bear an equally close resemblance to *cel*, the obsolete Latin root, signifying to go, from which are formed *celer*, and also *ex-cell-o* and *prœ-cell-o*. The same root is in Greek κελ (*kel*)—*e.g.*, κέλ-ης (*kel-ēs*), a runner; and κέλλω (*kellō*), to urge on.

tag-u, fit, proper, worthy. Comp. German *taug-en*, to be fit for; Gothic *dug-an*; German *tugend*, virtue; *tüchtig*, fit, able; English *doughty*.

tayir, curds. Comp. Greek τυρ-ός (*tur-os*), cheese; Sans. *dhayī*, drinking, sipping, sucking.

tin, to eat light food, to eat away; *tindri*, eatables. Comp. τένδ-ω (*tend-ō*), to nibble, to eat daintily; τένθης (*tenthēs*), a gourmand.

tiṟ-a (pronounced nearly like *toṟa*), to open; *tiṟa-vu*, an opening, a way, a means. Comp. Greek θύρα (*thura*), a door; German *thür*; Old High German *tor*; Gothic *daur*; Sans. *dvāra*; Vedic-Sans. *dur*. These words are commonly derived from the Sans. theme *dvṛi*, to obstruct, to cover; but as they all mean not the door-leaf, but the door-way, and metaphorically a way, or means, this derivation of them from a root meaning to close seems less natural than that of the Dravidian *tiṟa* or *toṟa* (Can. *teṟa*), to open. Comp. *tṛī*, Sans. to pass; *tiras*, through.

tīṇḍ-u, to touch, to kindle. Comp. Gothic *tandya*, I kindle. Possibly

there may be a remote connection also with the Sans. *danh*, to burn, the intensitive of which is *dandah*. On the other hand, the *ṇ* of the Tam. *tīṇḍ-u* is probably euphonic, for it disappears in the Can. *tīḍ-u*, and in the Tam. transitive form of the verb *tīṭṭ-u*, to whet.

teḷ, clear. Comp. δῆλ-os (*dēl-os*), clear, manifest.

tol-ei (base *tol*), distance, limit, end. As a verb, *tol-ei* signifies to end, or come to an end. Comp. Greek τελ-os (*tel-os*), an end, and τηλ-ε (*tēl-e*), far off, which Buttmann derives from τέλ-os (*tel-os*).

tripp-u, Tel. to turn; from which, by corruption, *tippu*, the ordinary form of the word, has been derived; Can. *tiru-pu*; Tamil *tiru-ppu*. These are causal or active verbs, and the corresponding neuter or intransitive verb signifying to turn, is in Tel. *tiru-gu*, in Tam. *tiru-mbu*. Canarese has *tiru-hu*, *tiru-vu*, and *tiru-gu*. There are also a few related themes—*e.g.*, *tiru-gu*, Tam. to twist or turn, and *tiri*, the same; from which is derived *tirigei*, a mill. From a comparison of these words, it is manifest that their common base is *tir*, to turn, to which various formative additions have been made, for the purpose of expressing modifications of meaning. Comp. Greek τρέπ-ω (*trep-ō*), to turn; which bears a remarkable likeness to the Tel. *tripp-u*, and the initial portion of which (with that of our English *turn*) seems closely allied to the Dravidian base. Possibly also the Sans. *tarku*, a spindle, is either a collateral word or one which has been directly borrowed by Sanskrit from the Dravidian tongues.

naś-u, to crush, to squash. Comp. νάσσ-ω (*nass-ō*), to squeeze close, to stamp down.

nar-a, Can. a tendon, a sinew; sometimes, but improperly, a vein or artery; adjectivally wiry, stringy. Tel. *naramu*, Tam. *narambu*, Rājmahāl *nāru*. A secondary form of the word is *nār*, fibre, from the base *nar*; with which compare the Latin *nerv-us* and the Greek νευρ-ον (*neur-on*), a tendon, a ligament.

nin-ei, to think, to remember; Can. *nen-e*, *nen-a*. This word is undoubtedly a Tamil primitive, and is probably the basis of *neñj-u*, Tam.-Mal. the mind, the heart; also the diaphragm. [With respect to this double signification of the word *neñj-u*, compare the twofold meaning of Φρην (*phrēn*), in Greek, viz., the diaphragm or chest (supposed to be the seat of the mental faculties), and also the mental faculties themselves.] If there is any analogy between the Dravidian *nin* or *nen*,

and the Sanskrit *man*, to think, it comes to light only by comparing it with the corresponding Greek word νο-έω (*no-eō*), by reduplication νευόη-μαι (*neuoē-mai*). μνά-ομαι (*mna-omai*), to think on, to remember, and μέν-ος (*men-os*), wish, are in perfect accordance with the Sanskrit *mana*, and are probably more ancient than νο-έω (*no-eō*); of which the initial ν (*n*) has been changed either from μ (*m*) or from γν (*gn*) (γνῶ- ναι) (*gnō-nai*). The Dravidian *nen* or *nin* may in like manner, I conceive, have been changed from an older *men* or *min*, allied to *man-a* and μέν-ος (*men-os*).

nīnd-u (also *nīñj-u*), to swim; *nīchch-u* and *nītt-al*, swimming; Tel. *īd-u*, Can. *īs-u*, *īj-u*, Tuḷu *ñāndu*, to swim: Tel. derivative noun, *īta*, swimming. A comparison of these words shows that the final *ndu* of the Tamil verb has been euphonised from *du*. The base of this verb seems to be simply *nīd* or *nī*; of which *mī*, Can. to bathe, is probably a collateral form. Comp. *nī* with the Latin *no* (*navi*), to swim; Greek νέ-ω (*ne-ō*), also νη-χω (*nē-cho*); Sans. *nau*, Greek ναῦ-ς (*nau-s*), a boat. Comp. also *nīd-u* (the supposititious original of both *nīnd-u* and *īd-u*) with the Latin secondary verb *nat-o*. Bopp derives these Indo-European words from *snā*, Sans. to bathe, and that from *sna*, to flow; but it is only in the Dravidian tongues and in Latin and Greek that we find the meaning of swim.

ney, to weave. Probably *nūl*, a thread, and also, as a verb, to spin, is a word of collateral origin. As *tūḷ*, dust, from *tū*, to scatter, so *nūl*, a thread, may be supposed to be derived from an obsolete *nu*, to spin; and this root would naturally be concluded to be a correlative of *ney*, to weave. Comp. Greek νέ-ω (*ne-ō*), to spin, νη-μα (*nēma*), a thread; and more especially the Latin *neo*, which not only means to spin, to entwine, but also, secondarily, to weave—*e.g.*, *tunicam quam molli neverat auro.*—Virg. A collateral root, and one which bears, perhaps, a still closer analogy to the Dravidian *ney*, to weave, is that which we find in the German *nah-en*, to sew: Latin *nec-to*, to knit, to join; and Sans. *nah*, to bind, to tie.

paḍ-u, (1.) to suffer, to receive or feel an impression; a word which is used as an auxiliary in all the Dravidian languages in the formation of passive verbs; derivative noun *pāṭ-u*, Tel. and Can. a suffering. Comp. Sans. *bādh*, to give trouble; *bādha*, trouble. Especially comp. Latin *pat-ior*, and Greek παθ-εῖν (*path-ein*), each of which has precisely the

same meaning as the Dravidian verb. (2.) To fall, to sink, to settle down. This verb is identical with the preceding one; but the meaning to fall, which it bears more or less distinctly in each dialect, in addition to that of to suffer, suggests a different set of affinities. Comp. Slavonian *pad,* to fall; Sans. *pat* (Prakrit *paḍ*), to fall, to fly; Zend *pat,* to fly; Latin *pet* in *im-pet-o,* to fall upon; Greek πέτ-ομάι (*pet-omai*), to fly, and also πίπτ-ω (*pipt-ō*), to fall.

paṇ, Tam.Cal. to make, to work, to produce: colloquial form *paṇṇu;* Tel. *pannu.* This word is evidently allied to the Sanskrit *paṇ,* to do business, to negotiate; the noun corresponding to which, *paṇa,* means business, hence property. This noun, *paṇa,* has been borrowed by the Dravidian languages; but the signification it bears is money. Whilst *paṇa-m,* money, is always admitted by Dravidian grammarians to be a Sanskrit derivative, they regard *paṇ(ṇ)-u,* to make, to work, as a primitive Dravidian word; and this view is confirmed by the circumstance that it stands at the head of a large family of derivatives and collaterals, some of which are *paṇṇ-ei,* tillage, a rice-field; *paṇ-i,* service, humility; in Mal. it means also difficulty, toil; *pani,* Tel. work; *paṇikku,* Tam. a clever performance. It is especially worthy of notice that *paṇ-i,* as a verbal root, signifying to be subservient, to obey, to worship, has become in its turn the parent of a host of derivative words. This word is not to be confounded with *paṇi,* Tam. to say, to order, a *tadbhava* of *bhaṇ,* Sans. to speak; from which also the Tuḷu *paṇpu,* to say, is probably derived. Another form of the latter word in Tam. is *pannu,* to say.

I have no doubt that *paṇ,* to make, to work, has an ulterior connection with the Sanskrit *paṇ,* to negotiate; but it appears to have a still closer connection with the Greek πόν-έω (*pon-eō*), to toil, to work hard, πόν-os (*pon-os*), work, a task, and πἔν-ομαι (*pen-omai*), to work, to toil. Comp. also the Babylonian *ban-as,* to do, to make.

pamp-u, Tel. to send; also as a noun, a sending. Comp. Greek πἔμπω (*pempō*), to send, and πομπ-η (*pomp-ē*), a sending. This resemblance amounts almost to identity, and yet it is very doubtful whether it is not merely accidental. The form this word takes in Tamil and Malayāḷam is *anapp-u,* and in Telugu it takes two forms, one with an initial *p* and one without—*e.g.*, *anuch-u, anup-u, amp-u, ampiñch-u, anichi-puchch-u,* to send or cause to send, and *panuch-u, panup-u,*

pamp-u, pampiñch-u, the same. We have also *ampakam* and *pampu,* dismission. Probably *ampa,* Tel. an arrow (*ambu,* Tam.), is a related word. It seems clear from a comparison of these words in both languages that the word we must compare with πέμπ-ω (*pemp-ō*) is not *pamp-u,* but *panup-u;* and that the *p* of *panup-u* does not belong to the root, but is a formative, alternating, according to the custom of the language, with *ch,* as in *panuch-u.* The resemblance to the Greek is considerably lessened hereby; but it would disappear altogether if the initial *p* of *pampu* should have to be given up. It appears to me uncertain whether *anup-u* or *panup-u* were the original form, but the analogy of the Tamil and Malayāḷam leads me to assign the preference to *anup-u.* If so, the change from *anup-u* to *panup-u* must be regarded as a corruption, and no argument can be built upon it. Dr Gundert supposes the root of this word to be *an* (= *en,* Tam.-Mal.), to say, and considers *anuppu,* to send, Tam.-Mal., as meaning to cause to say. To cause to say in Canarese is *enisu.* Another word meaning to say in Tamil is *pann-u,* another again *paṇi.* See previous word *paṇ.* In Tuḷu, *paṇpu* is to say.

paṛ-u, to be old, to become ripe; *paṛa-m,* a ripe fruit; Can. *paḷa* (*ṛ* changed into *ḷ*); Tel. *paṇḍu* (*ṛ* changed dialectically into *ḍ* and then nasalised). Comp. Persian *ber,* fruit; Armenian *perk;* Latin *fru-or, fru-x.* Comp. also the Sans. *phala,* fruit, a word which has been borrowed by the Tamil in the sense of effect or profit, but which is never confounded by it with its own *paṛa-m.* I suspect *phala,* however, to be identical in origin with the Drav. *paṛa, paḷa.*—See also the Semitic analogies of this word. Another form of this word, with a slightly different meaning, is *paṛa,* Tam., *paḷe,* Can. old, long in use, of ancient date. Comp. Greek παλαι-ός (*palai-os*), old, ancient,; πάλαι (*palai*), in olden times.

pal, many, various; *pal-ar,* many people; *pal-a,* many things. The ordinary adjectival form of this word, which is used in the colloquial dialect without discrimination of number or gender, is *pala,* but *pal* is more classical. There is also a verb formed from the same base, *pal-gu,* to become many, to be multiplied, to increase. There is probably a connection between this word and the Sans. *pulu,* more correctly *puru,* perhaps for *paru,* much [from *pṝ,* to fill (*pi-par-mi*)]; but it still more closely resembles the Greek πολύς (*polus*), πολύ (*polu*), many, much, the Latin *plus,* and the Goth. and Old

Germ. *filu,* much. Comp. *palar,* many persons, with οἱ πολλοί (*hoi polloi*), the many, the majority.—See Scythian Affinities.

paḷḷ-i, a town, a village, a school, a place of worship for foreigners, especially in Malayāḷam. Trichinopoly = *Tiriśirā-p-paḷḷi,* the city of the three-headed (*Rākshasa*). Comp. πόλις (*polis*), a city, from πολέω (*poleō*), to haunt, to frequent.

palli is found in Sanskrit dictionaries, but I consider it to be a purely Dravidian word; root probably *paḷ,* hollow.

piy-kk-u, to rend in peices, to card, to comb cotton, to pick. Comp. πέκ-ω (*pek-ō*), to comb; English to pick (?)

pir-i, to divide; also *pōṛ,* to cleave, and *pāl,* a portion. Comp. Sans. *phal-a,* to divide; but especially the Latin *par-s,* a portion; also *portio,* from the supposititious root *por-o* or *par-o,* to apportion, to divide. The Greek πόρ-ω (*por-ō*), in the sense of im-*par*ting is doubtless an allied word.—See also the Semitic Affinities.

piḷḷ-ei, Tam. a child; Tel. *pilla,* Can. *piḷḷe,* Latin *puell-us,, puell-a,* a boy, a girl; compare with *pullus,* the young of an animal. If the Latin word is derived from *puer-ulus,* it is probably unconnected with *pill-ei.* Perhaps a more reliable affinity is that of *fil-ius, fil-ia,* a son, a daughter, supposed to mean literally a suckling.—See also the Scythian Vocabulary.

pugaṛ, to praise. Comp. Old Prussian *pagir-u,* I praise, and the corresponding noun *pagir-sna,* praise.

puṛudi, also *pūṛi* and *pūṛdi,* dust; Can. *puḷil,* sand. *Comp.* Latin *pulvis.*

puṟ-am, a side, especially the outside, the exterior, the back—*e.g.,* *appuṟam,* that side; *ippuṟam,* this side: adjectivally *puṟ-attu,* external: adverbially *puṟambāga* (*puṟam-b'-āga*), externally; as a verbal theme *puṟappaḍu* (*puṟa-(p)-paḍu*), to set out; Can. *pora-ge,* outside; *pora-ḍu,* to set forth. There is, doubtless, an ulterior connection between *puṟa-m,* the outside, externally, and *piṟa,* other, after; yet they are not to be regarded as one and the same word; and *puṟam* has affinities of its own, as well as meanings of its own. Comp. Greek παρα (*para*), beside, in which one of the meanings of the Dravidian word appears, whilst the meaning of 'side' is not conveyed by the relative Sanskrit *para.* Comp. especially the Latin *foris,* abroad; *forum,* a public place; *fori,* the decks of a ship, with the Canarese *pora,* outside. This seems a more natural derivation of *foris* than the Greek θυρα (*thura*), Sans. *dvāra,* a door, a word which I have compared

with the Dravidian *tiṟa*, to open. In the Dravidian languages *f* is unknown, and *p* is always used instead.

pūs-ei, a cat, especially in the South-Tamil idiom; Mal. *pūchcha*. In the Cashgar dialect of the Afghan, *pusha* signifies a cat, Comp. Irish *pus*, a cat; English *puss*.

pill-i, Tel. a cat. *pul-i* signifies a tiger, or more correctly a cheetah, or hunting leopard, in all the Dravidian dialects.* Comp. Persian *pelang*, a tiger, but especially the Latin *feles* or *felles*, a cat, a word which is also to denote various animals of a similar character.

peṇ, a female. Comp. Lat. *femina*.

per-u, great; another form of the same adjective in Tamil, and perhaps a more ancient one, is *par-u*. Possibly *pal-a*, many, is a related root, seeing that there appears to be the same relation between *per-u* or *par-u*, great, and *pal-a*, many, that there is between *śiṟ-u*, small, and *śil-a*, a few. *per-u*, great, is also used as a verbal theme, and in that connection it signifies to increase, to grow. Comp. Sans. *puru*, *pulu*, much, *barh*, *varh*, to be pre-eminent, but especially the Zend *berez* and *barez*, great, *berezaiti*, to grow.

peṟ-u, to obtain, to get or beget, to bear, to bring forth; verbal noun *pēṟ-u*, a bringing forth or birth, a thing obtained or a benefit. *piṟ-a*, to be born, to proceed from, is doubtless a related word; and there is probably a relationship between these words (especially the latter) and *piṟa*, other, *piṟ-agu*, after *puṟa-m*, the exterior, and even *poṟ-u*, to bear or sustain. Comp. the Lat. *par-io*, *pe-per-i*, to bring forth, to acquire. Possibly the ultimate base of all these words is the Indo-European preposition *pra*, signifying progressive motion, expansion, excess, &c.; and the Zend form of this preposition, *fra*, indicates the propriety of classing the Latin *fru-x* with the other derivatives. See also the Semitic Vocabulary.

pei-(y)-an, a boy, a servant; also *pei-(y)al* and *pei-dal*; Mal. *pei-dal*; Can. *hei-da*. The termination *al*, *dal*, is that of the abstract verbal noun; and consequently *peiyal* might be applied to a youth of either sex, a child, though restricted in Tamil to the masculine. Malayāḷam has *āṇ pei-dal*, a boy, *peidal-āḷ*, a girl; root *paś* = *pei*, green, fresh, young. Comp. Greek παῖς (*pais*), παιδ-ός (*paid-os*), a boy or girl, a servant; Laconian ποίρ (*poir*); Latin *puer*; Persian *bach*, a boy, *puser*, a son; Swedish *poike*; English *boy*. The San-

skrit *putra*, a son, has also been supposed to be derived from this theme. See also Scythian Affinities.

poṟ-u, to sustain, to bear, to suffer patiently, *poṟ-u-ppu*, responsibility, *poṟ-u-mei*, patience. Comp. Sans, *bhṛi* (*bhar*), to bear; Gothic *bair-an*, *bār*, *bēram*, to bear; Old High German *bēran*, *pēran*; English *bear*, *bore*; Old English *bearn*, a child; Greek Φέρ-ω (*pher-ō*); Latin *fer-o*. Tamil distinguishes between this word and *piṟ-a*, to be born, though both are probably from the same base. Latin in like manner distinguishes between *par-io* and *fer-o*, whilst the Teutonic tongues make no difference between *bear*, to sustain, and *bear*, to bring forth. They constitute one word, from which is formed the past participle to be born or borne, and also the noun birth.

poṟ-u-du, *pōṟ-du*, time; theme *poṟ*, probably to divide. Comp. Sans. *vār-a*, time; Pers. *bār*, the theme of *bāri*, once; Lat. *ber*, the suffix of time, which appears in the names of the months from Septem-*ber* to Decem-*ber*.

pō, to *go*; also *pō-gu* (with the usual formative addition of *gu*). The imperative of *pōgu* is *pō*. Laghmani (an Afghan dialect) *pāk*, to go; Greek βά-ω (*ba-ō*), to go; Lat. *va-do*, to march; Heb. *bō*, to come, occasionally to go.

pōḍ-u, to put. Comp. Dutch *poot-en*, to set or plant; Danish *pod-er*, to graft; English *to put*.

biḷ-u, Can. to fall; Tam. *viṟ-u*. Comp. English *to fall*; German *fall-en*.

mag-an, a son, a male. Comp. Gothic *mag-us*, a boy, a son, from the verbal theme *mag*, originally to grow, then to be able; Gaelic *mak*, a son; Tibetan *maga*, son-in-law. Comp. also Lat. *mas*, a male.

man, to remain, to abide (root of *manei*, house). Comp. Lat. *manere*.

may-ir hair. Probably from *mayi*, Mal. black = Tam. *mei*. Comp. Persian *mui*; Armenian *mas*, hair.

maṟ-a, to forget. Comp. Lithuanian *mirsz*, to forget.

mā, a male, particularly the male of the lion, elephant, horse, and swine—*e.g.*, *ari-mā*, a male lion. Comp. Lat. *mas*, a male.

māṟg-u to die, to languish, to mingle, *māṟ*, to be confused, to be lazy; *māḷ*, to die, to perish. Comp. Lat *marc-eo*, to wither, to be faint, to be languid or lazy, and also the Greek μαραίνω (*marainō*), which in the passive voice signifies to waste away, or die. Possibly all these words have a remote connection with *mṛi* (*mar*), Sans. to die. It would seem, however, that

there is a closer connection between the Latin and Greek secondary themes here adduced and the Tamil than between the Sanskrit and the Tamil. *marka,* Vedic Sans., according to some, means dying away.

mig-u, much, great: as a verbal theme, to be much. *miñj-u,* to abound (from *mij,* nasalised), is a collateral root. Related words, Tel. *migal-u,* remainder, that which is too much; *migula* and *migala,* adverb and adjective, much, exceedingly, also *mikkili,* the same; Can. *mig-u,* to exceed, also *migil-u,* both as a verb and as a noun; ancient dialect of Can. *migal,* much, *mogga,* and also *moggara, mokkaḷa,* a mass, a heap, an assemblage.

The Sanskrit *mahā,* great, from *mah* (originally perhaps *magh*), to grow, is frequently used in the Dravidian dialects, but it is always considered to be a Sanskrit derivative, not the original base from which the above-mentioned Dravidian words have been derived. This view is confirmed by the circumstance that the Dravidian languages have no word signifying much, except *mig-u,* and its correlatives. The Dravidian words quoted above, bear a much closer resemblance to the corresponding words in the Classical and Germanic tongues than to the Sanskrit. Thus, the Latin *mag-nus, mag-is;* the Persian *mih* or *meah;* the Greek μέγα (*mega*) or μεγάλος (*megalos*); the Old High German *mihhil, michil;* Norse *mikil;* Danish *megen;* English *migh-t;* Scotch *mickle,* appear to be more closely connected with the Tam. *mig-u,* the Can. *migal* and *mokkala,* and the Tel. *migala* and *mikkili,* than with the Sans. *mah-at.* The final *al* of the Dravidian words is one of the most common formatives of verbal nouns. See the section on "Roots."

mūṛ-gu, muṛu-gu, to plunge, to sink. *amiṛ* appears to be a softened form of the same word; and probably the *g* of *mūrgu* is only a formative. Comp. Lat *merg-o,* to plunge, to immerse. *margo,* however, is supposed to bear the same relation to Sans. *majj* that *frango* does to Sans. *bhanj* (originally perhaps *bhranj*).

mugil, Tam. and ancient Can. a cloud. Comp. Sans. *mēgha,* a cloud, from *mih* (*mēhati*), to sprinkle. The word *mēgha* has been borrowed from Sanskrit by the Dravidian languages, and is now more commonly used than *mugil.* The latter, however, is found in the classics, is much used by the peasantry, and appears to be a pure Dravidian word. Doubtless *mēgha* and *mugil* are ultimately allied; but there seems to be a special

connection between the Dravidian word and the Greek ὀ-μίχλ-η (*o-michl-ē*), a cloud, the Lithuanian *migla*, the Slavonian *mgla*, and the Gothic *milh-ma*; in each of which the *l* of *mugil* retains its place. Dr Gundert derives *mugil* from Can. *muchch-u* (*mug*), to cover over, to shut in, with the addition of the formative *il*.

muyal, to labour, to endeavour. Comp. Lat. *mol-ior*, to endeavour, to strive; Greek μωλ-ος (*mōl-os*), the toil of war; Eng. *to moil*, to labour or strive.

muṟumuṟu, to grumble, to murmur. A very similar word *moṟumoṟu*, to murmur, would naturally be regarded as identical with *muṟumuṟu*; but a different origin is ascribed to each. *moṟumoṟu* is said to be simply and solely a mimetic word, one of a large class of imitative, reduplicated exclamations—*e.g.*, he said *moṟu-moṟu*—*i.e.*, he spoke angrily; his head said *kiṟukiṟu*—*i.e.*, it went round. *muṟumuṟu*, on the other hand, it is said, is not purely imitative, but is supposed to be regularly formed by reduplication from *muṟu*, the base of *muṟu-kku*, to twist, to chafe; and the signification of grumbling, and being discontented, has arisen from that of chafing. Whatever be the derivation of the Tamil word, it may be compared with the Latin *murmuro*, to mutter. The Latin word is evidently an imitative one, the reduplication of the syllable *mur* being used to signify the continuance of a low muttering sound. *mur* has doubtless some connection with the base of *musso*, *mussito*, to mutter or grumble. Comp. also the Greek expression to say μῦμῦ (*mu mu*), to mutter, to grumble. The Old Prussian *murra*, to murmur, is evidently related. See also the Scythian Affinities. The Tamil word means not only to utter a muttering sound, but also 'to express discontent, to be angry'; and in this it goes beyond the meaning of the corresponding Latin *murmuro*. Muttering is in Tamil expressed by *muṇa-muṇa*, a somewhat similar, yet independent, imitative word.

mūkk-u, the nose: theme *mug-ar*, Tam.-Mal. to smell. Comp. Greek μυκτηρ (*muktēr*), the nose. The Greek word is said to be derived from μύζω (*muzō*), to moan, to mutter, to suck in, or from μύξα (*muxa*), the discharge from the nose (Latin *mucus*). It is worth consideration, however, whether the Dravidian derivation is not, after all, a more probable one.

mel, fine, thin, soft, tender; *mell-a*, softly, gently. Comp. Latin *mollis*, soft, tender, pliant; Greek μαλακός (*malakos*), soft,

gentle, tender. The derivation of the Latin *mollis*, from *movilis*, seems inconsistent with the connection which subsists between *mollis* and μαλακός (*malakos*); and the resemblance of both to the Dravidian *mel* is remarkable. Comp. Sans. *mridu*, soft, which is in Tamil *med-u*. I can scarcely think *mel*, like *med-u*, derived from *mṛidu*.

rāy, Tel. a stone. Bearing in mind the mutual interchange of *r* and *l*, we may perhaps compare this word with the Greek λά-ας (*la-as*) or λαι-α (*lai-a*), a stone. *rāy* seems to correspond to Tam. *aṟei* (another form of *pāṟei*), a rock.

val, strong; *val-i-ya*, *van-mei* (*val-mei*), strength. The Dravidian languages have borrowed, and frequently use, the Sans. *bala* (in Tamil *balan*, *balam*, and even *valam*); and it might at first be supposed that this is the origin of *vali*, &c. I am persuaded, however, that the words cited above have not been derived from Sanskrit, but have been the property of the Dravidian languages from the beginning. The Dravidian *val* has given birth to a large family, not only of adjectives and nouns, but also of derivative verbs, which have no connection whatever with anything Sans.—*e.g.*, *val-am*, the right hand; *val-i*, to drag, to row; *val-u*, to grow strong; *val-iya*, spontaneously, &c.; and if this word is not to be regarded as Dravidian, this family of languages must be supposed to be destitute of a word to express so necessary and rudimental an idea as strong. *val*, also, more closely resembles the Latin *val-eo*, to be strong, and *val-idus*, than the Sanskrit *bala-m*.

vaḷ, fertility, abundance; *vaḷ-ar*, and many related verbs, to rear, to cause to grow. Comp. Latin *al-o*, to nourish. Connection doubtful.

vāngu, to receive, to take. Comp. German (*emp*)*fangen*.

viṇḍ-u the wind. Comp. Latin *vent-us*; English *wind*. The Tamil word seems to be derived from *viṇ*, the sky: its resemblance to *vent-us* and *wind* is, therefore, probably accidental, the root of those words being *vā*, to blow (Sans.), and their Sans. equivalent *vāta*.

viṟei, to shiver from cold, to grow stiff from cold. Comp. Greek Φρίσσω (*phrissō*), to tremble, to shiver; ῥιγ-έω (*rhig-eō*), to shiver or shudder with cold; ῥίγ-os (*rhig-os*), frost, cold, a shivering from cold; also Latin *frig-eo*, to be cold; *frig-us*, cold; *rig-eo*, *rig-or*, to be stiff, as from cold; English *to freeze*.

vīṇ, useless, vain. Comp. Latin *van-us*, empty, unreal, frivolous, vain.

vēṇḍ-u, to wish, to want. Comp. English *want* from Saxon *wanian,* to fail. The corresponding Can. word is *bēḍu,* but this has also the shape of *bēṇḍu.* Another Can. form is *bēku,* from an older *bēḷku.* The root must have been *vēḷ,* which means in High Tam. to desire.

vēṟ-u, different, other. Comp. Latin *var-us,* the secondary meaning of which is different, dissimilar; also *var-ius,* diversified, various, different from something else. Root of *vēṟ-u*: *veṟ-u,* void; the primitive meaning of which seems to have been 'distant.'

SECTION II.—SEMITIC AFFINITIES,

OR DRAVIDIAN WORDS WHICH APPEAR TO BE ALLIED TO HEBREW AND ITS SISTER TONGUES.

The number of such words in the Dravidian languages is not great; and it might be objected that in attempting to establish the existence of this class of affinities, in addition to affinities of the Indo-European and Scythian classes, I prove nothing by attempting to prove too much. I answer, that I do not attempt to establish anything or to prove anything. I content myself with adducing facts. I submit to the reader a list of words which exhibit some interesting points of resemblance between the Dravidian vocabulary and the Hebrew. I am doubtful whether any of those resemblances is of such a nature as to furnish evidence of relationship, but I am not doubtful of the desirableness of giving them a place in this list. They will serve at least to show whether further investigation in this direction is likely to be rewarded with important results or not. In some of the instances which will be adduced, the Semitic words appear to resemble Indo-European words, as well as words belonging to the Dravidian languages; but it will be found that the Dravidian analogies appear in general to be closer than the Indo-European, and it is for that reason that the words are inserted in this list rather than in the preceding one. In some instances, again, the only resemblances to the Semitic words are such as are Dravidian.

If the existence of Semitic affinities in the Dravidian languages could be established, it would not be possible to explain those affinities by supposing them to have been introduced by the Jews who have settled on some parts of the Malabar coast; for the Jews, whether "black" or "white," have carefully preserved their traditional policy of isolation; they are but a small handful of people at most; they have never penetrated far into the interior, even on the Malabar coast, whilst on the Coromandel coast, where Tamil is

spoken, they are entirely unknown; and the Dravidian languages were fully formed, and Tamil, it is probable, had been committed to writing, long before the Jews made their appearance in India. Whatever words, therefore, might appear to be the common property of Hebrew and the Dravidian languages, would have to be regarded either as indicating an ancient, præ-historic intermixture or association of the Dravidians with the Semitic race, or rather perhaps as constituting traces of the original oneness of the speech of the Noachidæ.

app-ā, father! vocative of *app-an*. This word for father is found unaltered in all the Dravidian dialects, except the Tuḷu, in which, strange to say, *appe* means mother; *amme*, father. This *appe* may possibly be a hardened form of *avve*. Comp. Can. *avve*, a mother, or grandmother. *amme*, Tuḷu father, is allied to the Tam. *ammān*, mother's brother, also father, though rarely used in the latter sense. The Mech, a Bhutān dialect, has *appa* for father; the Bhotiya *aba*; the Singhalese *appā*. Analogies will also be found in the Scythian vocabulary.

In all the languages of the Indo-European and Semitic families the ultimate base of the words which denote father, is *p* or *b*, and that of the words which denote mother is *m*. The difference between those two families consists in this, that the Indo-European words *commence* with the consonants *p* or *m*—*e.g.*, *pater*, *mater*, from the Sans. roots *pā*, to protect; *mā*, to make (a child in the womb); whilst in the Semitic languages, those consonants are preceded by a vowel —*e.g.*, Hebrew *āb*, father; *ēm*, mother. Comp. also, however, *ambā*, Sans. mother. In this particular the Dravidian languages follow the Semitic rule—*e.g.*, Tam. *app-an*, father; *amm-āḷ*, mother. The resemblance between *appan* (vocative *appā*), and the Chaldee *abbā*, father (Syriac *ābō*), is remarkable. It is so close, that in the Tamil translation of Gal. iv. 6, *abba*, father, there is no difference whatever, either in spelling or in sound, between the Aramaic word *abbā* (which by a phonetic law becomes *appā* in Tamil), and its natural and proper Tamil rendering *appā*; in consequence of which it has been found necessary to use the Sans. derivative *pidā-(v)-ē*, instead of the Tamil *appā*, as the translation of the second word.

amm-ā, mother! vocative of *amm-ei* or *amm-āḷ*, mother. Comp. Heb. *ēm*, mother; Syr. *āmō*. See also the Scythian and Indo-European affinities of this word, which are still closer than the Semitic.

ār̤-u, a river ; Tel. *ēr̤-u* : correlative root *ēri*, Tam. a natural reservoir of water. Comp. Hebrew *y' ōr*, a river; Coptic *jaro*. See also Scythian Analogies.

al, not. In all the Dravidian dialects *al* negatives the attributes of a thing; *il*, its existence; *ēl* (and sometimes *al*), is prohibitive. The vowel is transposed in Telugu, and *lē* (the base of *lēdu*), used instead of *il*. Comp. the negative and prohibitive particles of the Hebrew, *al* and *lō*; also the corresponding Arabic and Chaldaic *lā*. *lō* in Hebrew negatives the properties of a thing, like *al* in Tamil, and another particle, *aïn*, a substantive meaning nothing, is used to negative the existence of it. This idiom is one which remarkably accords with that of the Dravidian languages. Comp. also the Chaldee *lēth*, it is not, a compound of *lā*, the negative particle, and *īth*, the substantive verb 'it is' (a compound resembling the Sans. *nāsti*), with the corresponding Tel. *lēdu* (Tam. *iladu*), it is not, which is compounded of *lē*, the negative particle, and *du*, the formative of the third person neuter of the aorist. See also Sanskrit and Scythian Affinities.

av-ā, desire : a related word is *āval*, also desire, which is a verbal noun derived from the assumed root *āv-u*, to desire (Marāṭhi *āvaḍ*, love). The Telugu form of this word is *ākali*. *k* between two vowels often becomes *v*. Comp. Heb. *avvah*, desire, a verbal noun derived from *āvāh*, to desire. The ultimate base of the Hebrew *āv* or *av* is identical not only with the Tamil *āv* or *av*, but with the Latin *av-eo*, to desire, and the Sanskrit *av-a*, of which to desire is one of the rarer meanings. Comp. also Heb. *ābāh*, to will.

ir-u, to be; Brahui, *ar*. Comp. Babylonian *ar*, to be; also Coptic *er* or *el*, and the Egpytian auxiliary *ar*. The Dravidian word appears to mean primarily to sit, secondarily to be —*i.e.*, to be *simpliciter*, without doing anything.

ir̤-a, the ultimate base of *ir̤a-ngu*, neut., to descend, and its transitive *ir̤a-kku*, to cause to descend. Comp. Heb. *yārad* (biliteral base *yar*), to descend.

ur-i, Can. to burn; Tam. *er-i*. Comp. Heb. *ūr*, fire, *ōr*, light.—See also Indo-European Affinities.

ūr, a city, a town, a village. Comp. Heb. *ār* or *'īr*, a city; Babylonian *er*, Assyrian *uru*, Accadian *'uri*.

er̤-i, to cast, to shoot. Comp. Heb. *yārāh* (biliteral base *yar*), to cast, to shoot.

erum-ei, a buffalo, especially a cow buffalo; Tuḷu, *ermma.* Comp. Heb. *rēm,* a buffalo or wild ox. Resemblance probably accidental. Root of the Drav. word *er* (obsol.), to plough; root of the Heb. probably *rūm,* to be high.

kūr, a sharp point. Comp. Heb. *kūr,* to pierce, to bore; Sans. *ḳhur,* to cut.

śāy, to lean, to recline. Comp. Heb. *shā'an* (biliteral base, *sha'* or *sha*), to lean.

śina-m, anger: verb. *śina-kku,* to be angry. Comp. Heb. *sānē;* Chald. *senē,* to hate; Heb. *siñah,* hatred. The corresponding Can. word being *kini,* to be offended, *śina-m* is probably softened from *kina-m.* Analogy doubtful.

śir̠-u, to hiss. Comp. Heb. *shārak* (biliteral base *shar*), to hiss; Greek συρίζω (*surizō*), to pipe, to hiss.

śum-ei, a burden: verb. *suma-kku,* to bear, to carry. Comp. Heb. *sāmak* (biliteral base *sam*), to support, to uphold, to weigh heavily on.

śuv-ar, a wall. Comp. Heb. *shūr,* a wall.

śevv-ei, equal, level, correct: base *śev* or *śe.* A nasalised, adjectival form of the same root is *śen—e.g., śen-Damir̠,* correct Tamil, the classical dialect of the Tamil language. From *śe, śev,* or *śen,* is formed *śemm-ei* (*śen-mei*), an abstract of the same meaning as *śevvei.* Comp. Heb. *śhāvāh;* Chald. *shevā* (biliteral base *shav* or *shev*), to be equal, to be level. If the Sanskrit *sama,* even, is at all connected with the Tamil *śev* or *śen,* the connection is remote; whereas the Tamil and the Hebrew words seem to be almost identical.

nāṭṭ-u, to fix, to set up, to establish: ulterior verbal theme *naḍ-u,* to plant. Comp. Heb. *nātā'* (biliteral base *nat*), to plant, to set up, to establish.

nīṭṭ-u, to lengthen, to stretch out; formed by causative reduplication of the final consonant from *nīḍ-u* (also *nīḷ*), long. Comp. Heb. *nātāh* (biliteral base *nat*), to stretch out.

nōkk-u, to look direct at, to address. Comp. Heb. *nōkah* (base *nok*), straight forward, over against.

par̠-u, to become ripe, to fruit; *par̠a-m,* a ripe fruit. Comp. Heb. *pārāh,* to be fruitful, to bear fruit; *pāraḥ,* to blossom, to break forth (biliteral base of both, *par*). Especially comp. *perī,* fruit. Comp. also Armenian *perk,* and Persian *ber,* fruit. Doubt, however, is thrown upon the affinity of these words with the Dravidian *par̠-u,* in consequence of the root-meaning of *par̠-u* (*par̠-a*) being to become old, to be accustomed.

pāl, a part, a portion, a class; Can. *pāl-u*, Tuḷu *per'*; collateral Tam. roots *pir-i*, to divide; *piḷ-a*, also *pōṟ*, to cleave. Comp. Heb. *pālāh*, *pālā*, *pālaḥ*, *pālag*, *pālal*; and also (by the interchange of *r* and *l*) *pārash*, *pāras*, and Chald. *perās*, to separate, to divide, to distinguish, &c. All these words (like the Tam. *pāl* and *pir-i*, and also *pagīr*, to divide) include the idea of separation into parts.—See also the Indo-European analogies of these roots—*e.g.*, Sans. *phal-a*, to divide; Latin *pars*, and *por-tio*, a portion.

peṟ-u, to obtain, to bear or bring forth, to get or beget; verbal noun *pēṟ-u*, a bringing forth or birth, a thing obtained, a benefit: collateral root, *piṟ-a*, to be born; *piṟ-a*, Tam. other, after; *puṟ-a*, outside. Comp. Heb. *pārāh*, to be fruitful; *perī*, fruit; *pāraḥ*, to blossom, to break forth. The connection between *paṟ-am*, Tam., and *perī*, Heb. fruit, cannot be depended upon; but there seems to be an intimate relation between *peṟ-u*, to bear, *piṟ-a*, to be born, and the Semitic words which are here adduced, as well as the Latin *par-io*, *pe-per-i*.

bā, Can. to come; Tam. *vā*. Comp. Heb. *bō*, to come, to come in; Babylonian *ba*, to come.

māy, to die, to put to death. Comp. Heb. *mūth*, to die. Comp. also *muwo*, dead, in the Lar, a Sindhian dialect.

māṟ-u, to change; Can. to sell; base *maṟ-u*, other. Comp. Heb. *mūr*, to change or exchange, of which the *niphal* is *nāmar*, as if from a base in *mārar* or *mār*; *māhar*, *māḥar*, to change, to buy. The corresponding Syriac *mōr* means to buy.

miśukka-n, a poor, worthless fellow; *miśukk-ei*, a worthless article. Comp. Heb. *miskēn*, poor, unfortunate. The Hebrew word is derived from *sākan*; but Gesenius says a new verb arose from this in several Semitic languages, the initial *m* of which was radical. It is singular that it has also found its way into Tamil; Mal. *miskēn*. This word *miskēn* has found its way (probably by means of the Saracens) into several European languages—*e.g.*, French *mesquin*. Tamil does not contain the root of this word; it may therefore be concluded to have been borrowed from the Arabic or some Semitic dialect.

mett-a, Tel. (Tam. *mettei*, Can. *motte*), a bed, a cotton bed, a cushion. The Dravidian word appears to be derived from *mel*, soft. Comp., however, the Heb. *mittāh*, a bed, a cushion, a litter, from *nāṭāh*, to stretch out; Latin *matta*.

SECTION III.—SCYTHIAN AFFINITIES;

OR,

Dravidian words which appear to exhibit a near relationship, or at least a remarkable resemblance, to words contained in some of the languages of the Scythian group, particularly to the Ugro-Finnish dialects.

The majority of the affinities that follow are clearer and more direct than the Indo-European or Semitic affinities which have been pointed out in the preceding lists. Many of the words which will be adduced as examples are words of a *primary* character—words which carry a certain amount of authority in comparisons of this kind. A considerable number of the Dravidian words in the following list have Sanskrit or Indo-European affinities, as well as Scythian; a very few also have Semitic affinities; but I have preferred placing them in this list, because the Scythian affinities appear to be either the most numerous or the closest. Such words, though they are but few, are of peculiar interest, as tending to prove the primitive oneness of the Scythian and Indo-European groups of tongues. In some instances I have given a place in this list to words which I have already placed in the Indo-European list, and the affinities of which I have stated *in loco* I consider more distinctively Indo-European than Scythian. I have inserted them here also, in order to make the comparison more complete.

I have already said that I consider the comparison of words of less importance towards the determination of affinities than the comparison of grammatical forms and spirit. It may be capable of proof that two languages are as nearly related as Latin and Greek, whilst the bulk of the words in each of those languages, including many of those that are most essential to the expression of the wants of daily life, may be found to be totally different from the corresponding words in the other. If this is the case with the Aryan languages, most of which exhibit traces of having been highly cultivated from, and even before, the first dawn of history, much more is it to be expected in the case of the uncultivated, or but recently cultivated, languages of the so-called Scythian stock. The earliest cultivated language of this family (the Medo-Scythian of the Behistun inscriptions) has passed away altogether from the world, or been absorbed by other languages; and those inscriptions are the only proof of its existence which it has left behind. The Finnish, the Hungarian, and the Turkish languages

have been cultivated only within the last few centuries; whilst a far greater number of the Scythian dialects have up to the present day received no literary cultivation whatever. They are spoken by roving hordes leading a rude pastoral life, by agricultural serfs, or by still more barbarous tribes living by fishing or the chase; and the only literary records the languages they speak contain consist of a few songs, with the addition perhaps of a recently executed translation of one of the Gospels. Consequently, whilst those languages exhibit distinct traces of a common origin, or at least of development in the lines and in accordance with the rules of a common formative force, they differ from one another in details in a degree which it is hardly possible for a student of other families of tongues to conceive. It would scarcely, therefore, be in accordance with analogy to expect to discover in the languages of the Scythian stock any very considerable number of words closely resembling words that are contained in the long-isolated and far more highly developed Dravidian tongues; especially if it be supposed, as I have always supposed, that the Dravidian tongues exhibit traces of their existence at a time prior to the final separation of the Indo-European tongues from the Scythian, when words and meanings of words did not belong exclusively to the one rather than to the other, but were the common property of both. It may be objected that the argument derived from Scythian affinities is weakened by the fact that the Scythian words which correspond with certain words in the Dravidian tongues are not found altogether in one dialect, but exist some in one and some in another of the Scythian languages. I admit that such coincidences are not perfectly conclusive; but I must remind the reader that he is obliged to be content with such partial coincidences with regard to the inter-relationship of the Scythian languages themselves.

For the Scythian affinities apparent in the Dravidian pronouns and numerals, see the sections devoted to those parts of speech.

akk-a, Can. and Tel. elder sister; Tam. *akkei, akkā,* and *akk-āḷ;* Marāṭhi *akā.* In Sans. *akkā* signifies a mother; and an improbable Sans. derivation has been attributed to it by native scholars. I believe this word to be one of those which the Sans. has borrowed from the indigenous Dravidian tongues; and this supposition is confirmed by its extensive use in the Scythian group. The Sans. signification of this word, a mother, differs, it is true, from the ordinary Dravidian meaning, an elder sister; but mother is one of its meanings in poetical Tamil, and a comparison of its significations in

various languages shows that it was originally used to denote any elderly female relation, and that the meaning of the ultimate base was probably 'old.' The following are Scythian instances of the use of this root with the meaning of elder sister, precisely as in the Dravidian languages:—Tungusian *oki* or *akin*; Mongolian *achan*; Tibetan *achche*; a dialect of the Turkish *ege*; Mordvin *aky*; other Ugrian idioms *iggen*. The Lappish *akke* signifies both wife and grandmother. The Mongol *aka*, Tungusian *aki*, and the Uigur *acha*, signify an elder brother; whilst the signification of old man is conveyed by the Ostiak *iki*, the Finnish *ukko*, and the Hungarian *agg*. Even in the Ku, a Dravidian dialect, *akke* means grandfather. The ultimate base of all these words is probably *ak*, old. On the other hand, *akka*, in Osmanli Turkish, means a younger sister; and the same meaning appears in several related idioms. It may, therefore, be considered possible that *akka* meant originally sister; and then elder sister or younger sister, by secondary or restricted usage. The derivation of *akka*, from a root signifying old, would appear to be the more probable one.

It is proper here to notice the remarkable circumstance that the Dravidian languages, like those of the Scythian group in general, are destitute of any common term for brother, sister, uncle, aunt, &c., and use instead a set of terms which combine the idea of relationship with that of age—*e.g.*, elder brother, younger brother, elder sister, younger sister, and so on.

att-an, father; *att-ei*, mother; also *ātt-an*, a superior (masc.); *ātt-āḷ*, mother. We find in the Sans. lexicons *attā*, a mother, an elder sister, a mother's elder sister; also *atti*, in theatrical language, an elder sister. I regard this word also, as used in Sanskrit, as probably of Dravidian origin; and it will be found that in one or another of the related meanings of father or mother, it has a wide range of usage throughout the Scythian tongues. The change of *tt* in some Dravidian dialects into *śś* or *chch*, is in perfect accordance with generally prevalent laws of sound. Hence the Malayāḷam *achch-an* and the Canarese *ajj-a*, grandfather, are identical with the Tamil *att-an*; and probably the Hindi and Marāṭhi *ājā*, a grandfather, is a related word, if not identical. *attei*, mother (Tam.), is *achcha*, also *achchi*, in Mal. *att-ei*, Tam., *att-e*, Can., *att-a*, Tel., have also the meanings of mother-in-

law, sister-in-law, paternal aunt; and the corresponding Singhalese *att-ā* means a maternal grandmother; meanings which are not found in Sans. In South Malayāḷam *āchchi* means mother, matron.

For the Scythian analogies of these words, compare Finnish *aïti,* mother, together with the following words for father—viz., Turkish *ata;* Hungarian *atya;* Finnish *ātta;* Cheremiss *ātyā;* Mordvin *atai;* Ostiak *ata.* Comp. also Lappish *aija,* grandfather, and also *attje.* It is remarkable that *atta* is also found in Gothic—*e.g., attan,* father; *aithein,* mother. Comp. also ἀττα (*atta*), and Latin *atta,* a salutation used to old men, equivalent to father. If we might seek for a Dravidian root for this widely used word, we may perhaps find it in the Tamil *attu,* to join, to lean upon.

ann-ei, mother; honorifically, elder sister, *ann-ei* and *amm-ei* are probably correlative forms of the same base, *m* being sometimes softened into *n.* Comp. however Finnish and Hungarian *anya,* mother; Mordvin *anai;* Ostiak *ane;* and also *anna* and *ana* in two dialects of the Turkish. The Hindi *annī,* a nurse, is possibly the same word.

app-an, father. Comp. the following words for father-in-law—viz., Ostiak *ūp, ōp;* Finnish *appi;* Hungarian *ip, ipa, apos.* See also Semitic Analogies.

amm-āḷ, amm-ei, amm-an, mother: the word is also used honorifically in addressing matrons. Another form of this word in Malayāḷam is *umma,* mother. The following are correlative words, *amm-āy,* maternal grandmother, aunt by the mother's side, and *amm-ān,* mother's brother, also sometimes father's. Comp. Samoïede *amma,* mother; Jeneseï *amma* or *am;* Estrian *emma;* Finnish *emā.* Comp. also Ostiak *in-a,* woman, wife; Hungarian *eme.* See also Sanskrit and Semitic Analogies. The Sans. *ambā* or *ammā,* mother, properly a name or title of Durgā, seems to be derived from the Dravidian word. The bloody rites of Durgā, or Kālī, were probably borrowed from the demonolatrous aborigines by the Brahmans; and *amma,* mother, the name by which she was known and worshipped—her only Dravidian name—would naturally be borrowed at the same time. Comp. also the Sindhian *amā* and the Malay *ama,* mother.

It is remarkable that in Tuḷu the words which denote father and mother seem to have mutually changed places. In

Tuḷu *amm-e* is father, *appe*, mother. See an explanation of this in the Semitic Analogies. Comp. the Mongolian *ama*, father; also Sans. *amba*, father. In Tibetan and its sister dialects, *pa* or *po* denotes a man; *ma* or *mo*, a woman; and these words are postfixed to nouns as signs of gender—*e.g.*, *Bot-pa*, a Tibetan man, *Bot-ma*, a Tibetan woman.

ar-u, *ār*, precious, dear, scarce. Comp. Hungarian *aru*, *ār*, price; Finnish and Lappish *arwo*. Comp. also Sans. *argha*, value, price, from *argh*, *arh*, to deserve.

al, *ēl*, the prohibitive particle, *noli*—*e.g.*, *koḍēl* (from *koḍ-u*, give), give not; Santāl prohibitive *ālā*. Comp. Lappish *ali* or *ele*; Ostiak *ilā*; and Finnish *ālā*. See also Semitic Analogies. The Sans. *alam* cannot properly be called a prohibitive particle; it means enough.

avva, Tel., a grandmother; Tam. *avv-a*, a matron, an elderly woman; Can. *avve*, a mother or grandmother; Tuda *av*. Comp. Mordvin *ava*, mother.—See also Indo-European Analogies.

al-ei, a wave; Can *ale*; as a verbal theme *alei* means to wander, to be unsteady. Comp. Finnish *allok*, a wave; comp. also Armenian *alik*. See especially West Indo-European Affinities.

āṟ-u, a river; Tel. *ēru*. Comp. Lesghian *or*; Avar *uor*; Yakutan (Siberian Turkish) *oryas*; Lappish *wiro*; Ostiak *jeaga*. Comp. also Armenian *aru*; Coptic *jaro*; and Hebrew *ōr*, *yeōr*.

ām, it is, yes; root *ā*, to become. Comp. Vogul *ām*, yes; Hung. *ām*, yes, surely.

iru-mbu, iron. Comp. Motor (a Samoïede dialect), *ur*, iron. See also Indo-European Analogies.

īd-u, Tel. to swin; Can. *īj-u*; Tam. *nīñj-u*. Comp. Hung. *usz*, to swim; Ostiak *ūdem*; Finnish *uin*.

ūr, a city. Compare Basque *iri*, a city. See Semitic Analogies.

uḷ, to be in, to be; as a noun, a being, an entity, a thing; as a postposition, in, within; Ancient Can. *óḷ*. As a verb *uḷ* is very irregular; and the *ḷ*, though radical, is often euphonised into *ṇ*. The primitive form and force of the root are apparent in Tamil appellative verb *uḷḷadu* (*uḷ* (*ḷ*)-*adu*), it is, there is; the Can. *uḷḷavu* (*uḷ* (*ḷ*)-*a*-*vu*), there are; and such nouns as *kaḍavuḷ* (*kaḍa*-(*v*)-*uḷ*), Tam. God, literally the surpassing or transcendent Being; and *uḷ* (*ḷ*)-*am*, the mind, that which is within. *uḷḷadu* (*uḷ-du*) has in Tamil been euphonised into *uṇḍu* (like *koḷ-du*, having taken, into *koṇḍu*), and this

euphonised appellative forms the inflexional base of the Telugu verb *uṇḍu,* to be. Comp. with *uḷ,* to be, the Ugrian substantive verb *ol,* to be — *e.g.,* Cheremiss *olam,* I am; Syrianian *voli,* I was; Finnish *olen,* I am. Comp. also the Turk *ōl,* Hung, *vol,* to be.

The primitive meaning of the Dravidian *uḷ* seems to be 'within,' in which sense it is still used as a postposition in Tamil.

eṛud-u, to write, to paint. Comp. Hung. *ir,* to write; Manchu *ara;* Fin. *kir.* Tel. *vrāyu,* to write, corresponds not to the Tamil *eṛud-u,* but to *varei,* Can. *bare,* to draw lines.

elu-mbu, bone. Comp. Fin. *lua;* Samoïede *luy,* bone.

okk-a, Mal. all; *oka,* Tel. one. Comp. Mordvin *wok,* all.

kaḍ-i, kaṛ-i, to bite. Comp. Lapp. *kask,* to bite; Hung. *harap* (*h* in Hungarian corresponding with *k* in Finnish). See Indo-European Affinities.

kaṭṭ-u, to bind, to tie. Comp. the following words, each of which has the same signification: Hung. *köt;* Ostiak *kattem* (to fasten, to catch); Syrianian *kuta*; Finn. *keitt;* Lapp. *karet;* also Hung. *köttel,* rope.

kan, an eye. Comp. Chinese *ngan, yen.*

kaṇṇīr, tears. Comp. Finn. *kōnyv;* Hung. *könny.* The Tamil word (*kaṇ-nīr*) literally signifies eye-water, so that this resemblance is probably accidental.

kapp-al, a ship, a vessel, probably a verbal noun from *kapp-u.* Tel. to cover over; derivative Telugu noun *kapp-u,* a covering. The verb is not found in Canarese or Tamil, but the Canarese noun *kapp-u,* a subterraneous room, a pit-fall for catching elephants (covered over with branches of trees and grass), and the Tamil noun *kappal,* a ship, properly a decked vessel, in contradistinction to *paḍugu,* an open vessel, are evidently identical in origin with the Telugu verb and noun. The Malay word for 'ship' is *kapāl;* but this has probably been borrowed direct from Tamil, and forms one of a small class of Malay words which have sprung from a Dravidian origin, and which were introduced into the Eastern Archipelago, either by means of the Klings (Kalingas) who settled there in primitive times, or by means of the Arab traders, whose first settlements in the East were on the Malabar coast, where the Malayāḷam, the oldest daughter of the Tamil, is spoken. The following Scythian words for 'ship' appear to be analogous to the Tamil, and have certainly not

been borrowed from it: Vogul *kap* or *kaba*; Samoïede *kebe*; Jenesei *kep*; Yerkesian *kaf*; Ostiak *chap*. See also the analogies adduced under the word *kebi*, a cave.

kar-u, black, an euphonised form of which is *kār*; Gujarāthi *karo*. Comp. Turkish *quara* or *kara*; Calmuck *chara*; Mongolian *k'ara*; Japanese *kuroi*. One of the eight words belonging to the language of the ancient Turks of the Altæ, recorded by the Chinese, was *koro*, black. See Introduction. These Scythian affinities are too distinct to admit of the smallest doubt. There is evidently a connection between this Scytho-Dravidian root and the Sanskrit *kāla*, black; Tamil *kāḷam*; from which there is a derivative, *kāṛagam*, that throws light on the relation of *kāla* to *kar-u*. Comp. Greek *κέλ-αινος* (*kel-ainos*). Probably also *kṛi* (*kar*), the radical portion of *kṛishna*, Sans. black (adjectival form *kārshṇa*), is related to the same Scythian theme, and ultimately to *kāl-a*.

kara-ḍi, a bear, from *kara-ḍu*, rough. Comp. Samoïede *korgo*; Tungusian *kuti*, *kuuti*. See also Indo-European Affinities.

kaṛu-gu, an eagle. Comp. Ostiak *kuruk*, an eagle. See also Indo-European Affinities.

kaṛutt-u, the throat; also *kur-al*, the wind-pipe. Comp. Vogul *kuryd*, the throat; Finnish *kurkku*, *kero*, *kerri*; Kurd *g'eru*; Lappish *karas*, *kirs*. Comp. also the Slavonian *gorlo*; Sans. *grīva*, *gala*.

kal, a stone. Comp. Lappish *kalle*, also *kedke* or *kerke*; Lesghian *gul*; Kamtschadale *kual*, *kualla*. Probably these words have an ulterior connection with the Finnish *kiwi*; Hungarian *kö*; Ostiak *key*, *kaück*. Comp. also (through the interchange of *l* and *r*) the Tamil *kāṛ*, gravel, a pebble, with the Greek *χερ-άς* (*cher-as*), gravel, and *χερ-μάς* (*cher-mas*), a stone, and the Armenian *k'ar*, *kuar*, a stone. The Dravidian root cannot be traced further than *kal*, a stone; but the corresponding Lappish *kalle* appears to be derived from, or connected with, *kalw-at*, to become hard. Comp. also *karra*, Lappish, hard rough.

kaḷḷ-am, *kaḷa-vu*, a theft. Comp. Lappish *keles*, a lie; Hung. *tsal*, to cheat; also Sans. *chhala*, fraud.

kāṟṟ-u (pronounced *kāttr-u*), wind. Probably from *kāl*, one of the meanings of which is wind, with the formative addition of *du* (*kāl-du* = *kāttru*); Tel. *gāli*. Comp. Kangazian (a Turkish dialect) *kat*, wind; Sojoten (a Samoïede dialect) *kat*; other Samoïede dialects *chat*, *kada* (also a storm, *charru*); Georg. *kari*; Jurazen *chada*.

kāy, to heat, or be hot, to burn, to boil. Comp. Finnish *keite, keitta*, to boil, to cook; Hungarian *keszil*. Comp. especially the Indo-European affinities of this word.

kāl, foot; Tuda *kōl;* Tuḷu *kār*. Comp. Mongol *k'ul*; Ostaik *kur;* Tungusian *chalgan, halgan;* Permian *kok;* Ossete *kach, koch;* Vogul *lal;* Korean *pal;* Canton-Chinese *koh;* Hung. *gyalog*, on foot.

kiṛa, old, aged. Comp. Hung. *kor;* Oriental Turkish *chari;* other Turkish idioms, *kar, kart;* Wotiak *keres;* Lesghian *heran*. See the Indo-European analogies of this word.

kīḻ, Can. below; Tam. *kīṛ;* ultimate base *kiṛ*. Comp. Wolgian *kilgi, kelga*, deep. From the Tamil *kiṛ* is derived *kiṛ-angu*, a bulbous root, with which we may perhaps compare the Slavonian *koren*, Jeneseï *koryl*, a root.

kudir-ei, a horse; Can. *kudur-e*. The Sanskrit *ghōṭa*, a horse, may possibly have an ulterior connection with the Dravidian word; but I cannot suppose the Dravidian word to have been borrowed from the Sanskrit one, for the Tamil occasionally borrows and uses *ghōṭa* (in Tam. *ghōṛam*, also *gōḍagam;* Tel. *gurram-u*), in addition to its own *kudir-ei;* besides which Tamil provides us with a probable derivation of *kudirei*, viz., *kudi*, to leap. The Scythian analogies are Jeneseï *kut* and Lesghian *kota*. Comp. also Malay *kuda*.

kuḍ-i, a habitation; *kuḍ-il, kuḍis-ei*, a hut, a cottage; probably from *kuḍ* (base of *kūḍ*), to come together. In Tel. and Can., *guḍ-i* means a temple. A similar word, *kuṭa* or *kuṭi*, is also contained in Sanskrit.—See Sanskrit Affinities. It has a place in each of the dialects of the Finnish family—*e.g.*, Mordvin *kudo*, a house; Cheremiss *kuda*, Finnish *kota*, Ostiak *chot*, Lappish *kata*. I suspect the Saxon *cot* had a similar origin.

kuḷ-ir, cold, to become cold: ultimate base *kuḷ;* related words *kūd-al* and *kūd-ir*, cold; also Tel. and Can. *chali*, cold. *śil-ir*, Tam. to tremble, seems to be a collateral root. With *kuḷ-ir* comp. Lappish *kal-ot*, to freeze; Finnish *cyl-ma;* and with *chali* (Tel. and Can.) comp. Permian *cheli*, cold.—See also Indo-European Affinities.

kei, hand.

key, to do. In all the Dravidian dialects *kei* is hand. In Telugu *kēlu* is also found. The most common form of this word in Telugu is *chey-i* or *chēy-i*. The word signifying to do is almost identical, viz., *key, chey*, &c.—See Sanskrit Affinities.

Comp. the following words in Scythian dialects:—Hungarian *kēz* (pronounced *keis*), Finnish *kchēsi* (root *kā*—*e.g.*, genitive *kā-an*), Estnian *kāsi*, Ostiak *ket*, Lappish *kāt*, Permian *ki*, Lasian *ke*, Mingrelian *che*, Quasi-Qumuq (a Turkish dialect) *kūya*, Turkish *kol*, Mongol *ghar*, Tungusian *gala*. The Hungarian has both *kar* and *kēz*; but the former is used to signify arm, the latter hand—a distinction which seems to prove that those roots, though perhaps ultimately related, have long been independent of one another. The words in the various Scythian languages signifying to do appear to stand in the same relation to the word for hand that they do in the Aryan and Dravidian languages. Comp. the Turkish *kyl*, to do; Mongol *ki*, Manchu *gai*, Mordvin *kā*. These words resemble the Aryan *kar*, to do, but still more closely the Dravidian *kī*, *ke*, &c. The substantial identity of the Indo-European words for hand and to do, with the Scythian words, and of the Dravidian with both, seems to furnish us, as I have shown under the head of Sanskrit Affinities, with a reliable illustration of the original oneness of all these languages.

kapp-u, Can. a subterraneous room, a pitfall; Tam. *keb-i*, a cave. Comp. Mongol and Manchu *kobi*, a cavity, a cave; Ostiak *kaba*, *kebi*, *kavi*, a chamber. Comp. also *kapp-al*, Tam. a ship, from *kapp-u*, Tel. to cover over.—See Indo-European Affinities.

kivi, Can. the ear; Tam. and Tel. (euphonically softened) *chevi*, Tuḷu *keppi*, Tuda *kevi*, Brahui *khaff*: probably related words *kād-u*, the ear, and *kēḷ*, to hear. Comp. the following Scythian words signifying the ear:—Samoïede dialects *ko*, *ku*, *kus*; Korean *kui*, Ossete *k'us*, Kurd *g'oh*, Turkish dialects *kulak*. With the softeneed Dravidian form *śevi*, comp. also Sans. *śravas*, the ear.

kēl-u, Tel. the hand. Comp. Kuralian *kell* and Georgian *cheli*, the hand. See also *kei*.

kēḷ, to hear; *kēḷ-vi*, hearing. Comp. Finnish *kuul-en*, to hear; Syrianian *kyla*, Cheremiss *kol-am*, Hung, *halla*, also *ker*, to ask, Lappish *kull-et* (*kullem*, hearing), Ostiak *kūdj-em*. Notice the change of the final *l* of the other Finnish dialects into *dj* in Ostiak, a sort of cerebral consonant, somewhat similar in sound to the final *ḷ* of the corresponding Tamil *kēḷ*. —See also the Indo-European affinities of this word.

kol, to kill. Comp. Finnish *kuol*, to die; Cher. *kol-em*, Syri. *kula*, Hung. *hal*.—See also Indo-European Analogies.

kōn, a king, a ruler; in honorific usage a shepherd, or man of the shepherd caste; *kōn-mei*, royal authority. Another form of the same word is *kō*, a king, a god. *kōyil* in ordinary Tamil means a temple; in the Old Tamil of the Syrian inscriptions it means a palace, literally *kō-il*, the king's house. It is hard to determine whether *kō* or *kōn* is to be regarded as the primitive form of this word. Comp. the Turkish and Mongolian *khān*, also *khagān*, a ruler; Ostiak *khon*.

kōṛ-i, the domestic fowl; Can. *kōḷi*, Tuḷu, *kōri*, Tel. *kōḍi*, Gōnd *kōr* (from *ku* or *kū*, to call, to cry as a bird, from which comes *kūyil*, Tam. the cuckoo, and *kural*, the voice). This word is the common term which is used in the Dravidian languages for both the cock and the hen. If it is required to express the gender, *śēval*, Tam. a cock, or *peṭṭei*, a hen, is prefixed adjectivally to the common term *kōṛi*. The Sanskrit *kukkuṭa*, a cock, may possibly be derived by reduplication from *ku*, to cry as a bird, and if so it is identical in origin with the Drav. *kōṛi*, both words being formed from a mimetic verbal theme. The Scythian analogies, on the other hand, seem closer and more direct. Comp. Vogul *kore*, Ostiak *korek*, *kurek*, Permian *korech*, *kuryg*, *kuraga*. It looks as if the North-Asian tongues borrowed this word directly from the Dravidian; for the domestic fowl had its origin in India, where the wild variety still exists; and when it was introduced into Upper Asia, the name by which it was known in India would naturally be introduced along with the fowl itself. That name being, not Sanskrit, but Dravidian, it would almost appear as if the domestic fowl had been introduced from India into Central and Northern Asia prior to the irruption into India of the Aryan race, and the consequent cessation of intercourse between the Dravidians and the Scythians. The Dravidian word seems to have found its way into two languages of the westen branch of the Indo-European family, viz., the Persian and the Russian. Comp. Persian *khor-os*, a cock; *kour-ek*, a pullet; and the Russ *kūr*, a cock; *kūr-itsa*, a fowl; diminutive, *kūr-otchka*, a chicken.

śāral, rain driven by the wind: in the usage of the Southern Tamilians, the rain brought by the south-west monsoon. Comp. Samoïede *sarre*, Permian *ser*, Votiak *sor*, rain.

śa, or *śāg-u*, to die; Tel. *chachu* (*base cha*). Comp. Samoïede *chawe* and *chabbi*, dead.—See Sanskrit Affinities.

Chēṟ-u, mud. Comp. *chedo, zerta, choti,* and *chat',* Lesghian words for clay.

tal-a, Tel. the head; Can. *tal-e,* Tam. *tal-ei.* Comp. Mongol *tolo-gai,* Calmuck, *tol-go,* Buriat *tul-gai,* Samutan (a Tungusian dialect) *döll;* other Tungusian dialects *düll, del, deli,* Turkish *tor.*

tī, fire. The more commonly used Tamil word for fire is *neruppu,* Tel. *nippu, nippuka;* but *tī* is the more classical Tamil word, and it is much used by the mass of the people in the southern districts of the country; classical Can. *tī,* Tuḷu *tū.* The Scythian affinities of this word for fire, are peculiarly distinct—*e.g.,* Samoïede *tu, tui, ti, ty,* Manchu *tua,* Hungarian *tüz,* Ostiak *tūt,* Tungus. *togo,* Lesghian *tze, zi, zie,* Finnish *tuli,* Lappish *tall,* Mongol *dul.* Comp. also Gaelic *teine,* Welsh *tān,* and Persian *tigh.* Sans. *tējas,* brilliancy, is from *tij,* to be sharp. Comp., however, *div,* Sans. to be bright, and especially *dī* and *dīp,* to shine.

tēr, chariot. Comp. Mongol *t'ereg,* chariot.

tōl, skin; Can. *togal-u.* Comp. Vogul *toul, towl,* skin.

nakk-u, to lick; derivative noun *nākku;* ultimate form *nā,* the tongue. Comp. Ostiak *nal,* to lick, and *nāl,* the tongue; Samoïede *nawa,* the tongue; *nālige,* Can. the tongue. Comp. Hung. *nyelo.*

nag-ei, to laugh, laughter. Comp. Ostiak *nāg-am,* to laugh; *nāch,* laughter; Hung. *nevet.*

nāy, a dog; probably from *nā,* the tongue = the animal that licks. Comp. *nohai,* a dog; Calmuck *nokoi, nochoi.* In Telugu, a fox is *nakka,* from *nakku,* to prowl. Another word for dog in classical Tamil is *nayakkan,* from *naya,* to be affectionate.

neṟṟi (pronounced *nettri*), the forehead (from *neṟi,* to stand upright); Tel. *nud-ur.* Comp. Lesghian *nata, nodo, nete-bek,* the forehead.

nōḍ-u, Can. to see, to perceive; *nōkk-u,* Tam.-Mal. Comp. Mongol *nüdu,* the eye.

ñāyiṟ-u, nēyiṟ-u, Tam.-Mal.; *nēsar-u,* class. Can. the sun. Comp. Hung. *nyār* (= *ñār*), summer; *nap,* a day; also Mongol *naran,* the sun; Ostiak *naï,* Afghan *nmar.*

paśu, green; *pul,* grass. Hung. *pazsit,* grass; Vogul *piza,* Ostiak *pady.*

pei-(y)-an, peī-(y)-al, Tam.-Mal. a boy, a servant; *pei-dal,* Tam. and Mal. but especially the latter, a boy or girl, a child; Can. *heida* (for *peida*), a boy or girl. *peiyan* is a masculine; the words in *al* and *dal* are verbal nouns, and therefore neuters.

dal is as common a formative of verbal nouns even in Tamil as *al*, and the two forms are mutually convertible. *peiyal* and *peidal* being abstracts, are therefore capable of denoting either sex. The theme or base of these words is evidently *pei*, a softened form of *paś-u* (*paś-u* = *pay-u* = *pei*). Hence *paśan-gal*, Tam. the older form, is often used as the colloquial plural, instead of *peiyan-gal* which is now reckoned more correct. Comp. the following Ugrian words for son:—Vogul *py*, *pu*; Mordvin and Syri. *pi*; Votiak *pyes*; Finnish *poika*; Hungarian *fiu*; Estrian *poeg*; Ostiak *pach*, *poch*, *pagul*, *pagam*, *pyram*; Lappish *patja*. The Swedish *poike* appears to be derived from the Finnish *poika*; and the Greek παί-s (*pai-s*), the Latin *pu-er*, and the English *boy*, are evidently related words. See Indo-European Affinities. The Dravidian languages appear to contain the ultimate theme of all these words —viz., *pei*, Tam. to be green or fresh, a word which has been softened from *paś-u* (*pay-u*, convertible into *pei*), green, by a common Dravidian law.

paṟ-a, old (by reason of use); Can. *paḷa-ya*, old, what is old. Comp. Mordvin *peres*; Syri. *pörys*; Ostiak *pirich*, old. See Indo-European Affinities.

pal, tooth (*pandri* = *pal-di*, Tam. a hog, the animal with a tooth or tusk). Comp. Lappish *pane*, *padne*; Wolgian *padne*, *paï*, *pin*; Ostiak *pank*, *penk*, *pek*; Cher. *py*.

pal, *pala*, many, various. Comp. Finnish *palyo*; Manchu *fulu*.

pāl, a part, a division, a half. Comp. the following Ugrian words signifying a half:—Samoïede *peāleā*; Cher. *pēle*; Lappish *beāle*; Ostiak *pēlek*; Hungarian *fēl*. See also Semitic Affinities.

piḍ-ú, to catch. Comp. Finnish *pidan*, to catch.

piṟ-agu (base *piṟ*), behind, after. Comp. Ostiak *pir*, *pira*, behind, hindermost; Finnish *pera*. See Indo-European and Semitic Affinities.

piḻḻ-ei, a child. Comp. Yarkand Tartar *billa*, a child. What is the origin of the Hindi *pillā*, a cub, a pup? See also Indo-European Affinities.

pu-gei, *smoke* (Tel. *pog-a*). Comp. Hung. *fūs*, smoke; also the following words signifying vapour in the Turkish dialects: *bug*, *buch*, *bugu*. Comp. also the English *fog*.

peṇ, a female; Can. *heṇn-u*. Comp. Lappish *hene*, a female.

pokkil-i, Tel. the navel (ultimate root probably *poy*, Tam. hollow). Comp. Ostiak *puklam*, the navel.

bayir, Can. the belly; Tam. *vayiṟ-u;* Gōnd *pir.* Comp. Kangazian (a Turkish dialect) *bar,* the belly; Armenian *port;* Albanian *bark;* Ostiak *perga;* Mordvin *pak.*

bāḻ, Can. to exist; Tam. *vāṟ,* to flourish, to live prosperously. Comp. Oriental Turkish *bōl,* to exist; Hung. *boldog,* happy.

man-a, Can. a house: class. Tam. *man-ei.* Comp. Samoïede *men,* a house; Vogul *unneh.* Theme of the Drav. word *man,* to abide, to exist; *maniki,* Tel. existence, home.

mar-am, a tree, wood; Can. *mar-a;* Tel. *mān-u* (for *mrān-u*). Comp. Lappish *muor, muorra,* a tree, wood; Quasi-Qumuk Turkish *murm, murch;* Mongol *modo;* Tomsk. *Madji;* Finnish *metsa;* Lettish *mes.*

maṟ-i, offspring, the young of certain animals, as the deer, the horse, the ass, &c.; also in Can. a young child; Mongol *mori,* a horse; Manchu *morin;* also German *mähre;* Old German *marah;* Gaelic *marc.* According to Aug. Schlegel (Sinico Aryaca), the root of the Mongol *mori,* &c., is found in the Chinese *ma,* a horse, with the addition of *ri* as a suffix. Probably the Drav. word is from *maṟ-u,* other.

mal-a, Can., Mal., Tel. a hill, a mountain; Tam. *mal-ei.* This Drav. root has found its way into the Sans. lexicons as the base of *Malaya,* the Sans. name of the Western Ghauts—*Malayāḷam,* or as the later Greek and Arabian geographers called it, "Male." It has probably given their name also to the Māl-dives or Mal-dives, the *dives* (San. *dwīpa*), or islands, pertaining to Male or Malayāḷam. Comp. Albanian *malli,* a hill; Vogul *molima;* Permian *mylk;* Volgian (by a change of *l* into *r*), *mar;* Samoïede *mari;* Avar *mehr;* Finnish *māki.*

muṟumuṟu, to grumble (not wholly a mimetic word). Comp. Finnish *muraj,* and Hungarian *morog,* to murmur. See also Indo-European Affinities.

mun, before; Hung. *emun, umun,* before. The *e* or *u* of the Hung. word is prosthetic. Chinese for face is *mien* or *min.*

vān, heaven; also *mān.* Comp. Mordvin *mānel,* heaven; Tungus. *ñyan;* dialect of the Kukies in the Chittagong hills, *van.*

vāy, the mouth. Comp. Samoïede *aiw-a,* mouth; Lappish *saiwe;* Hung. *ayak,* lip; *szay,* mouth.

viṟ-i, to watch, to keep awake. Comp. Finnish *vir-ot,* to watch; Hung. *vir-ad.*

velich-am, light; *vilakk-u,* a light. Comp. Hung. *vilāg,* a light.

I append a list of Hungarian affinities kindly furnished me by Dr Gundert, in addition to those which have already been adduced. The Dravidian words cited are Tamil, if it is not mentioned that they are otherwise.

	HUNG.		HUNG.
āḷa, Can. deep.	*ala.*	*tōnṟu*, to appear.	*tūnni.*
kaśappu, bitter.	*keserū.*	*poḍi*, powder, dust.	*por.*
kiṟu, Can. little.	*kis, kits.*	*pōr*, battle.	*per.*
kiṭṭa, near.	*kōzel.*	*pēś-u*, to speak.	*besze.*
śūppu, to suck.	*szop.*	*beṭṭa*, Can. mountain.	*bertz.*
śēr, to gather.	*szed.*	*magu*, child.	*magzat.*
śerippu, shoe.	*tzipello.*	*māḷ*, to perish.	*mul.*
śiṟagu, wing.	*szarny.*	*muyal* (Tuḷu *nosalu*), a hare.	*nyūl.*
śol, speak.	*szol.*	*mulei*, breast (woman's)	*melly.*
śōr (Can. and Tulu *sōru*), to leak.	*tsorge.*	*ve*, to boil.	*buz-in.*
śūḍu, to heat.	*sūl*, to roast *sūt*, to bake.	*vinei*, action, sin.	*būn*, sin.
śūl, pregnancy.	*szūl*, to bring forth.	*vir*, to unfold.	*virr*, to dawn. *virāg*, to blossom.
śuṟukku, narrow.	*szorit, szūck.*		
taṟei, to sprout.	*terem.*	*viṟu* (Tuḷu *bur*), to fall.	*bukni.*
tiḷei, to be full.	*tel, tōl*, full, fill.	*vit*, to sow.	*vet.*

The following Chinese, Japanese, and Mongolian affinities are chiefly selected from lists contained in Mr Edkins' "China's Place in Philology." There is a remarkable amount of agreement, especially between the Dravidian languages and the Mongolian, in principles and forms; but I notice few traces of resemblance in the vocabulary.

	CHINESE.		CHINESE.
kan, eye.	*ngan.*	*kaṭṭ-u*, to tie, a tie.	*kit*, to tie, a tie.
śey, chey, to do	*tsu.*		
mei, ink.	*mek.* Comp. Greek μέλας (*melas*).	*śid-ar*, to scatter.	*sat*, to scatter, to sow. Comp. Lat. *ser-o.*
akka, elder sister.	*aka*, elder brother.		
paḍ-ar, to expand.	*bat*, to extend.	*paḍ-u*, to suffer, used as a pas-	*bad, bit*, to spread, then to be acted upon; used as a

	CHINESE.
sive auxiliary.	sign of the passive.
	JAPANESE.
iru, to be.	*ari, iri, ori, uri*, to be, to dwell.
karu, black.	*kurō* or *kuroi*, black.
para, to spread.	*baru, haṛu*, to extend.

	JAPANESE.
paṛa, old.	*burui, furui*, old.
	MANGOLIAN.
karu, black.	*kara*, black.
paḍ-ar, to expand.	*badarhhu*, *badaral*, extension.
kei, hand.	*gar*. Comp. Sans. *kara*.

I trust the reader will remember that in comparing Dravidian words with words belonging to other families of speech,—Semitic, Indo-European, and Scythian,—I am quite aware of the danger of mistaking accidental assonances for proofs of relationship. "If," as Max Müller justly remarks, "instead of being satisfied with pointing out the faint coincidences in the lowest and most general elements of speech, scholars imagine they can discover isolated cases of minute coincidence amidst the general disparity in the grammar and dictionary, their attempts become unscientific and reprehensible." I am fully persuaded that many of the resemblances I have tabulated in these lists will turn out to be resemblances and nothing more. It will be found also that the resemblance diminishes or disappears in the course of inquiry, and therefore that it must have been accidental. I am equally persuaded, however, that *all* the resemblances I have pointed out will not be found to be the result of accident; and I consider it an aid to further, more extended, and more searching inquiry, and therefore not unscientific, to draw the attention of scholars to such resemblances as exist—whatever their nature or degree. It is desirable, in the interest of scientific inquiry itself, to indicate the various directions in which such inquiry should be made, and to furnish some means of forming an idea as to whether it is likely to be rewarded with success or not.

APPENDIX

EVIDENCE THAT THE TUDA, KOTA, GOND, KHOND OR KU, RAJMAHAL, AND ORAON LANGUAGES ARE DRAVIDIAN TONGUES, AND THAT THERE IS A DRAVIDIAN ELEMENT IN BRAHUI.

THE Tuda, Kōta, Gōnd, Khond or Ku, Rājmahāl, and Orāon languages being rude, uncultivated idioms and little known, it appears to be desirable to furnish the reader with proofs of the assertion that those languages belong to the same Dravidian stock as Tamil and Telugu, Malayāḷam, Tuḷu, and Canarese. It seems also desirable to point out the evidence on which the assertion that there is a Dravidian element in Brahui rests.

1. TUDA.—It used to be supposed that the language of the Tudas was altogether *sui generis,* or at least that it was unconnected with any of the languages of the neighbouring plains. In adopting the conclusion that the Tuda language belonged to the Dravidian stock, and giving it a place, in consequence, in the first edition of this work among the Dravidian dialects whose grammar was about to be compared, the evidence on which I placed most reliance was that of a list of words and short sentences kindly communicated to me by the Rev. F. Metz, of the Basel Missionary Society, missionary on the Nilgherry Hills. I am indebted to him for many valuable communications respecting the hill tribes and their languages. The Rev. Dr Pope has also applied himself very zealously to the study of the Tuda language; and the publication, in Colonel Marshall's book on the Tudas, of Dr Pope's "Outlines of the Grammar of the Tuda Language," with copious lists of words, constitutes an era in the history of the language of this rude but interesting tribe. I cannot do better than refer the reader to that grammar for fuller information. I shall content myself here with transcribing the concluding paragraphs.

"§ 44. On the whole, I venture to think that

"(1.) The Tuda is a language which was once highly inflexional; but having lost most of its inflexions, the people, who have evidently degenerated in every way as the result of isolation, have not replaced them by significant particles or auxiliaries to the same extent as the other South Indian tribes, and the language has thus dwindled down to a mere skeleton. It now barely suffices for the purposes of a very barbarous people.

"2. The language seems to have been originally old Canarese, and not a distinct dialect. The Tudas were probably immigrants from the Canarese country, and have dwelt in the Nīlagiris for about 800 years. A few Tamil forms were introduced by the Poligars. Intercourse with the Badagars has probably modernised a few of the forms, and introduced some words. Of Telugu influences I see no trace. Nor can I trace any resemblance in Tuda to Malayāḷam in any of the points where that dialect differs from its sisters."—"Outlines of the Tuda Grammar," included in Colonel Marshall's "Phrenologist amongst the Todas."

2. Kota.—Whilst the language and customs of the Tudas have always been regarded with peculiar interest, the Kōtas (a tribe of craftsmen, residing from an unknown antiquity on the Nilgherry Hills), being exceedingly filthy in their habits, and addicted beyond all other low-caste tribes to the eating of carrion, have generally been shunned by Europeans; and, in consequence, their language is less known than that of the Tudas. Notwithstanding this, the following paradigm of the Kōta pronouns, and of the present and preterite tenses of its verb, furnished me by Mr Metz, will show that the language of this tribe is essentially Dravidian :—

Present—Future.	Past.
Go, or shall go.	Went.
āne hōgape.	*hōsipe.*
nī hōgapi.	*hōdi.*
avane hōgako.	*hōda* (it went, *hōte*).
nāme hōgapēme.	*hōsipēme.*
nīve hōgapīri.	*hōsipiri.*
avare hōgako.	*hōsiko.*

In this paradigm the first person plural, both of the pronoun and of the verb, and the second person plural of the verb, accord most with Tamil; the other forms agree most with Ancient Canarese, particularly the formative suffix of the present tense of the verb. In the use of *h* instead of *p* (*hōgu*, to go, instead of *pōgu*), the Kōta accords with the modern Canarese. The third person of the Kōta verb, which is formed, both in the singular and the plural, by the suffix *ko,* seems at first sight entirely non-Dravidian, but in reality it is in perfect agreement with several poetic forms in Old Tamil and Old Canarese. The sign of the genitive case in Kōta is *a,* of the dative *ke,* of the locative *olge,*—all which forms correspond with those which are found in the other dialects. The preterite is formed by changing *ga* into *gi*—*e.g., hōgako,* he goes; *hōgiko,* he went. In this also we see a family resemblance to the manner in which the other dialects, especially the Telugu, form their preterites. The Kōta forms its infinitive by the addition of *alik* to the root—*e.g., tin,* eat; *tinalik,* to eat. The infinitives of the corresponding verb in Canarese are *tinna, tinnalu, tinnalike.* On the whole, though certain analogies with Tamil and also with Tuda may be observed in the Kōta, I regard this language as more nearly allied to the Canarese than to any other Dravidian idiom.

3. Gond.—A grammar and vocabulary of the Gōnd language were published in 1849 by the Rev. J. G. Driberg, at Bishop's College, Calcutta, and a paper on the language of the Seoni Gōnds, by Dr Manger, including "The Song of Sandsumjee," appeared shortly after in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society.* A translation of the Gospels of St Matthew and St Mark into Gōndi by the Rev. J. Dawson, of the Free Church of Scotland Mission, published in 1872-3 at Allahabad, throws much new light upon the language of this tribe, besides forming an interesting commencement to its literary history; and this has been followed up by an epitome of Gōnd Grammar and a list of words by the same author in the *B.A.S. Journal.* These publications contain so many proofs of the close affinity of the Gōnd language to Tamil, Telugu, and Canarese, that it seems quite unnecessary to prove in detail that it is a member of the Dravidian family. It is not so easy to determine to which of the cultivated Dravidian dialects it is most nearly allied. In many respects it accords most with Telugu,

its neighbour to the south and east; but on the whole, it seems more closely allied to Tamil, though locally of all Dravidian dialects the farthest removed from it—a proof that the claim of Tamil to be considered as the best representative of the primitive condition of these languages is not destitute of foundation.

The chief particulars in which Gōnd agrees with Telugu, rather than with Tamil or with Canarese, are as follows :—

(1.) The pronouns of the first and second persons, especially the second person plural, have most resemblance to Telugu. Compare *mikun,* Gōnd, to you, Telugu, *mīku,* with the Tamil *umakku,* and the Canarese *nimage.*

(2.) Another point of resemblance to Telugu consists in the absence of a feminine form of the pronoun of the third person singular and of the third person of the verb, and the use of the neuter singular for the feminine singular.

(3.) The Gōnd preterite verbal participle is formed, like the Telugu, by the addition of *sī* to the root, instead of the *du,* which is so largely employed by Tamil and Canarese.

(4.) A considerable number of roots of secondary importance have been borrowed by the Gōnd from the Hindi; and a small number of Sanskrit *tadbhavas* seem to have been borrowed by it from the Telugu—*e.g., nattur,* blood, from the Telugu *netturu,* a corrupt derivative from the Sanskrit *ractam.*

In some instances again Gōnd agrees remarkably with Canarese, *e.g.,* the Gōnd infinitive is in *ālē* or *īlē.* In Telugu and Tamil the infinitive is invariably in *a:* the Tamil has a verbal noun ending in *al,* of which the dative is used as a supine; and the High Tamil occasionally, but Canarese ordinarily, uses this very form *al* as an infinitive. Gōnd also like Canarese sometimes prefers *k* where the Telugu has *ch* and the Tamil *s—e.g.,* the ear, is in Tamil *śevi,* Telugu *chevi,* Canarese *kivi,* in Gōnd also *kaui.* To do, is in Tamil *śey,* Telugu *chēy,* Canarese *gēy* (*g* hard), Gōnd *kī.* Such agreements of the Gōnd with the Canarese are rare; but the particulars in which the Gōnd agrees with the Tamil, though the Telugu country lies between it and the country in which the Tamil is spoken, are numerous and important. The following are specimens of this agreement:—

(1.) Telugu has but one form for the plural of nouns substantive, the suffix *lu;* Tamil has two, *ar* and *ga,* the former epicene, the latter neuter; Gōnd also has two, *ōr* and *k.*

(2.) Gōnd, like colloquial Tamil, makes much use of a double plural for personal pronouns and the personal terminations of verbs, by combining *ōr* and *k,* like the Tamil *ar* and *ga—e.g.,* compare the Gōnd *ōr* and *ōrk,* they, with the colloquial Tamil *avar* and *avargaḷ; āndur, āndurk,* they are or were, with the Tamil *ānār, ānārgaḷ.*

(3.) The instrumental case in Telugu is formed by the addition of *chēta*: Gōnd, like the Tamil, uses *āl.*

(4.) Gōnd differs from Telugu, and accords with Tamil in retaining unaltered the initial vowel of its pronouns in the oblique cases. Thus, from *adi,* Telugu, it, comes *dēni,* of it; Tamil *adin,* of it; Gōnd *adenā.*

(5.) The Telugu negative particles are *lēdu,* there is not, and *kādu,* it is not; the corresponding particles in Tamil are *illei* and *alla;* in Gōnd *hillē* and *hallē,*

(6.) Telugu systematically uses ḍ instead of Tamil vocalic ṛ; the Gōnd retains the r of Tamil; *e.g.*, *ēḍu* or *aḍalu*, Telugu, to weep; Tamil *aṛa*, Gōnd *ara* So also compare *ēḍu*, Telugu, seven, with Tamil *ēṛu* and Gōnd *yēr-ung*.

(7.) Gōnd, like Ancient Tamil, forms its future by appending *k* to the root. Compare Gōnd *kī-kā*, I will do, with Ancient Tamil *śey-gu;* compare also Ancient Canarese *gey-gum*, used for all tenses and persons.

(8.) A number of Gōnd roots denoting objects of primary importance correspond with the Tamil rather than the Telugu—*e.g.*,

	TELUGU.	TAMIL.	GOND.
three,	*mūḍu*,	*mūndru*,	*mūnḍ*.
tree,	*mānu*,	*maram*,	*marrā*.
great,	*pedda*,	*peru, paru*,	*par*.

In a large number of instances Gōnd, though retaining the same roots as the other Dravidian dialects, modifies those roots after a fashion peculiar to itself. This will appear on comparing the following Tamil and Gōnd words:—

	TAMIL.	GOND.
boy,	*peidal*,	*pēnḍgāl*.
to fall,	*viṛa*,	*ara*.
to fill,	*nira*,	*niha*.
light,	*velicham*,	*verchi*.
many, much,	*pala*,	*valle*.
district,	*nāḍu*,	*nār* (a village).
dew,	*pani*,	*pīni* (cold).
break,	*uḍei*,	*urēha*.

Notwithstanding the affinities between the Gōnd and the other Dravidian dialects which have now been mentioned and illustrated, Gōnd possesses a large number of roots which are not found elsewhere, and exhibits peculiarities of grammatical structure of such a nature as amply to justify our regarding it as a distinct dialect. The difference existing between Tamil and Telugu sinks into insignificance when compared with the difference between the Gōnd and every other dialect of the Dravidian family.

The principal particulars in which the grammatical structure of the Gōnd differs from that of the other dialects are as follows:—

(1.) Like the idioms of Northern India, the Gōnd evinces a tendency to confound the dative with the accusative, though in possession of both forms.

(2.) It has lost the relative participle of the other Dravidian dialects, and uses instead *bō*, the relative pronouns of the Hindi. Here we have an indubitable instance of the grammar of one language being affected by the grammar of another. It is remarkable that the relative participle is retained by the Ku.

(3.) It has a passive voice, formed, as in some of those Northern idioms, by prefixing the past participle of the active voice to the substantive verb.

(4.) The remote and proximate demonstratives (*illī, hi*) which in Tamil are *avar, ivar*, in Telugu *vāru, vīru*, are in Gōnd corrupted into *ōr* and *ēr*. The neuter plurals, which in Tamil are *avei, ivei*, in Gōnd are *āū, īū;* but a form more in accordance with Tamil is preserved in some of the oblique cases—viz., *ave* and *ive*.

(5.) The base of the interrogative pronouns in Tamil, Telugu, Canarese, Malayāḷam is *y*, often softened into *e*. In Gōnd it is *b*—*e.g.*, *bōr*, who? (masculine singular), *bād*, who, which? (neuter-feminine singular); plurals, *bōrk*, *bāū*, what men? what women and things? *bā*, why? This Gōnd *ba* resembles the Tulu interrogative *vō*, which Dr Gundert derives from *e-v-u*.

(6.) Instead of the regularly formed negative voice of the other dialects, the Gōnd forms its negative verbs by simply prefixing the negative particles *hille* or *halle*, to the verb. For example, thou art not, or thou becomest not (in Tamil *āgāy*, in Telugu *kāvu*), is in Gōnd *halle āyvi*. A similar use of the negative particle is found in the Kōta language. The only thing in the other dialects which at all corresponds to this is the occasional formation in poetical Tamil of a negative verb by the insertion of the negative particle *al* between the root of the verb and the pronominal suffix—*e.g.*, *pēś-al-ēn*, I speak not, for *pēś-ēn*.

(7.) The chief difference, however, in point of grammatical structure between the Gōnd and the other Dravidian dialects, consists in its peculiarly elaborate and complete conjugational system. In this particular it is rivalled by the Tulu alone. (See "The Verb: Conjugational System.") Tamil, Malayāḷam, and Canarese possess only a present, an indefinite past, and a future—the future more or less aoristic. Telugu, in addition to these tenses, has a regularly formed aorist. The indicative and the imperative are the only moods which these dialects possess, and they are destitute of a passive voice properly so called. All modifications of mood and tense are formed by means either of auxiliary verbs or of suffixed particles. Whilst the more cultivated Dravidian idioms are so simple in structure, the speech of the Gōnd boasts in a system of verbal modification and inflexions almost as elaborate as that of Turkish. It has a passive voice: in addition to the indicative and the imperative moods, it possesses a potential: in the indicative mood, where Tamil has only three tenses, it has a present, an imperfect definite, and indefinite past, a perfect, a conditional and a future, each of which is regularly inflected: like the other idioms, it has a causal verb, but it stands alone in having also an inceptive. In these particulars the Gōnd grammar has acquired a development peculiar to itself, perhaps in some degree through the influence of the highly inflected Santāl, its Kōlarian neighbour to the northward.

There is a peculiar refinement in the Grammar of the Gōnd which is deserving of notice. The possessive forms of the personal pronouns agree in number and gender with the substantives they qualify. Thus, whilst 'my hand' is *nāvā kei* (Tel. *nā kei*, Tam. *enadu kai*), 'my son' is *nāvōr marri*, in which *nāvōr*, my, *meus*, is a masculine singular formed from *māv'*, abbreviated from *māvā*, with the addition of *ōr*, he (or they, the plural being used for the singular, like Tel. *vāru*, Tam. *avar*.). The corresponding Tam. *enadu* (in *enadu magan*, my son) is in itself distinctively a neuter, formed from *du*, the affix of the neuter singular; and yet it is used without distinction of gender (or number in the colloquial dialect) to qualify masculines and feminines. In the Tamil poetical dialect *enadu*, my, is replaced in the plural by *ena*—*e.g.*, *ena keigal*, my hands. The Gōnd possessive of the personal pronoun has all four forms complete:—

nāwōr.	*tammur*	my brother (masc.)
nāwā.	*selār.*	my sister (fem.-neut.)
nāwōrk.	*tammurk.*	my brothers (masc. plur.)
ṇāwōng.	*selārk.*	my sisters (fem.-neut. plur.)

4. Ku.—The Khond, Kandh, or Ku language, undoubtedly a Dravidian idiom, has generally been considered as identical with the Gōnd. It was stated long ago by Captain Blunt in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vii., on the authority of a native Jaghiredar, that the Gōnds and the Khonds are totally distinct races. Notwithstanding this, prior to the publication of the first edition of this work, I had not met with any account of their languages in which they were regarded as different, though in truth their differences are numerous and essential.* In many particulars Ku accords more closely than Gōnd with Tamil, Telugu, and the other Dravidian tongues; in some things less so. For example:—

(1.) Gōnd forms its infinitive in *ālē* or *īlē*; Ku, like Telugu, Tamil, and modern Canarese, forms its infinitive by suffixing *a*, sometimes *va* or *pa*. Thus, to become is in Gōnd *āyālē*; in Telugu *kā*; in Canarese *āgal* or *āga*; in Tamil *āga*; in Ku *āva*.

(2.) Ku retains the simplicity of the conjugational system of the other Dravidian dialects, in contradistinction to the elaborateness of the Gōnd.

(3.) Gōnd forms its negatives by prefixing to the indicative aorist the separate negative particles *hille* or *halle*. In this point Ku differs from Gōnd, and agrees with the other dialects. Thus, I do not is in Gōnd *hille kīyōn*; in Tamil *śeyyēn*; in Telugu *chēyanu*; in Canarese *gēyenu*; in Ku *giēnu*.

In the following instances Ku accords more closely with Tamil and Canarese though locally very remote, than with its nearer neighbour, Telugu.

(1.) Telugu forms its plural by the use of *lu* alone, except in some of the oblique forms of the 'rational' demonstratives. Ku, like Tamil, makes a difference between the plurals of nouns which denote rational beings, and those of nouns of the inferior class. The Tamil suffix of the first class of plurals is *ar*, of the second class *kal*; the corresponding suffixes in Ku are *āru* or *ru*, and *kā*.

(2.) Telugu forms its masculine singular by means of the suffix *ḍu*: Canarese and Tamil by *anu* and *an*. Ku by means of the suffix *āñu* or *ānyu*. Thus, compare *vāḍu*, Telugu, he, with the Tamil *avan*, Canarese *avañu*, Ku *avāñu*.

(3.) Ku pronouns bear a closer resemblance to the Tamil and Canarese than to the Telugu and Gōnd, as will appear from the following comparative view:—

	Telugu.	Gond.	Tamil.	Canarese.	Ku.
I,	*nēnu.*	*anā.*	*yān* (ancient).	*ān* (ancient).	*ānu.*
we,	*mēmu.*	*amāt.*	*yām* (do.)	*ām* (do.)	*āmu.*
thou,	*nīvu.*	*ima.*	*nī.*	*nīnu.*	*īnu.*

	Telugu.	Gond.	Tamil.	Canarese.	Ku.
ye,	*mīru.*	*imat.*	*nīr.*	*nīvu.*	*īru.*
he, remote.	*vāḍu.*	*ōr.*	*avan.*	*avanu.*	*avāñu.*
he, proximate.	*vīḍu.*	*ēr.*	*ivan.*	*ivanu.*	*ivāñu.*

(4.) In the Dravidian languages contingency is expressed by the addition of a particle to any verbal tense, person or number. This subjunctive suffix is in Telugu *ēni*, or *ē*; in Canarese *re*, *rū*, or *āgyu*. One of the suffixes employed in the Tamil is *kāl*, which in the speech of the vulgar becomes *kā*; and this very particle *kā*, added, as in Tamil, to the preterite, is the suffix by which the Ku also forms conditional or contingent verbs—*e.g.*, If I do is in Telugu *nēnu chēyudunēni*; in Canarese *nānu gēyidare*; in colloquial Tamil this is *nān cheydākkā*; in Ku also (from the root *gi*, to do), it is *ānu gitekkā*.

On the other hand, in the following particulars Ku agrees more closely with Telugu than with Tamil or Canarese.

(1.) It uses the neuter singular to denote the feminine singular.

(2.) The oblique cases or "inflexions" of the pronouns of the first and second persons, singular and plural, are identical with those of Telugu.

(3.) The case-terminations of Ku are nearly in accordance with those of Telugu.

(4.) The pronominal signs suffixed to the Ku verbs accord on the whole better with Telugu than with any other dialect—*e.g.*, in Tamil the second and third persons plural end differently, the one *īr*, the other *ār;* in Telugu they end alike—both generally in *aru ;* in Ku also both these persons end alike in *eru.*

(5.) In Canarese all relative participles, including that of the relative verb, end in *a;* in Tamil all relative participles, with the exception of that of the future, have the same ending. In Telugu the relative participle of the indefinite or aoristic tense ends in *eḍi* or *e, i* ; and in the Ku also the relative past participle exhibits this ending. Thus, *āna,* Tamil, that became; in Canarese *āda;* in Telugu (indefinite tense), *ayyēti;* in Ku the same form is *āti.*

The various particulars now mentioned prove Ku to be distinct from Gōnd, and though it is allied to it, it is allied only in the same manner as to the other Dravidian languages. In some points this language differs from all the other dialects of the family; for example, it forms its past verbal participles not by means of the suffixes *du, i* or *si,* the only suffixes known in the other dialects, but by suffixing to the root *ā*, sometimes *sā* or *jā*, after the manner of some of the languages of Northern India. In the other dialects of this family, with the exception of the Tulu, the negative verb possesses only one tense, an aorist, has also, like the Tulu, a negative preterite—a decided advantage over the other dialects. The Ku suffixes of the present verbal participles are also different from those which are found in the other Dravidian dialects. The formative suffix of the present verbal participle is in Telugu *chu* or *tu ;* in the Canarese *uta* or *ute ;* in the Ku it is *i* or *pi.*

5. Rajmahal.—The lists of words hitherto published do not go a great way towards proving this language distinctively Dravidian. The evidence of the pronouns and lowest numeral is clear ; but the other distinctively Dravidian words found in the lists are not numerous. For the present, perhaps, all that can be said with certainty is that the Rājmahāl contains a distinctively Dravidian element. When it has been examined as carefully as the Orāon, it may be possible to speak of its relationship in stronger terms. It is commonly stated that it is almost the same as the Orāon ; but this opinion, though probably correct, requires confirmation.

The principal and most essentially Dravidian words I have noticed are as follows :—

I,	*en.*	eye,	*kānē.*	Drav.	*kaṇ.*
we,	*en. (nam, om).*	nose,	*muna.*	do.	*mūkku.*
thou,	*nina.*	tooth,	*pāla.*	do.	*pal.*
you,	*nina* (*nima* in *nimki,* yours)	ear,	*kēdu.*	do.	*kādu.*
he, she, it,	*āth.*	hand,	*kēkha.*	do.	*kei.*
they,	*owar.*	hair,	*tale.*	do.	'head.'
this,	*īh.*	tree,	*man.*	do.	*mān-u.*
that,	*āh.*	flower,	*phūp.*	do.	*pū.*
here,	*ino.*	fish,	*mīn.*	do.	*mīn.*
there,	*ano.*	dove,	*pūrah.*	do.	*purā.*
one,	*art, ort.*	scorpion,	*tīlah.*	do.	*tēḷ.*

why, *endhar*.
dative suffix, *ku*.

pain,	*nōgi.*	Drav.	*nōgu.*
above,	*mēkthi.*	do.	*mēl.*
mother,	*aya.*	do.	*āyi.*
daughter,	*moki.*	do.	*mag-aḷ.*
man,	*al, alla.*	do.	*āḷ.*
come,	*bar-en.*	do.	*bar-a.*
go,	*ek-en.*	do.	*ēg-a.*

Unfortunately the inflexions of the Rājmahāl noun and verb are not given in any of the lists, so that with the exception of a very few incidental particulars the grammatical construction of this language remains unknown. In the particulars that follow the construction is Dravidian. The dative postposition is *ku; m* is the sign of the plural of the pronouns of the first and second persons, replacing *n* of the singular; *ar* is the sign of the plural of pronouns of the third person.

6. *ORAON. Much light has been thrown on the construction and vocabulary of the Orāon by an article on that language in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society,* vol. xxxv., by the Rev. F. Batsch, a missionary who has laboured amongst the Orāons in Chūtiā Nāgpūr.

The personal pronouns, which are very regular and distinctively Dravidian, are as follows:—

	I.	WE.	THOU.	YOU.
nom.	*en.*	*em.*	*nin.*	*nim.*
gen.	*engha.*	*emhai.*	*ninghai.*	*nimhai.*
dat.	*engage.*	*emage.*	*ningāge.*	*nimāge.*
acc.	*engan.*	*eman.*	*ninin.*	*nimin, nimanum.*
abl.	*engusti.*	*emgustin.*	*ningusti.*	*nimgustim.*
instru.	*enganti.*	*emanti.*	*ninante.*	*nimanti.*
loc.	*engmi.*	*emanu, emanum.*	*ninganu.*	*nimganu.*
agent.	*enim.*	*emim.*	*ninim.*	*nimim.*

(1.) *em,* we, is the ordinary plural of the first person, used when we means more than two. *nām,* which is equally Dravidian, means, it is said, 'we two.' This use of *nām* as a dual may throw light on the origin of the plural inclusive of the other Dravidian languages.

(2.) The third person is represented only by *ās,* he, *ad,* it or she, *ār,* they. Notice the Dravidian epicene plural in *r.* What? is *end.*

(3.) Postpositions. *ge,* to, for; *nu,* upon; *mund,* before; *mechla,* above; *kuti,* besides; *kaṭha,* beyond; *menya,* up; *kīnya,* beneath. These are purely Dravidian words. *gusti,* from, I cannot identify.

(4.) Numerals. One, *onta*; two, *enr;* three, *mund;* four, *nāch.* Adjectival numerals—*ort ālao,* one man, *irib ālar,* two men. The rest of the numerals are borrowed from the northern vernaculars.

(5.) Words certainly Dravidian are *āl,* man, *pal,* tooth, *khan* eye, *boi,* mouth, *moy,* nose, *bar,* come.

(6.) With the exception of the words cited above, the rest of the Orāon nouns, adjectives, and verbs present scarcely any point of resemblance to Dravidian words. The mass of the words in the Orāon vocabulary may be Kōlarian,

* Since the publication of the 2nd Edition of this Grammar much light has been thrown upon the connection of the ORĀON or KURUKH with the Dravidian languages by the Rev. O. Flex's "Introduction into the Orāon Grammar" and a "Kurukh Grammar," by the Rev. Fred. Hahn, *German Evangl. Luth., Mission, Chōta Nāgpur,* 1905.—EDS.

but do not seem to be Dravidian. This instance tends to show that languages may be cognate, whilst yet the proof may survive only in the pronouns, the first few numerals, and the structure.

7. Dravidian Element in Brahui.—In many of the particulars in which the Brahui is found to be allied to the Dravidian tongues, it is equally allied to each of the families of tongues included in the Scythian group, so that to that extent it would be safest to content ourselves with saying that the non-Aryan element contained in Brahui—the element which is incapable of being affiliated to the Indo-Parsic—appears to be Scythian, using the term Scythian in its widest sense. Thus in Brahui, as in the Dravidian dialects, and in the whole of the Scythian tongues, the cases of nouns are denoted by postpositions. The gender of nouns is expressed, not by their inflexions, but by prefixed separate words. The number of nouns is ordinarily denoted by the use of separate particles of pluralisation, such as many, several, &c. When a noun stands alone without any such sign of plurality, its number is considered to be indefinite, and it is then regarded as singular or plural according to the context, or the number of the verb with which it agrees. This rule is more characteristic of Tamil than of the other Dravidian idioms. Adjectives are destitute of comparatives and superlatives.

On the other hand, there are certain particulars in which the Brahui appears to me to present traces of the existence of a distinctively Dravidian element. The observations I made on the Brahui in the first edition of this work were founded on a brief grammar and vocabulary of the language contained in vol. vii. of the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*. A fuller grammar and vocabulary have now been supplied by Dr Bellew, in his book entitled "From the Indus to the Tigris" (Trübner, 1873), and it appears to me that the theory I advocated—(not that the Brahui was a Dravidian language, but that "it evidently contained a Dravidian element, an element which was probably derived from the remnant of some ancient Dravidian race incorporated with the Brahuis")—has been confirmed.

(1.) The Brahui pronoun of the second person singular is *nī*, thou, precisely as in all the Dravidian togues. The plural of this pronoun—viz., *num*, you (*numā*, of you), is also wonderfully in accordance with old Dravidian forms. The Canarese is *nīm*, you; the Orāon *nim;* the old Tamil possessive in *num-a*, you (in which we see traces of an obsolete base *num* or *nūm*, you); and the ordinary base of the oblique cases of this pronoun in Tamil is *um*. It has been objected that there is nothing distinctively Dravidian in these forms, seeing that *ni*, thou, appears in some shape in the Australian dialects, in Chinese, and in many of the languages of High Asia. This pronoun of the second person has undoubtedly a very wide range, as has been shown *in loco*, but it is remarkable that throughout India and the countries adjacent to India it is found only in the Dravidian languages and the Brahui. The change from *nī* in the singular to *num* in the plural appears to me still more distinctively Dravidian.

(2.) Whilst *nīm* or *nūm* is to be considered as the most classical form of the plural of the Dravidian pronoun of the second person, *nīr* is the form ordinarily used in a separate shape in Tamil, *mīru* in Telugu; and in consequence of this plural termination in *r*, in nearly all the Dravidian idioms the second person plural of the verb in the indicative mood ends, not in *im* or *um*, but in *īr*, *eru*, *āru*, *iri*, &c. The same peculiarity reappears in the Brahui. Whilst the separate pronoun ends in *m*, *r* is the pronominal sign of the second person of the verb—*e.g.*, *areri*, ye are, *arer*, they are; with which compare the Canarese *iru*(*tt*)*īri*, ye are, *iru*(*tt*)*āre*, they are.

(3.) A remarkable analogy between the Brahui and the Dravidian language is apparent in the reflexive pronoun *ten*, self, *se*. In the Dravidian languages this pronoun is *tan* or *tān*, and is regularly declined, whilst the nominative is also used adverbially in the sense of 'indeed.' In Brahui *ten* is similarly used, not as a particle, nor only as an adverb, but as a pronoun, and is declined as regularly as the other pronouns.

(4.) Nouns form their plurals by adding *k*, as in Gōnd—*e.g.*, *hulī*, a horse, *hulīk*, horses.

(5.) The root of the substantive verb in Brahui is *ar*, in Tamil and Canarese *ir*.

(6.) Bopp remarks that the three lowest numerals could never be introduced into any country by foreigners. The truth of this remark is illustrated by several circumstances of which Bopp could scarcely have been aware. From five upwards the numerals of the Orāon are foreign. From four upwards the Brahui numerals are of Indo-European origin (*e.g.*, *char*, four, *panj*, five, *shash*, six); and in the compound numerals twenty-one and twenty-two, the words for one and two are also Indo-European, but the separate numerals one, two, three, are totally unconnected with the Sanskrit family, and two of them are identical with Dravidian numerals. In Brahui, two is *irat;* compare Can. *eraḍu*, two; Tam. *irat(tu)*, twofold or double. In Brahui, three is *musit;* compare Can. *mūr-u;* Tel. *mūḍ-u;* Tulu *mūji*. The Dravidian bases of these numerals are *ir*, two, *mu*, three; and if we notice the terminations of the Brahui numerals (one, *asit*, two, *irat*, three, *musit*), it is obvious that the second syllable of each of these words, *it* or *at*, is merely a neuter formative, like that which we find in the Dravidian languages (*e.g.*, compare *ir*, the base and numeral adjective 'two,' with *iraḍu*, the abstract neuter noun); consequently the agreement of the Brahui with the Dravidian numerals, both in the base and in the formative, is complete. If we remember the interchangeable relation of *s* and *r*, and if we regard the Canarese *mūr*, three and the Brahui *mus*, as an instance of this interchange, as I think we may safely do (illustrated as it is by the Tulu *mūji*), we may also venture to connect the Dravidian numeral base *or*, one, with the Brahui *as*. This connection, however, is doubtful, whereas there cannot be any doubt respecting two and three. It is worthy of notice that one is *achat* in Pehlevi.

(7.) In the class of auxiliary words (prepositions, conjunctions, &c.) compare the Brahui *monī*, opposite, with the Tamil *munnē*, before.

The number of nouns and verbs in Brahui which can with certainty be identified with Dravidian roots is not considerable, but it is equal to the number found in the Orāon vocabulary.

	Brahui.	Dravidian.		Brahui.	Dravidian.
eye	*khan*,	*khan, kan.*	stone,	*khal*,	*kal.*
mouth,	*bā*,	*bāy, vāy, boi.*	blow,	*bil*,	*bil, bir, vil.*
ear,	*khaf*,	*kivi, kād-u, kāū.*	saw,	*ara*,	*ara-m.*
face,	*mon*,	*mun*, before.	scorpion,	*telt*,	*tēḷ.*
brain,	*milī*,	*mū ei.*	to cut,	*hare*,	*aru, ari.*
son,	*mār*,	*marri* (Gōnd).	to beat,	*khal*,	*kol* (to kill).
mother,	*āi*,	*āyi.*	to do,	*ke, kar*,	*ke, ge, chey*
water,	*dīr*,	*nīr.*	to come,	*bar*,	*bar, var.*
milk,	*pāhlt*,	*pāl.*	to be,	*ar*,	*ir.*

The analogies between the Brahui and the Dravidian languages which have now been pointed out, are much closer than any analogy which subsists between the Dravidian languages and the Bodo, the Dhimal, and the languages of the other tribes on the north-eastern frontier of India which were termed "Tamulian" by Mr Hodgson. Those analogies appear to me to be almost as remote as those of the Tibetan family; and are not only less numerous, but also of a less essential character and less distinctive than the analogies which are discoverable between the Kōlarian tongues and the Dravidian. Compare the following list of Dravidian words of primary importance with analogous words in the Brahui, and with the words in the Bodo and Dhimal which correspond in signification:—

	DRAVIDIAN.	BRAHUI.	BODO.	DHIMAL.
thou,	*nī,*	*nī,*	*nang,*	*nā.*
you,	*num,*	*num,*	*nangchūr,*	*nyēl.*
we,	*nām,*	*nān,*	*jong,*	*kyel.*
self,	*tan,*	*ten,*	*goui,*	*tāi.*
one,	*or,*	*as-it,*	*chē,*	*ē.*
two,	*irad-u,*	*irat,*	*gnē,*	*gne.*
three,	*mūr-u,*	*mus-it,*	*thām,*	*sūm.*
eye,	*kan,*	*khan,*	*mogon,*	*mī.*
ear,	*kivi,*	*khaf,*	*khomā,*	*nāhāthong.*
water,	*nīr,*	*dīr,*	*dōi,*	*chī.*
stone,	*kal,*	*khal,*	*onthāi,*	*ūnthūr.*

It seems unnecessary to give a large number of instances; for whilst the Brahui does appear to a certain extent to contain Dravidian forms and words, the Bodo and Dhimal, and to them may be added most of the other dialects of the north-eastern forests, present no *special* analogies whatever; and contain only a few of those structural affinities which they have in common, not only with the Dravidian, but with the Tibetan, and with every language and family of languages of the Scythian group.

INDEX

A

Abaseni, 90.
Abhiras, 109.
Accadian, 607.
Æthiopians, 108.
Afghan, 389, 600.
Āgamas, 83.
Agastēśvara, 115.
Agastya, 99, 114, 115.
Ἄϊοι, Aïoi, 87, 95, 96.
Akrīda, 14, 18.
Albanian, 622.
Altaïc, 61.
Ambalakkādu, 8.
Amrāvatī, 124.
Andaræ, 12.
Andhra, 2, 4, 8, 9, 10, 26, 27, 107.
Āndhra-Drāvida-bhāshā, 4, 27.
Andre Indi, 10, 26, 28.
Anglo-Saxon, 46, 300.
Aornis, 101.
Aravam, 14, 15, 16.
Arcot, 93.
Argaric Gulf, 100, 101.
Ἀριάκη, Ariakē, 10, 94.
Arjuna, 11, 12, 111.
Ἄρκατος, Arkatos, 93.
Armenian, 246, 332, 342, 389, 390, 598, 616, 622.
Armorican, 485.
Arrian, 280.
Ārya-bhatta, 87.
Āryā-vartta, 108, 148.
Asoka's inscriptions, 10, 13, 124, 128.
Asam, 39.
Assemani, 23 *note*.
Ati-Vīra-Rāma Pāndya, 99.
Augustus, 11, 103.
Australian, 75, 76, 77, 383, 395
Avar, 622.
Ayōdhyā, 110.

B

Babylon, 65, 89, 364, 374, 597, 609.
Badaga, 29, 30, 34, 157, 276, 626.
Baghistān, 65.
Barace, 95.
Barbosa, 22.
Basle missionaries, 31.
Basque, 382, 614.
Βάτοι, Batoi, 102.
Batsch, Rev. F., 36, 632.
Beames, Mr. 58, 60, 124, 128. 159, 164, 185, 186, 280, 281, 403, 410.
Behistun, 49, 56, 57, 65, 68, 77, 104, 108, 184, 212, 274, 282, 295, 296, 322, 327. 357, 393, 395, 406, 474, 524, 610.
Bellew, Dr. 633.
Belūchī, 377, 409.
Belūchistān, 2, 67.
Benfey, Professor, 575, 576.
Bengal, 133.
Bengālī, 41, 42, 53, 56, 57, 147, 155, 158, 272, 297, 327, 379, 410, 412, 436, 465, 509, 519, 591.
Beschi, 130, 215, 224, 474, 478.
Βηττιγώ, Bēttigō, 93, 102.
Bhīls, 107.
Bhojpurī Hindī, 519.
Bhotas, 5.
Bhotīya, 606.
Bhúmig, 418.
Bhūtān, 107, 281.
Bleek, Dr. 63, 72, 77, 159, 185.
Blunt, Captain, 630.
Bodos, 39, 281, 294, 634, 635.
Bohemian, 375.
Bohtlingk, 63.
Bolingæ, 28.
Boller, 63.
Bopp, 247, 333, 389, 413, 441, 474, 495, 509, 570, 571, 634.
Bornu, 77, 240, 388, 393, 448.
Βούττα, Boutta, 102.
Brachme, 102.
Brahmā, 190, 343.
Brahmadesam, 102.
Brahmans, 2, 41, 45, 47, 48, 53, 84, 102, 110, 112, *passim*.
Brahuī, 39, 40, 57, 66, 77, 105, 108, 148, 150, 160, 164, 232, 239, 246, 272, 274, 296, 300, 326, 331, 333, 335, 364, 371, 387, 393, 409, 417, 571, 632, 633, 634, 635.
Brigel, Mr. 32, 123, 279, 363, 504, 526.
Brown, Mr. C. P. 22, 27, 29, 30, 175, 233.
Buchanan, Dr. 95.
Buddha, 15, 79.
Buddhists, 9, 15, 79.
Bühler, Dr. 150, 568.
Bunsen, 62.
Buriat, 482, 620.
Burghers, 30, 34.
Burma, 392.
Burmese, 124.
Burnell, Dr. 33, 94, 95, 96, 116, 117, 126, 127, 128, 578.
Burton, 14.
Buttmann, 595.

C

CAEL, 99.
Cælobothras, 92.
Caldwell, Mr. R. C., 70, 351.
Calicut, 18, 95, 570.
Calingæ, 12.
Calingam, 29.
Calingas, 102.
Calingon, 100.
Calmuck, 246, 272, 296, 382, 391, 616, 620.
Calymere Point, 100, 101.
Campbell, Mr. A. D., 27, 28, 472.
Campbell, Sir George, 35, 37, 38.
Canara, 30.
Canarese, 4, *passim*.
Cannanore, 7.
Canopus, 115.
Careï, 96.
Carey, 42,
Carnatic, 6, 31, 93, 102.
Carrical, 3.
Cashmirian, 442.
Castrén, 63, 243, 391, 393, 409
Caucassian, 228, 327, 331, 332.
Celobotras, 18.
Celtic, 69, 70, 71, 105, 148, 184, 294, 356, 377, 380.
Celts, 68.
Central India, 415.
Χαβηρος, Chabēros, 23, 102.
Chaldean, 54, 206, 374, 409, 440, 477, 609.
Chālukya, 13.
Chandragiri, 16, 20, 31.
Chandragiri, Rājā, 7.
Chenna-pattanam, 7.
Chennappa Nāyakka, 7.
Chentsu, 418.
Chera Dynasty, 94, 128.
Chēralam, 18.
Chēras, 11, 14, 128.
Cheremiss, 281, 295, 335, 615, 617, 621.
Chicacole, 25.
Chīnas, 4, 115.
Chinese, 56, 61, 65, 71, 75, 77, 82, 104, 157, 185, 191, 332, 382, 383, 389, 390, 392, 393, 395, 406, 448, 466, 590, 617, 623, 633.
Chinglepat, 7.
Chintāmani, 48, 84, 265, 299.
Chittār, 98.
Chola, 5, 8, 10, 11, 13, 14, 21, 25, 93; 107, 115, 127.
Choliya, 14.
Chūtiā Nāgpūr, 36, 37, 632.
Clay, Mr. 286, 345, 527.
Clemens Alexandrinus, 10, 102.
Cochin, 3, 16, 86, 126, 134.
Coimbatoor, 18, 94, 98.
Colchic Gulf, 99.
Colcis Indorum, 99.
Cole, Major, 33.
Colebrooke, Mr. 8.
Colis, Coliacum, 101.
Colombo, 7.
Comorin, Cape, 1, 6, 17, 96, 97, 98, 99, 101, 102, 114.
Conti, N., 102.
Coorg, 6, *passim*.
Coptic, 614.
Corean, 382.
Coromandel, 20, 21, 22, 100, 115, 573.
Cosmas Indicopleustes, 18, 23, 103.
Cottara, 95.
Cottonara, 95.
Ctesias, 89, 90, 91.
Cunningham, General, 29, 93, 102.
Curzon, Mr. 108, 109.
Cuthite, 440.

D

DALTON, Colonel, 34, 35, 36, 37.
Damilo, 9, 109.
Damirici, 10, 94.
Dandakāranya, 115.
Danish, 10, 443, 589, 602.
Daradas, 4.
Darius Hystaspes, 65, 357.
Dasyus, 53, 106.
Dawson, Rev. J., 34, 626.
De Nobilibus, Robt., 318.
Deva-Nāgarī, 124, 125, 129, 130, 131, 132, 138, 151.
Dhārwār, 25.
Dhimāl, 39, 75, 245, 436, 437, 634, 635.
Dimirica, 10.
Dionysius Periegetes, 101, 104.
Dōms, 107.
Doric, 152, 242, 247, 389, 401, 411.
Dowson, Professor, 18.
Dravidas, 2, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10.
Dravidian, 1, *passim*.
Drāvidī Prākrit, 5.
Drāviras, 42.
Driberg, Rev. J. G., 34, 626.
Duff, Sir M. E. Grant, 11 *note*.
Durgā, 96. 613.
Dutch, 21, 593.

E

EDKINS, Dr. 52, 64, 65, 373, 382, 389, 392, 488, 512, 524, 545, 623.
Eggeling, Dr. 18, 25, 128.
Egypt, 103.
Egyptian, 89, 127, 295, 374.
Ellis, Mr. 32, 125, 572.
English, 46, *passim*.
Esthonian, 185, 376, 380, 391, 542.
Ethiopic, 127, 374.
Eugubian Tables, 242.
Eusebius, 104.
Eustathius, 104.

F

FESTUS AVIENUS, 104.

Finnish, 42, 49, 55, 61, 63, 64, 67, 71, 82, 104, 105, 140, 149, 161, 162, 180, 184, 185, 217, 246, 254, 274, 277, 281, 282, 285, 295, 305, 307, 327, 332, 335, 338, 341, 342, 354, 380, 381, 382, 390, 391, 393, 401, 406, 409, 437, 438, 439, 463, 477, 482, 495, 510, 520, 525, 542, 569, 610, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 620, 621, 622.
Finno-Ugrian, 357, 409, 477.
Fluellen, 59.
Frater Paulinus ā St Bartholomæo, 21.
French, 46, 184, 591.
Frisian, 300.

G

GAELIC, 620.
Gangarides Calingæ, 29.
Ganges, 28, 29, 59, 95.
Ganjam, 102.
Garo, 395.
Gauras, 42.
Gaurian, 56, 57, 280, 409, 410, 411, 412, 464, 466, 484, 509.
Gentoos, 25.
Georgian, 327, 381, 391, 592, 593, 616.
Georgius Syncellus, 104.
German, 52, 135, 173, 211, 247, 294, 375, 376, 377, 401, 500, 568, 585, 589, 591, 593, 594, 598, 622.
Gesenius, 533, 609.
Ghauts, 6, 16, 19, 31, 32, 33, 575.
Goa, 3.
Godāvarī, 29.
Gōnd, 6, *passim*.
Gōndvana, 25, 34, 35.
Gothic, 69, 70, 71, 148, 251, 295, 299, 300, 323, 338, 342, 356, 368, 374, 376, 389, 413, 438, 509, 510, 591, 594.
Gover, Mr 365, 410.
Græco-Scythian, 40.
Graul, Dr. 494, 511.
Grantha, 19, 86, 124, 125, 129, 131, 133, 146.
Gräter, Rev. B., 33.
Greek, 10, 52, 68, 69, 70, 71, 73, 97, 98, 99, 101, 103, 134, 148, 152, 164, 173, 175, 179, 180, 182, 192, 206, 211, 233, 247, 252, 253, 273, 276, 285, 294, 356, 368, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 390, 401, 410, 411, 448, 449, 474, 508, 542, 566, 571, 572, 580, 582, 584, 588, 589, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 610, 616, 621.
Growse, Mr. F. S. (M.A.) , 54.
Gujarātī, 1, 2, 3, 56, 57, 158, 272, 274, 364, 390, 394, 409, 412, 414, 591, 616.
Gulf of Manaar, 99.
Gūmsur, 35.
Gundert, Dr. 9, 15, 19, 20, 21, 24, 30, 58, 86, 95, 97, 109, 134, 136, 153, 155, 163, 168, 171, 174, 178, 187, 188, 190, 194, 197, 209, 213, 217, 230, 242, 247, 250, 251, 256, 261, 262, 263, 268, 272, 276, 279, 282, 283, 304, 305, 325, 327, 331, 332, 347, 351, 352, 354, 356, 365, 369, 428, 435, 449, 456, 475, 476, 494, 504, 524, 525, 530, 531, 547, 575, 578, 598, 623, 629.
Guntur, 30.
Gyāmi, 392.

H

HAHN, Rev. F., 520 *note*.
Hala Kannada, 30, 126, 128.
Hassoun, Mr. 90.
Hebrew, 3, 41, 71, 74, 75, 88, 134, 139, 172, 204, 205, 206, 217, 259, 371, 374, 401, 437, 440, 443, 452, 477, 485, 538, 545, 609, 614.
Herodotus, 89, 90, 107.
Hieronymus, de S. Stephano, 22.
Himalayan, 294, 395, 436.
Himyaritic, 127.
Hindī, 2, 50, 53, 56, 57, 58, 147, 158, 272; 280, 281, 390, 410, 412, 436, 534, 535, 591, 612, 613, 627, 628.
Hindū, 26, 93, 586.
Hindūstānī, 2, 7, 38, 155, 280, 299, 301, 302, 436, 461, 462, 465, 474, 569, 594.
Hislop, Rev. S., 34.
Ho (Hol), 38, 299, 418.
Hodgson, Mr. 35, 36, 38, 39, 52, 635.
Horpa, 392.
Hottentot, 185.
Hunfalvy, Professor, 63, 68, *note*, 357, 383, 477.
Hungarian, 63, 64, 67, 77, 161, 184, 185, 197, 235, 307, 308, 448, 450, 463, 482, 510, 574, 610, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 620, 621, 622, 623.
Hunter, Dr., 364, 415.
Hwen Thsang, 10, 13, 26.
Hyderabad, 2, 25.

I

IBN BAṬUTA, 21, 24, 93, 103.
Icelandic, 242, 300, 568.
Indus, 148, 160.
Īravars, 109.
Irish, 144, 243, 378, 582, 593, 600.
Irtish, 281.
Irulars, 34.
Italian, 41, 53, 81.

J

JAFFNA, 82.
Jaina, 84, 85, 117, 190.
Jambulus, 128.
Japanese, 64, 157, 255, 281, 296, 305, 306, 312, 359, 459, 463, 464, 468, 512, 523, 616, 623.
Japhetic, 389, 392, 422.
Java, 26, 124.
Jeneseï, 613, 616, 617.
Jesajabus, Patriarch, 23, *note*.
Jews, 86, 87, 126.

Jones, Sir W., 54.
Jurazen, 616.

K

KAFIR, 185.
Kālī, 613.
Kalingapura, 31.
Kalingas, 7, 8, 26, 27, 29, 107, 111.
Καλλιγικόν, Kalligikon, 100.
Kalyānapuri, 31.
Kambar, 48.
Kāmbojas, 4.
Kamtschadale, 616.
Kandh, 629.
Kangazian, 616, 622.
Kanettri, 95.
Kanuri, 77, 393, 448.
Kapur Di Giri, 17.
Karen, 392.
Καρέοι, Kareoi, 96.
Karnātaka, 2, 9, 30, 31, 85, 86.
Karnūl, 25.
Κάρουρα, Karūr, 94, 97.
Karu-manal, 22.
Kattywār, 25.
Kātyāyana, 12.
Kāvērī, 13, 98, 102, 114, 569.
Kāvi, 380, 389.
Kāyal, 99.
Keikardi, 418, 419.
Kēlan Kelu, 17.
Kelat, 39.
Kēra, 94.
Kēralamputra, Keralaputra, 17, 92.
Kēralas, 8, 14, 18, 87, 97, 107.
Kērala Utpatti, 143.
Κηροβόθρος, Kērobothros, 18, 94.
Kern, Dr. 9, 29.
Kēsava, 80.
Khasas, 4.
Khiwan, 380.
Khond, 6, *passim.*
Kirātas, 4.
Kistna, 124.
Kitchin's Atlas, 22.
Kittel, Mr., 325, 331, 335, 339, 340, 343, 490, 491, 578, 579.
Klaproth, 591.
Klings, 7, 25, 615.
Kocch, 37.
Kodagu, 6, 32, 38.
Kodum-Damir, 6.
Koelle, Mr. 77.
Kōī, Kōītōr, 35.
Koibal, 323.
Kolami, 418.
Kolarian, 36, 39, 107, 281, 299, 629.
Kolatta-nādu, 95.
Κόλχοι, Kolchoi, 12, 96, 97, 98, 99.
Κωλίακοι, Kōliakoi, 101.
Κωλις, Kōlis, 101, 102.
Kolkei, 14, 92, 97, 99, 100, 114, 116.
Kōls, 14, 38, 39, 59, 60, 107, 243, 302, 314, 383, 448, 477.
Kōl (Singbhúm), 418.
Κόμαρ, κομάρια, 96, 102.
Kongu, 18.
Konkan, 36.
Konkanī, 2, 30.
Korean, 617.
Kōri, 13.
Korkei, 99.
Κωρυ, 102.
Kōta, 6, *passim.*
Kotaur, 95.
Κοττιάρα, Kottiara, 95.
Κοττοναρική, Kottonarikē, 95.
Krishna, 12.
Kshatriyàs, 4, 5, 53, 111, 112.
Ku. See Khond.
Kuki, 327, 622.
Kulasēkhara, 114.
Kumāri, 117.
Kumārilabhatta, 4, 10, 116, 133.
Kuralian, 48, 84.
Kurd, 581, 594, 606.
Kurumbas, 32, 34, 93.
Kynda, 95.

L

LACCADIVES, 24.
Laghmani, 377, 581.
Lambādis, 38.
Lappish, 56, 140, 149, 166, 185, 246, 295, 327, 332, 335, 341, 342, 346, 380, 391, 401, 612, 614, 615, 616, 617, 620, 621, 622.
Lar, 382, 436, 609.
Lares, 567.
Lasian, 381, 618.
Lassen, Professor, 23, 98, 109.
Latchmaji, Mr. 35.
Latin, 45, 46, 47, 52, 69, 73, 74, 148, 151, 152, 173, 182, 184, 206, 211, 231, 237, 242, 249, 251, 252, 262, 273, 276, 278, 285, 323, 342, 374, 375, 376, 377, 389, 401, 407, 408, 413, 438, 463, 474, 508, 520, 534, 580, 582, 588, 589, 591, 593, 594, 595, 597, 598, 599, 600, 609, 610, 621.
Lazian, 327, 332.
Lekhani, 125.
Lepsius, Professor, 338, 504.
Lesghian, 614, 616, 617, 620.
Lettish, 622.
Lithuanian, 69, 148, 295, 300, 375, 376, 378, 439, 593.
Lohitic, 395.
Lubbies, 2.
Λυμιρική, Lymirice, 10.

M

M'ABAR, 21, 101.
Maccocalingæ, 28, 29.

Mādi, 343, 418.
Madras, 3, 22, 93, 158, 267.
Madras City, 8, 22, 32, 144.
Madura, 12, 13, 19, 92, 102, 117, 122.
Madura Sangam or College, 84.
Magadha, 109, 115, 116.
Māgadhī, 5.
Magyar, 68, 104, 105, 110, 162, 184, 244, 246, 270, 277, 282, 285, 295, 305, 327, 332, 335, 338, 341, 342, 380, 381, 382, 390, 394, 409, 437, 438.
Mahades-Gōnd, 341.
Mahārāshtrī, 5.
Mahé, 3.
Mahēndra Male, 102.
Maiso-Gothic, 338.
Malabar, 8, 13, 20, 23, 24, 87, 88, 91, 94, 103, 117, 127, 143, 492, 504, 573, 576, 597, 615.
Malay, 108, 272, 282, 613.
Malaya, 575.
Malayāḷam, 2, *passim*.
Mala-(y)-arasers, 38.
Malayo-Polynesian, 375.
Mal-dives, 24, 622.
Μαλέ, Male, 23, 24, 103, 575, 622.
Mālers, 14, 35, 36.
Manchu, 50, 65, 160, 180, 219, 232, 253, 281, 295, 296, 323, 332, 349, 350, 380, 381, 391, 409, 414, 482, 523, 615, 620, 621, 622.
Mangalore, 31, 33.
Manger, Dr. 401, 626.
Manu, 4, 54, 112, 113, 115.
Manyak, 392.
Mappillas, 2, 127.
Marāthi, 1, 2, 3, 25, 53, 56, 57, 60, 61, 141, 147, 155, 157, 158, 282, 390, 409. 414, 436, 509, 582, 591, 611, 612.
Marcian, 104.
Māriās, 34.
Marshall, Colonel, 33, 625, 626.
Mārwār, 25.
Mathurā, 12, 117.
Mauritius, 7.
Mech, 606.
Media, 65.
Medo-Persian, 65, 68.
Medo-Scythian, 56, 610.
Megasthenes, 12, 13, 26, 28, 98, 104.
Μέθορα, 12.
Metz, Rev. F., 33, 364, 507, 625, 626.
Meyer, 495.
Mikir, 245, 383.
Minayeff, 89.
Mingrelian, 327, 332, 381.
Mirāsi, 32.
Miri, 245, 395.
Mlēchchas, 53, 116.
Modogalingam, 28, 94.
Μόδουρα, Modura, 10, 13, 92.
Mögling, Dr. 33.
Mongolian, 50, 61, 65, 68, 76, 104, 160, 180, 219, 243, 246, 272, 274, 281, 295, 296, 332, 380, 381, 390, 391, 414, 432, 434, 482, 506, 512, 523, 524, 612, 614, 616, 617, 619, 620, 622, 623.
Mons Maleus, 102.
Mordivin, 67, 185, 281, 295, 335, 380, 382, 391, 477, 612, 613, 614, 615, 617, 621, 622.
Moresby, Mr. 24.
Motor, 382, 614.
Muir, Dr. 57, 575.
Müller, Professor Friedrich, 63.
Müller, Professor Max, 12, 39, 62, 69, 88, 111, 184, 210, 233, 288, 292, 345, 509, 512, 520, 534, 624.
Munda, 36, 38.
Mundala, 418.
Mussulman, 14.
Muttra, 12, 92.
Muyiri, 94.
Mysore, 18, 25, 26, 30, 31, 54.

N

NAGA, 245, 327.
Nagapatam, 22.
Nagpore, 25.
Nannaya-Bhatta, 245.
Narmadā, 1, 124.
Nāyakkas, Nāyudus, 25, 113.
Neilgherry (Nilagiri), 30, 33, 34, 297, 473, 626.
Nelkynda, 19, 95.
Nellore, 31.
Nepāl, 53.
Neyyāru, 20.
Nishādas, 39, 53, 109.
Nizam, 25, 26, 30.
Njertschinsk, 482.
Normans, 46, 107, 591.
Norris, Mr., 65, 66, 67, 104, 140, 149, 282.
Northern Circars, 13.

O

ODRAS, 4.
Olet, 382.
Onesicritus, 101.
Ophir, 88, 117.
Oppert, Professor, 65.
Orāon, 6, 14, *passim*.
Oriental Turkish, 510, 525, 617, 622.
Orissa, 1, 2, 21, 35, 37.
Oriya, 2, 25, 60, 123, 124, 125, 158, 403, 409, 410, 412, 519.
Oscan, 568.
Osmanli, 281, 394.
Osmanli Turks, 394, 612.
Ossete, 592, 593, 594, 617, 618.
Ostiak, 56, 63, 67, 68, 105, 162, 185, 246, 247, 281, 282, 305, 335, 338, 371, 380, 381, 393, 394, 401, 409, 477, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 620, 621, 622.
Oudh, 110.

P

Pahariās, 35.
Pahlavas, 4.
Paisāchī Prākrit, 5.
Pālghāt, 20.
Pālī, 7, 93, 173, 190, 368, 410.
Palk's Straits, 100.
Pallas, 112.
Pandœ, 13.
Πανδαίη, Pondaíē, 12.
Πανδιων, Pandion, 11, 13, 96, 99, 102.
Pāndu, 12.
Pāndya-mandalam, 21.
Pāndyas, 5, 11, 14, 25, 86, 87, 91, 92, 99, 107, 108, 110, 111, 115, 116.
Pānini, 12.
Panjābī, 40, 158, 274, 390.
Pāradas, 4.
Παραλία, Paralia, 96.
Παραλία Σωρητων, Paralia Sōretōn, 96.
Pareiyas, 48, 112.
Parimēlaragar, 48.
Parsees, 3.
Patāns, 2.
Patteson, Bp. 69.
Paulino, Fra, 21.
Paundrakas, 4.
Pegu, 7.
Pehlvi, 389, 634.
Penang, 7.
Περιγκαρει, Perigkaeri, 97.
Permian, 617, 619, 622.
Persian, 24, 25, 55, 65, 67, 70. 71, 73, 148, 160, 220, 237, 247, 251, 263, 282, 294, 295, 327, 375, 376, 380, 381, 389, 401, 409, 410, 412, 422, 437, 438, 440, 441, 466, 477, 485, 495, 509, 510, 512, 525, 580, 581, 582, 591, 593, 594, 598, 600, 619, 620.
Persian (Cuneiform), 89.
Peutinger Tables, 10, 26, 28, 94, 95, 96, 99, 101.
Phœnicia, 88, 90, 117, 118, 127.
Pliny, 13, 26, 28, 29, 91, 92, 94, 95, 100, 101, 102.
Podigei, 99, 102.
Ποδοπέρουρα, Podoperoura, 103.
Poligars, 111, 626.
Polo, Marco, 21, 22, 99.
Polynesian, 185, 247, 415.
Pomponius Mela, 101.
Pondicherry, 3, 144.
Pope, Dr., 33, 34, 70, 122, 216, 222, 276, 364, 365, 369, 410, 507, 625.
Portuguese, 3, 8, 21, 22, 25, 100, 141, 593.
Porunei, 98, 115.
Pott, Professor, 63, 184.
Prākrit, 5, 9, 25, 60, 70, 78, 79, 80, 84, 85, 126, 147, 155, 412, 572, 575, 582, 597.
Pritchard, Dr. 62.
Prussian, 599.
Ptolemy, 10, 13, 22, 28, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 108.
Puducottah, 111.
Pulicat, 6, 21, 25.
Pulindas, 5.
Pundras, 5.
Purali, 97.
Pushtu, 282.
Pyrard de la Val, 24.

Q

Quasi Qumuk, 382, 622.
Quilon, 21, 23, 96.

R

Rajendra Lal Mitra, Babu, 5.
Rājmahāl, 2, 6, *passim*.
Rāma, 21, 114.
Rāma Charita, 19.
Rāma's bow, 100.
Rāma's bridge, 21, 101.
Rāmānuja Ācharya, 83.
Rāmāyana, 48, 54, 88, 115.
Rāmēsvaram, 100, 101, 114.
Rāmnād, 111.
Ramusio, 22.
Ramūsis, 38.
Rask, Professor, 61, 62.
Ravenna, Geographer, 10.
Rawlinson, Sir H., 374.
Reddis, 25.
Red Sea, 127.
Reinaurd, 24.
Remusat, 447.
Renouf, M. Le Page, 89.
Rheede, 90.
Roman, 10, 101, 103, 184, 361, 566.
Romance, 162.
Rowlandson, 22.
Russian, 593, 619.
Rutluk, 418.

S

Sabaras, 5.
Sadras, 7, 8.
Śakas, 4.
Salem, 18.
Śālivāhana, 487.
Σαμαναίοι, Samanaioi, 10.
Samoïede, 246, 327, 332, 380, 391, 613, 616, 619, 621, 622.
Samoïed-Ostiak, 246.
Śankara Achārya, 83.
Sanskrit, 2, *passim*.
Santāl, 107, 418, 477, 614, 629.
Satyavrata, 5.
Saurasenī, 5.
Śavara, 35, 418.
Saxon, 593, 617.
Scandinavian, 149.

Schlegel, Dr., Aug., 71, 590, 622.
Schott, 63.
Scotch, 144.
Scythian, 49, *passim.*
Scythian (Cuneiform), 364.
Scytia Dymirice, 10, 94.
Secunderabad, 7.
Σεμνοι, Semnoi, 102.
Śen-Damir, 6.
Seoni-Gōnd, 329, 401, 507.
Śēra, 17.
Śēralam, 17.
Servian, 593.
Setshuana, 159.
Shen-Tamil, 45, 77, 78, 80, 82.
Siamese, 124.
Siberian, 394, 482, 614.
Sindhī, 40, 56, 57, 158, 272, 280, 390, 436.
Singapore, 7.
Singhalese, 6, 7, 24, 109, 124, 380, 389, 436.
Slavonian, 68, 69, 148, 375, 377, 378, 462, 574, 597, 616.
Sojoten 616.
Σωλη'ν, Sōlēn, 98.
Solomon, 88, 117.
Śōnagas, 3.
Σωρα, Sōra, 93, Sōran, 99.
Śōramandalam, 141.
Spanish, 41, 53, 164.
Śramana, 9.
Stanley of Alderley, Lord, 22.
Stephen of Byzantium, 90, 104.
Stevenson, Rev. Dr., 52, 54, 56, 57, 247, 263, 301, 472.
Strabo, 101.
Suanian, 332, 381.
Śūdras, 83, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 112.
Sumatra, 26.
Sundara Pāndya, 127.
Surgutish, 281.
Swedish, 621.
Syrian Christians, 14, 16, 19, 86, 87, 126, 128, 134, 164, 281, 374, 482, 492, 606. 609, 619.
Syrianian, 393, 615.
Syro-Arabian, 172.

T

Tamil, 3 *passim.*
Tāmraparnī, 12, 14, 92, 97, 98, 102, 114, 115, 116.
Tanjore, 13, 144.
Ταπροβάνη, Taprobane, 98, 101.
Tāranātha, 9, 28, 29, 30.
Tarshish, 88.
Tātār, 60, 61, 149, 253, 318, 447.
Tātār-Turkish, 66, 232.
Telingāna, 25, 54, 85, 86.
Tellicherry, 95.
Telugu, 4, *passim.*
Temple, Sir R., 34.
Ten Commandments, 46. 47.
Teutonic, 68, 70, 104, 242, 243, 300, 495, 510, 569.
Thomas, Mr. Edward, 117, 126, 128.
Tibetans, 5, 39, 59, 75, 245, 281, 282, 296, 383, 612, 614, 635.
Tinnevelly, 14, 86, 96, 97, 115, 127, 433.
Tiruvalluvar, 48, 248.
Tīyars, 108.
Tratar, 295, 296.
Travancore, 6, 14, 16, 86, 95, 96, 97, 127, 155.
Trench, Archbishop, 46.
Tributary Mahāls, 35.
Trichendoor, 99.
Trichinopoly, 13, 569, 572, 599.
Τρίγλυπτον, Τρίλιγγον, Triglupton, Trilingon, 28.
Trilinga, 27, 28, 29.
Trivandrum, 6, 20, 104.
Trumpp, Dr. Ernest, 25, 60, 147, 280, 287.
Tuda, 33 *passim.*
Tulu, 6, *passim.*
Tungusian, 39, 61, 67, 323, 482, 591, 612, 616, 620.
Turanian, 52, 61, 63, 64, 65, 126, 185, 385, 481, 488, 524.
Turkish, 39, 42, 49, 55, 57, 61, 64, 67, 68, 76, 104, 172, 180, 197, 219, 243, 246, 272, 274, 281, 282, 295, 300, 307, 318, 327, 328, 332, 342, 381, 391, 394, 395, 403, 420, 447, 455, 463, 482, 484, 495, 503, 510, 512, 523, 542, 611, 612, 613, 616, 619, 620.
Turks, 104, 447.
Turvasu, 14.
Tuticorin, 100.

U

Ugrian, 65, 66, 67, 68, 104, 162, 335, 338, 356, 382, 393, 395, 420, 477, 510, 520, 615, 620, 621.
Uigur, 104, 612.
Umbrian, 155.
Uranius, 90.
Urāon, 302, 323, 330, 332, 334, 335, 364, 387, 415, 417, 421, 436, 437.
Ureiyúr, 13, 93.

V

Vaisyas, 53, 112, 113.
Vaithema's Travels, 22.
Vālmīki, 48.
Vanji, 97.
Varāha-mihira, 9, 10, 30, 94.
Vararuchi, 158.
Veigei, 92.
Vellālas, 32, 113.
Vijaya, 11, 115, 116.
Vijayanagara, 21.
Vikramārka, 487.

Vindhyas, 1, 108.
Visvāmitra, 5.
Vogul, 63, 327, 335, 338, 615, 616, 617, 620, 621, 622.
Volgian, 617, 621, 622.
Von Humboldt, W., 73.
Votiak, 327, 357, 380, 391, 621.
Vrishalas, 4.
Vuller, 25.

W

Wahl, 90.
Wales, 107.
Weber, Professor, 89.
Welsh, 166, 377, 378, 591, 593, 620.
Wilkins, Sir C., 42.
Wilson, Professor, H. H., 48, 53, 372.

X

Xavier, St. Francis, 30.
Xerxes, 107.

Y

Yadavas, 117.
Yakute, 394, 614.
Yama, 158, 456.
Yarkand, 342, 621.
Yavanas, 4.
Yedo, 305.
Yemen, 127.
Yerkesian, 616.
Yerukala, 418, 419.
Yule, Colonel, 16 *note*, 22, 23, 93, 99, 103.

Z

Zanzibar, 24.
Zend, 69, 148, 160, 173, 243, 246, 247, 251, 295, 300, 368, 375, 376, 377, 378, 389, 412, 413, 438, 439, 582, 583, 597, 600.
Ziegenbalg, 141.